

THE
END OF NERO
AND BEGINNING
OF GALBA.

FOVRE BOOKES OF
THE HISTORIES OF
Cornelius Tacitus.

THE LIFE OF
Agricola.

The fourth edition.

M. DC. XII.

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FOUR BOOKS OF
THE HISTORIES OF
(Continued Tacitus.)

THE LIFE OF
Agrippa.

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TO HER MOST SACRED
MAIESTIE.



Present beere to your Maiesties view my imperfections in their owne colours, and the excellencies of another man with much losse of their lustre, as being transported from their naturall light of the Latin by an unskilful hand into a strange language, perchance not so fit to set out a peece drawen with so curious a pensill. The cause of vndertaking a worke of this kinde was a good will in this scribling age not to doe nothing, and a disproportion in the powers of my minde, nothing of mine owne inuention being able to passe the censure of mine owne iudgement, much lesse, I presumed, the iudgement of others. The cause that I published it vnder your Maiesties name and protection (beside the testification of my bounden dutie) was the great account your Highnesse most worthily holdeth this Historie in; hoping thereby, that as some for the excellencie of the wine, haue liked also the lees, so it might peradventure please you, to accept into some degree of fauour this worke as it is, though by change from vessell to vessell hauing taken winde and lost his pleasing taste to the palate, yet retaining somewhat of his former strength, and much of his substance. But the principall cause was to incite your Maiestie by this as by a foile to communicate to the world, if not those admirable compositions of your owne, yet at the least those most rare and excellent translations of Histories (if I may call them translations, which haue so infinitely exceeded the originals) making euident demonstration to all who haue seene them, that as the great actions of Princes are the subiect of stories, so stories composed or amended by Princes,

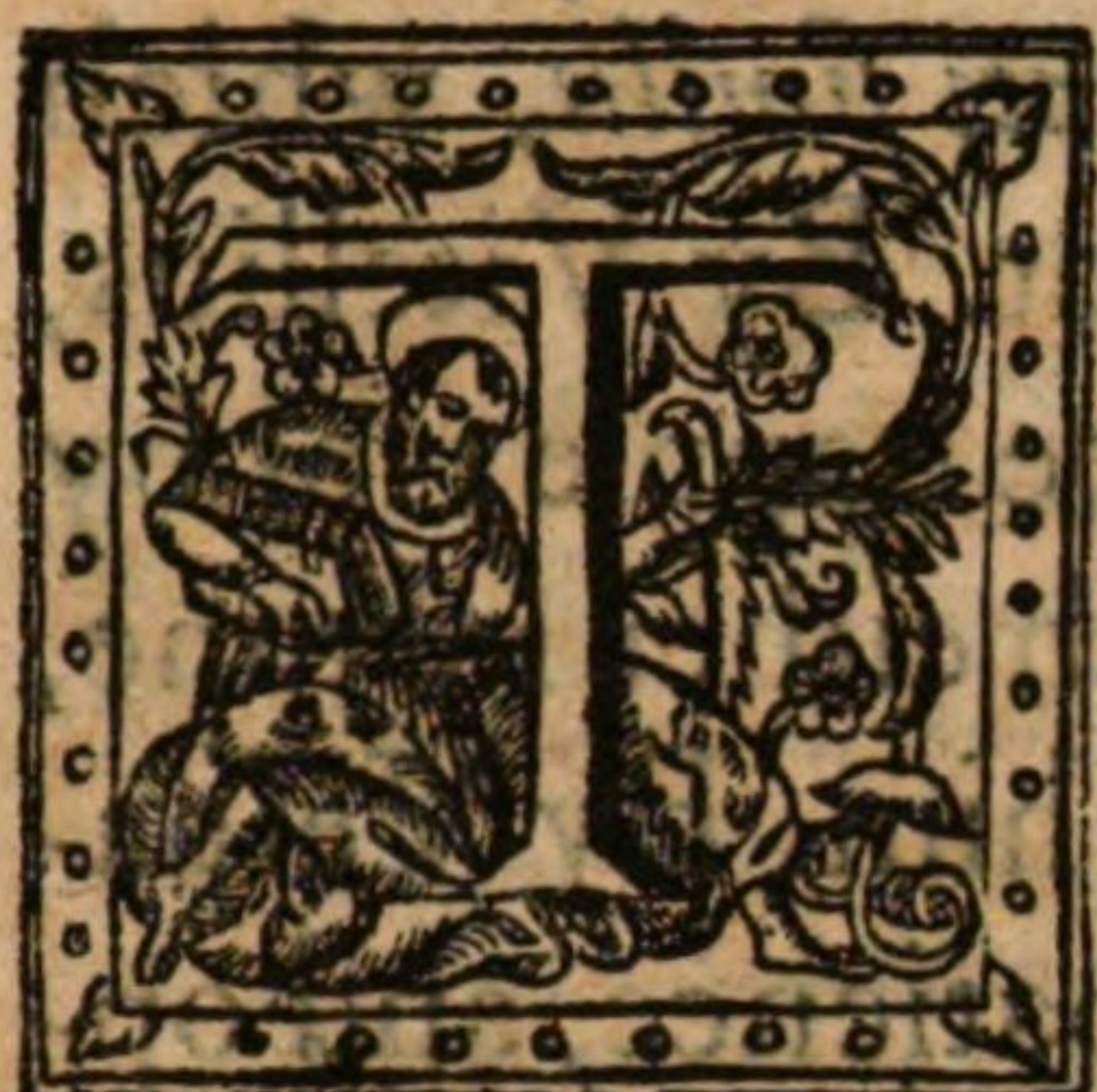
ces, are not only the best patterne and rule of great actions, but also the most naturall Registers thereof, the writers being persons of like degree and of proportionable conceits with the doers. And so wishing your Maiestie either so much leisure your selfe, or a Tacitus to describe your most glorious raigne, I commit this booke (whereof I claime nothing to my selfe but the faults) to your most gracious patronage, and the courtesie of the Reader, from whom, at least from his hands that shall finish out the rest, I hope to finde both pardon for my faults, and some pitie for my paines.

The Almighty blesse your most excellent Maiestie with a long, happie, and prosperous raigne, and the onely true meanes thereof, many watchfull eies to foresee, many valiant hands to fight, and many godly hearts to pray for the peace of your state.

Your sacred Maiesties

most humble subiect and seruant

HENRY SAVILE.



HERE is no treasure so much enriches the minde of man as learning; there is no learning so proper for the direction of the life of man as Historie; there is no historie (I speake onlie of prophane) so well worth the reading as Tacitus. For learning nature acknowledgeth a reason, by leauing industrie to finish her vnperfect worke: for without learning the conceit is like a fruitfull soile without tilling, the memorie like a storehouse without wares, the will like a ship without a rudder. For History, since we are easlier taught by example then by precept, what studie can profit vs so much, as that which giues patternes either to follow or to flie, of the best and worst men of all estates, countries, and times that euer were? For Tacitus I may say without partialitie, that hee hath written the most matter with best conceit in fewest words of any Historiographer ancient or moderne. But he is hard. *Difficilia quæ pulchra*: the second reading ouer will please thee more then the first, and the third then the second. And if thy stomacke be so tender as thou canst not digest Tacitus in his owne stile, thou art beholding to Saule, who giues thee the same food, but with a pleasant and easie taste. In these foure bookes of the storie thou shalt see all the miseries of a torne and declining state: the Empire vsurped; the Princes murdered; the people wauering; the souldiers tumultuous; nothing vnlawfull to him that hath power, and nothing so vn-safe as to be securely innocent. In Galba thou maiest

learne, that a good Prince governed by euill ministers
is as dangerous as if he were euill himselfe. By Otho,
that the fortune of a rash man is *Torrenti similis*, which
rises at an instant, and falles in a moment. By Vitellius,
that he that hath no vertue can neuer be happie: for by
his own basenesse he will lose all, which either fortune,
or other mens labours haue cast vpon him. By Vespasian,
that in ciuill tumults an aduised patience, and opportunity well taken are the onely weapons of aduantage. In them all, and in the state of Rome vnder them, thou maiest see the calamities that follow ciuill warres, where lawes lie asleepe, and all things are iudged by the sword. If thou mislike their warres, bee thankfull for thine owne peace; if thou doest abhor their tyrannies, loue and reuerence thine owne wise, iust, and excellent Prince. If thou doest detest their Anarchie, acknowledge our owne happie gouernment, and thanke God for her, vnder whom England enioies as many benefits, as euer Rome did suffer miseries vnder the greatest Tyrant.

THE END OF NERO AND BEGINNING OF GALBA.



Alerius Trachalus, and Silius Italicus being Consuls : Caius Julius Vindex, Lieutenant of Gallia Lugdunensis, perceiuing that priuate conspiracies against the person of Nero had beene often intended and euer discovered, determined to giue the first onset in armes and openly goe to the field. Vindex was by his father of a Senatours house, by birth French and extract from the line of their ancient Kings, of bodie puissant, quicke of conceit, of a ready dispatch, skilfull in armes, and bold to attempt : his prouince peaceable, and therefore utterly disfur-nisht of forces : no Legion, no garrison vnder his gouernment. Notwithstanding as in a body corrupt, and full of ill humours, the first paine that appeareth, be it neuer so slender, drawes on the rest, discloseth old aches and straines, actuateth what else is unsound in the bodie : so in a state vniuersally disliked, the first disorder dissolueth the whole. Yea and oft so it hapneth in both, the disease that grew first, and gaue cause to the other, being recured, the rest notwithstanding worke out the finall destruction. Now Vindex, before hee declared himselfe, well weighing the weakenesse of his estate, and withall his owne person vncapable of the Empire, as being but a stranger, without followers, without friends or allies among the Nobilitie, deliberated to cast it on some other man of more reputation, who also by neerenesse and strength might second his attempt. Corbulo was lately murdered by Nero ; Vespasian farre off warring in Iewry : Suetonius Paullinus at home without armie, the most famous men of that age for militar matters. Of high Germanie Verginius Rufus was Lieutenant, with three Legions, next neighbour to Vindex, onely of a meane gentlemans house. In low Germanie Fonteius Capito with foure Legions, and Clodius Macer in Africke with a competent armie, neither of them likely to repaire that which Nero had ruined. There remained then in armes Seruius Sulpitius Galba, a man of great wealth and ancient Nobilitie, who had beene eight yeeres Lieutenant in neerer Spaine, to the reasonable contentment of the countrey, with an host of one Legion, and the Aids belonging thereto. Vpon him Vindex finally resoluing dispatcheth into Spaine, and other countries adioining, secret letters declaring his purpose to the Lieutenants. Galba, in whom age had abated the heat of ambition, experience and dangerous times engendred a warie and fearefull proceeding, thought as then vpon nothing lesse then diademes and kingdomes, hauing giuen himselfe ouer, for certaine yeeres past, to an idle and obscure kinde of life, sequestred as it were, and retired from affaires for feare of Nero ; vnder whom to doe ill was not alwaies safe, alwaies unsafe to doe well, and of doing nothing no man constrained to yeeld an account. Whereupon the letters arriuing, hee stood much amazed, divided in minde what course hee should follow : to trust them ? peraduenture it was but a traine : to disclose them and send them to Nero ? that were indeed to put in his head an eternall iealonsie, and himselfe into a needlesse perill : and perhaps also there might be good meaning. Whereupon in so doubtfull a case, the extremes seeming dangerous, hee tooke the meane way, suppressing the letters, and not entring into the cause any further, reseruing to gouerne himselfe in the rest, as euents and occurrents should lead and direct him. The other Lieutenants sent all their letters to Nero, betraying Vindex, betraying the cause, whereof themselves anon were partakers.

Now Vindex certaine daies after the Calends of March, though not fully assured, yet hoping well of Galbaes intent, and presuming good lucke to so good a meaning, assembled them of his prouince, such chiefly as were chiefe in their countrey for credit, and chiefly

“ Gallia

“ Hispania
Tarraco-
nensis.

chiefly had beene touched in goods or in honour. To whom recounting in order the tyrannies of Nero, namely his paring of “ France to the quicke, to the utter destruction of so many men, the vniuersall decay of so goodly a countrey, he exhorteth them all to take armes, to succour themselues, to succour the Romans, and to free the whole world from so heauie a yoke. Or if, which the gods forbid in so good a case, yet let vs (quoth hee) sell him our liues in the field with honour, seeing wee cannot possesse them with safetie. For another Prince (our broken state, and age void of vertue, not bearing a free common-wealth) wee haue heere at hand a man of great birth, great wealth, and great forces, one that hath made honourable prooffe of himselfe, at home, and abroad, in all respects worthie the place, Galba Lieutenant of “ Arragon. If you like of the man, there remaineth then onely wee muster the countrey to the most that we may, without whose swords all talke of warre is but vaine, and this pernicious. His demands being all accorded by common consent, he leuieth a power, many men, and few souldiers, taken vpon the sudden, not disciplined, not trained to the order of seruice; hee publisheth edicts diffaming the person and gouernment of Nero. Then causing Galba to be proclaimed, hee writes him a letter, now, or else neuer, to declare himselfe in fauour of mankind against that monster of nature, to furnish the body of an hundred thousand French men in armes, and more if need were, of a head. The Sequani, Adui, Aruerni, Remi, and the flower in a manner of France, were all of the partie, conferring men, horse, armour, money, and what else was requisite for seruice in field. Rufinus, Flanius, Asiaticus with others were appointed Captaines, and Vienna seat of the warre; whose next neighbours, and ancient enemies, the Lugdunenses banded themselues against them and the cause, or the cause for their sakes. Many conflicts betweene them, and skirmishes during the warre, so thicke, and so hotly pursued, that one might perceiue much priuate choller passe vnder the shadow of publike pretences. The Lingones likewise and Troueri, and some other cities, forsaking their fellowes, linked themselues with the Legions confining. Three Legions, as before it is said, with their Aids, Verginius had in his charge; who seeing all France on a fire, and that now of force hee must either rebell with the rest, or warre with the rebels (for so they were stiled till they preuailed) in priuate beholden, for publike respects misliking of Nero, no admirer of Galba, with Vindex proceeding highly displeased, the example being vnseene, that a prouince should be a Prince-maker, thus vnresolved, resolving this onely, that he would not be resolved by others, determined to stand on his Guard, and gathered his men about him in haste, valiant souldiers and expert in seruice, and likely to sway where they went.

Of the other side the Lieutenant of Aquitania, against the troubles of France, requested the assistance of Galba his neighbour, who then at new Carthage kept a law day: but anon hee perceiued how that hee had taken a wrong addresse. For Galba receiuing the letters of Vindex, and being aduertised that warrant was out for his death to the Procuratours, had debated the matter a fresh with his friends. Some vnwilling to plaie their state at a cast, wisht him to stay and attend to what head the humours in Rome new stirred would gather: as for the Procuratours, they might be preuented; and warned is halfe armed. To Titus Vinus, then Lieutenant of the Legion, and anon chiefe in fauour with Galba, that course seemed vn safe. Armed indeed (quoth hee) for a while against a Procuratour or two: nay, put case wee could hang vp these few in our places, shall wee liue, doe you thinke, for lacke of a hangman? Giue vs armes against Nero, and then wee are armed. But perhaps sith nothing is past on our part, hee may be perswaded to call in his sentence againe. Euen good Princes are iealous of soueraigne points, and that string being touched, haue a quicke eare. They haue bought it full deare which ignorantly haue sate in their chaire of estate, that haue worne their diademe to keepe it from wetting, or
vpon

upon like occasion. Germanicus, as some heere may remember, because one or two in the armie had onely a purpose to salute him Prince, was neuer well brooked, till by his owne death he had paid the price of other mens rashnesse. Corbulo, euen that Corbulo, which had quieted Germanie, subdued Armenia, broken the Parthian spirits, brought Arsaces line on his knees before Nero, after he had so highly deserved at his hands, it cost him his life, that some men in secret thought him a man fit to succeed. We are, as they say, openly proclaimed, we haue an armie in field: shall he then repent it, that neuer repented but when he did well? Let him looke that list for succours from Rome, where libertie is lost, fit men to free others. Galba and Vindex their swords and their armies must purchase our freedom. This opinion preuailing as possible to prooue, but of force to bee followed, a day was appointed by Galba, therein to dispatch the freeing of slaues. The countrey came in at the day suspecting the matter, apt to receiue any new impression. And Galba hauing placed of purpose before his tribunall, a mantle of images of great personages executed or banisht in Neroes time, and fetched from exile a yoong noble man, out of the next Islands, to stand by his seat, his armie about him, spake in this wise. My fellow souldiers and friends, wee are at this present assembled to enfranchise our bondmen, to bestow upon others that great benefit of libertie and freedome, which wee our selues, whom both nature and fortune hath freed this long time, haue smally enioied. The life I haue led hitherto will sufficiently discharge mee from any aspiring conceit, and my owne conscience beareth mee witnesse, that I speake not upon any malice, or priuate respects. It grieues mee to say: but it helpes not to hide that which euery man seeth. Hath euer bondman vnder a cruell master passed a yeere of harder seruice, then wee haue done foureteene vnder Nero? What kinde of exaction hath he not prooued to supplie with extortion that which with shame he hath spent? What kinde of crueltie hath hee not practised? If wee should conceale or seeke to suppress it, these dumbe stones would declare them. Behold poisoned his father and brother, abused and slaine his owne mother, murdered his wife, his master and what else soeuer valiant or vertuous in Senate, in citie, in prouince, without any difference of sex, or of age. I need not to speake of the sorrowfull sighes and bitter teares of so many yoong gentlemen bereft of their fathers, so many wiues robbed of their husbands, so many great men deprived of their countrey, which crie vengeance upon such a Prince. A Prince? nay, an incendiarie, a singer, a fidler, a stage-plaier, a cart-driuer, a crier, no Prince, nay no man, that hath a man to his husband, and a man to his wife, but a monster of mankinde; against whom what Vindex in France hath already intended I am sure you doe know, and I, for my part, am most sorrie to heare. The whole course of my former life hath beene otherwise remooued from ambition in court, from aiming too high: and this little that remaines of my daies I could heartily wish were spent in more ease. But sith, I know not by what my misfortune, some haue imposed upon me a part, which I neuer meant to sustaine, and least of all at this age, I will not refuse, if you also approoue it, to sacrifice this old carcase of mine for the wealth of my countrey, not as Emperour, or Augustus, which sacred names I adore a farre off, not daring to approach them, but as --- The speech was not finished, when the souldiers, and people with one common voice interrupting, saluted him Emperour. Galba commending their zeale to the good of the Empire, and accepting the substance refused the name, tearing himselfe Lieutenant of the Senate and people of Rome. Next care was to muster more men, to make good the reuolt: the countrey was prest and souldiers came in of all hands: new Legions and Aids were enrolled, and to helpe at a need, a ship of Alexandria laden with armour, without master, without mariner, without passenger, arrived at the port: which accident, besides that the wrecke came in in good season, increast to the cause reputation, as though against Nero the gods had furnished weapons from heauen. Then he ordained a Counsell in forme of a Senate elected out of the

chiefest

THE END OF NERO AND

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chiefeſt and graueſt men of his traine, and a guard of yoong gentlemen to watch and ward at his lodging, he publiſheth edicts, and ſends them abroad to euery prouince, exhorting them all to take armes, and concurre in common againſt the common enemy. Many reuolted from Nero and came to the ſide: M. Saluius Otho with the firſt, then Lieutenant of “Portingall, bringing his iewels and plate, which Galba made into money.

“Lufitania.

In high Germanie, the ſouldiers conſidering the weakneſſe of Nero; that France had already rebelled; that Spaine made a Prince; that the reſt of the countries were likely to follow, if not all for the ſame, yet all againſt Nero: viewing their owne forces, and ſtrength now united, which before lay diſperſed in troupes and in bands, ſtrangers to Galba, and greatly diſdaining that one ſimple Legion ſhould impoſe them a Prince, finally concluded to make it their benefit, and beſtow the Empire themſelues. A fit man they needed not ſeek farre off: Verginius Rufus the Lieutenant, though of a Gentlemans houſe, and no higher, in ſtrength of bodie, matters of action, and all other things excelled Galba: in birth what if Galba were better? Catulus the toppe of his kinne fled diſhonourably away in the Cimbrian warre, where Marius, baſelier borne then Verginius, worthily ſtucke to it, and ſaued the ſtate. Heereupon they goe and breake downe tumultuoſly the images of Nero, ſalute Verginius Prince, inſcribing his name in the banners. Verginius ſeeing the matter grow to a tumult, and being unable to reſiſt their violence, ſhewed to yeeld in ſome degree againſt Nero, but not for himſelfe, much leſſe any other named abroad. For his part hee ſaid hee had no need of the place, which all men beſide ſo greatly deſired: nor was not to ſuffer, but ſuch as by order of Senate ſhould be appointed: that they were the men to whom that election belonged, whoſe right hee would ſurely maintaine againſt whom ſoeuer. The ſouldiers being in part thus appeaſed, hee commands the inſcription to be defaced, and with his whole armie entreth France, pretending to warre againſt Vindex. The citie of Bezanson, which firſt reſuſed to receiue him, hee ſtraightway beſegeth. Vindex to ſuccour the towne and leuiethe ſiege, or bid him battle, if it might bee no better, with twentie thouſand men cometh againſt him. Lying encamped not farre aſunder, there paſſed letters betweene them: whereupon they ſecretly met and conferred together, none elſe being preſent on either ſide. Their concluſion was friendly, doubtleſſe to ioinc againſt Nero: ſome thought to ſet downe Galba alſo; and it was not unlikely. Thus departing as friends, each to his campe, Vindex ſecure as in a quarrell already compoſed, and nothing attending leſſe then the ſhocke, meaning to enter the towne, and reſoſe his armie with all his men made towards the gates. The ſouldiers of Germanie lying at the walles, and perceiving the armie approach, marching, as it ſeemed, directly upon them, not priue to their Generals purpoſe, or not willing to loſe ſo faire an occaſion, ranne out without bidding, and falling upon them at unawares and in diſarraie, not able on a ſudden to remedie the error, as men newly trained, and unexpert in warre, ſlew them all in a maner, and ſpoiled the carriage. Vindex ſeeing the unluckie ſucceſſe of this unlooked for battle, hauing loſt in a maner the flower of all France, and ſuſpecting fraud of Verginius ſide, as though he meant to entrap him, and ſend him to Nero, ranne himſelfe upon his owne ſword: many coming after beſtowed their blowes upon the dead carcaſe, ſeeking a colour for praiſe or reward if Nero preuailed. After this ſlaughter the ſouldiers preſſed Verginius againe to accept of the Empire, and embaffages came almoſt from euery quarter requiring the ſame, with aſſured promiſe of all poſſible aſſiſtance, if not, ready to returne to Neros obedience: but Verginius bewailing the heauie miſhap of his unfortunate friend, reiecteth the ſpeech, and marcheth forward in France. This end had Iulius Vindex, a man in the courſe of this action more vertuous then fortunate; who hauing no armie provided, no legion, no ſouldier in charge, whiles others more able lookt on, firſt entred the liſts, challenging a Prince upholden with thirty Legions, rooted in the Empire by foure deſcents of
anceſtors.

ancestors, and fourteene yeeres continuance of raigne, not upon priuate despaire to set in combustion the state, not to reuenge, disgrace or dishonour, not to establishe his owne soueraintie, things which haue mooued most men to attempt; but to redeeme his countrey from tyrannie and bondage, which onely respect hee regarded so much, that in respect he regarded nothing his owne life or securitie. For when it was shewed him, that Nero by publike edict had prized his head at "ten thousand thousand sesterces; Well, quoth hee againe, and he that kils Nero, and brings me his head, shall haue mine in exchange. And though in this action fortune gaue vertue the checke, and by a strange accident, which mans wisdom could not foresee, ouerturned the enterprise, yet must we confesse, that Vindex first stirred the stone, which rowling along tumbled Nero out of his seat.

^{That is, about}
four score thou-
sand pound.

Of Vindex reuolt the first newes came to Nero at Naples, about the twentieth of March: whereof he made shew so lightly to set, that he would not vouchsafe once to intermit his accustomed pastimes and pleasures, but rather seemed to reioice, and embrace the occasion, as falling out fitly to conuert to his cofers by the law of armes the spoile of so large and so wealthy a countrey: at supper also receiuing more letters of fresher aduice, and certainer danger, hee wished them only ill chance, which thus by rebelling had troubled his drinking, and so for eight daies hee neither wrote letter, nor gaue out order for any dispatch. At length through Vindex edicts, so thicke and so biting, being awaked, hee warned the Senate by letter to auenge his cause, and the common wealths, excusing his absence by reason of sickness. In Vindex edicts, supporting the rest patiently, one thing aboue all troubled him most, that his skill was impeached in playing: wherein he thought surely there was not his peere, eftsoones demanding of them about him, whether, without flatterie, they knew any in that profession more skilfull than him: by this then so manifest an vntruth, in an Art that he had so painfully laboured, so perfectly learned, hee willed them to esteeme of the rest. The Senate, receiuing the letters, flattering and fearing, adiudged Vindex a traitor, the selfe-same men which soone after bestowed the like upon Nero. But urged by newes upon newes, at last in a fright hee repaired to Rome: where not calling Senate nor people together, but some principall men to the Palacc at an vnseasonable houre of the night, as to consult of urgent affaires, hee shewed them certaine conceits, and new strange devices of musicke by water instruments, discoursing of the maner and difficultie of each, and that hee had found out a way to make them sound both sweeter and louder, and shortly meant to produce them in stage, if Vindex would giue him leisure to doe it. But hearing that Galba and Spaine had rebelled, hee tare his clothes, beat his head, and would in no wise receiue any comfort, till such time as the Senate by decree had declared Galba enemy to the state. Then resuming courage, and somewhat reuiued with some rumours out of Germanie, hee returned to his riot and carelesse licentious life, and putting Galbaes seruants in prison, seized his goods and set them to sale. The like did Galba with Neroes in Spaine, and found a great deale more readie chapmen.

Anon as the tumult beganne, it is supposed credibly, that Nero had purposed to haue made away all the gouernours of armies and prouinces, as being conspired against him; to murder all exiled persons, lest they should ioine themselues with the rebels; all French hee could finde in the Citie, as being friends to the cause; to poison the Senate in banquet; to set a fire the Citie, turning in wilde beasts among them which endeououred to stop the course of the flame. But setting apart the deuice, not as disliking, being so suteable to his proceeding, but as despairing to bring it about, hee determined a voiage in person, sending before in the meane season Petronius Turpilianus, and Rubrius Gallus with certaine others against them. To furnish the iourney; his chiefe prouision consisted in carriage for playing furniture in concubines shorne and polled as men, armed with hatchet and target according to the Amazonian fashion. For mustering of men there were but few able enrolled and
most

most of them bondmen. Money was hardly and with much adoe a little extorted. For whereas in time of ciuill sedition most need is of money, and a wise Prince will least griue the subiect with new imposition, as seeming to stand in some sort at his courtesie, and hauing to employ his body beside; Nero in peace no storer for warre, was forced then to offend, when he should in reason haue sought to haue wonne, and yet raised lesse with more opposition than euer, reputation now waining, a contrary faction being on foot. As for policies, and plots of warre, hee told his familiar friends, he had one most assured. Assoone as he entred the prouince, he would venture himselfe vnarmed amongst them, and with silence and teares mooue them to compassion, and so they returning to former obedience without more adoe, he would the next day merily sing, in that mery company, sonnets of victorie, which hee willed to be composed out of hand against the time came.

As Nero was thus busily occupied in making prouision for the warre, against Galba and Vindex, letters were brought in at dinner of Verginius defection, and the rest of the armies. Whereupon in a desperate rage, hee tare the letters, ouerturned the table, dashed two cups on the ground, which hee dearely esteemed, and casting away all care of himselfe, notwithstanding the perill pressed no neerer, hee called for poison, which hee put up in a golden box, that his death at the least might be according to his estate, and so walked forth into the Seruilian gardens. From thence he sent of his trustie seruants to Ostia to make ready the ships, purposing to haue fled with his friends into Egypt, and there to haue taken himselfe to his musicke to get him a liuing: sottishly supposing in Egypt an imaginarie suretie to himselfe by his musicke, when hee could not liue safely Emperour at Rome. To that purpose sounding the mindes of the Tribunes and Centurions of the Guard, and finding them some to draw backe, some flatly refuse to goe with him, one among others directly to tell him, that sure his best way were to make an end of himselfe, hee was distracted into diuers opinions, casting about what course hee should follow: flee to the Parthian, whom of late he had pleased? to Galba, who peradventure might pitie his estate? or were it else better in lamentable sort and mournfull weed to goe out abroad, and in the place of common assemblie, most humbly for that which was past demand pardon: or if hee could not obtaine it, that at least they would grant him the gouernment of Egypt. This liked him best, and thereof hee framed a speech, which afterwards was found in his papers: but fearing the people would pull him in peeces before he came to the place, he deferred the matter till the next morning.

Nymphidius Sabinus and Sophonius Tigellinus were Captaines of the Guard, preferred by Nero from nothing to that honourable place, and now the first to forsake him. But Tigellinus, as a person infamous and generally hated, preuailed not much; Sabinus had the credit with the souldier: who affirming that Nero was already fled into Egypt, and promising donatiue in Galbaes name * of thirtie thousand sesterces a man, and * five thousand to the souldier abroad, much more then would or could be performed, easily wan them to leaue him, who had as they thought already left them, and so to pronounce Galba Emperour, not upon any speciall liking they had to the man aboue others, but whilst some doubted, some other denied, Galba pretending directly the suit, and no counter-suiter appearing, they were content to accept him for Prince. Their fellowes which warded that night foreseeing the issue, and coueting in this creation of the new Prince a part with the rest, left Nero asleepe alone in the garden. Who being awaked about midnight, vnderstanding his Guard was departed, leapt out of his bed, and sent about for his friends: from whom receiuing no answer, hee with a few went to their lodgings himselfe. The great Monarch of the world, adored erewhile as a god, attended upon and guarded by thousands of friends, of souldiers, of seruants, now as a page knocking at doores findeth all shut against his vnforgotten state. Thus in aduersitie destitute of aid,

* 234.l. 5.s.
6.pence.
* 39.lib. 1.s.
3.pence.

aid, of counsell or comfort of friends, hee returneth home, where finding his chamber rifled, the chamberlaines fled, his box of poison remooued away, hee sought for Spicillus the fencer or some of his sort, by whose hands hee might be dispatched: and finding none, Gladiator. wanting alike both friends and foes, hee ran desperately out, as though hee would haue thrown himselfe headlong into the Tiber: but his heart failing hee repressed his pace, and thereupon requiring some secret place to recall his wits, and resume courage againe, Phaon his freedman offered his house foure miles off in the countrey, which Nero accepted: and so accompanied with foure men onely, Phaon, Epaphroditus, Sporus and Neophytus, fleeth away, badly apparelled, and worse mounted, couering his head and hiding his face with a handkercheffe. As he was in his way out of the Citie, approching the campe of the Guard, he heard the souldiers shouting and wishing good lucke vnto Galba, and ill to himselfe. In riding along, his horse starting aside, his face was discovered, and he known and saluted by one of the Guard which met him by chance. Whereupon forsaking horse and high way, thorow bushes and briers, he crept in at the last into a thicket of reedes on the backside of Phaons farme-house, who perswading Nero in the meane while to sit in a pit out of the which sand had beene digged, hee refused that fauour, denying to goe aliue vnder ground, and so cast himselfe downe close in the reedes till they had beaten a hole in the wall, thorow which Nero vpon all foure crept into the backside, casting himselfe vpon a simple pallet in a backe roome.

Whilest Nero thus lurked, the Senate assembled in counsell declare him enemie of the state, and punishable more maiorum, sending out to seeke him and bring him aliue. Concerning the choise of a new, although in their secret opinions Verginius deserued to resume the benefit which he had put into their hands, yet being not willing to enter into further troubles, and raise vpon a new ciuill warre, without which Galba, who had already foreprized the place could not be set downe, following the souldiers example they openly agree all vpon Galba. By this time they about Nero were instant vpon him to rid himselfe quickly out of the contumelies and indignities, which anon he should be forced to endure. To whom yeelding himselfe, he commands to make ready for the funerals, weeping and wailing at euery word, what great pitie it was, that so good a minstrell should be so cast away. In the meane season, certaine letters which were brought to Phaon from Rome hee snatched away, and finding therein the Senates decree, demanded what more maiorum meant, for that peece of law he had neuer perused: vnderstanding it was that his necke should be locked in a forke, and himselfe whipped naked to death, hauing in horror so shamefull an end, he tooke vpon two rapiers which hee had brought with him, and trying their points how sharpe they were, put them vpon againe, desiring some of them to beginne and shew him the way to bee manfull: but desiring a vertuous example out of so vicious a schoole, a court so corrupt, hee desired in vaine. And now the horsemen sent by the Senate approched, which Nero perceiuing, by feare encouraged, ran himselfe thorow, Epaphroditus his Secretary at his request helping to dispatch him the sooner, for which seruice he was afterward put to death by Domitian, who thought it not meet to suffer any to liue, which had in any sort lent his hand to the death of a Prince. Thus Nero a Prince in life contemptible, and hatefull in gouernment, hauing thereby disarmed himselfe both of the loue and feare of his subiects, ended his daies the eighth of Iune in the one and thirtieth yeere of his age, and fourteenth of his Empire, at the first hauing ruled the state with reasonable liking, insomuch that Traian was wont to say, that euen good Princes were short of Neros five yeere: but after breaking foorth into all infamous behauiour, and detestable oppressions and cruelties, and being withall a Prince weake in action, not of vertue sufficient to uphold his vices by might, hee was at the length thus overthrown.

Nero being slaine, the people and Gentlemen, but principally the Nobilitie, the principal

cipall obiect of tyrannie, sacrificed to the gods and feasted for ioy : some also were Bonnets, as being newly enfranchised. The Senate assembled againe decreeth thanks to Nymphidius in most exquisite manner, extolling his high wisdom and tender care ouer the state : confirmeth to Galba all princely prerogatiues and imperiall titles ; making thereof a publike instrument, which the Consuls sent him in post : and moreouer concludeth vpon a solemne embassage of honourable personages with instructions, beside congratulations and complements, humbly to desire with speed his presence at Rome. Then was it proposed, that information might proceed against the accusers. The matter concerned some mightie men which had liued in times past by the losse of their neighbours, and touched somewhat a secret of state overthrowing and abolishing the instruments of the Empire. Notwithstanding their doings were so much detested, and the memorie of their malice so fresh, that the order passed by voices in Senate, making them all with the rest of the ministers of Neroes tyrannie, punishable *maiorum* : but was executed only against some base persons, which had gained but little, and done little harme : the principall malefactor brake thorow well enough, and escaped the danger.

While matters thus passed in France and at Rome, in Spaine Galbaes souldiers in part were in termes to forsake him, and hardly reclaimed. About the same time also a freedman of Nero had bestowed vpon Galba a present of bondmen prepared for a practise : who according to their instructions watching opportunities, as Galba by a narrow passage entred the bath, vsing their tongues, when time was, for hands, and exhorting one another not to let slip the occasion, were suddenly apprehended, and being examined what occasion they meant, and put to the racke, confessed the treason. Anon after these hazards so hardly escaped, the newes came to Galba of Vindex death, and that vpon so great a victorie most men were willing Verginius should take the Empire vpon him, or else would returne to Nero againe. Galba extremely afraid writes to Verginius, beseeching him most instantly to ioine in defence of the libertie and Empire of Rome : himselfe notwithstanding as destitute and forlorne, and weary of the world that went so against him, leauing Vinus Lieutenant in the armie, retireth to Clunia, repenting of that hee had done, and wishing againe his priuate estate, as though in this case there were any meane betweene highest and nothing. Thus being distressed and anguished in minde without any care of himselfe or the cause, in very good season comes Icelus his freedman from Rome in seuen daies thither, reporting that Nero being yet aliue, but not to be found, the souldier, the Senate and people had pronounced Galba Prince, that straight thereupon Nero was said to be slaine, but himselfe not beleeuing it, went to the place, saw him lie dead, and so came his way. Two daies after Vinus came from the campe, declaring to him the particular points of the Senates decree. Galba receiuing the newes with great ioy, as greatly aboue expectation, priuilegeth Icelus to weare gold rings, aduanceth Vinus to chiefe place in credit about him : and laying aside the name of Lieutenant, assumeth the title of Caesar, preferreth Cornelius Laco to be Captaine of his Guard, and iudging his presence necessarie to settle the state, giueth out order for his voyage to Rome with his armie by land.

Now at Rome Nymphidius making his count that Neroes fall was his onely deed, that no recompence is sufficient for bestowing the diademe but the diademe, that Galba was old, and scarce could last out in a little to Rome, not by degrees, but with a maine course drew all to himselfe. The Guard in respect of their donatiue, were at this deuotion, to be employed as he should direct them. The Lords of the Senate courted him daily, and seemed to depend wholly vpon him. Whereupon vsurping authoritie vndue to his place, hee commands by and by Tigillinus his companion to put off his sword and surcease from his office. The Consuls vpon a displeasure, that they had sent the publike patents not by his souldiers, nor signed with his seale, the curriers commission, hee had once determined to haue deprived.

And

And laying the plot for himselfe, hee biddeth to banquet the principall men of the Citie : he sets under hand to put in the souldiers heads to present supplication to Galba, to establish Nymphidius captaine for life without any fellow. To pleasure the people and get the good will of the commons, he permits them to vex and torment whom they could catch of Neroes crew. Spicillus the fencer they tied under the images of Nero, trailed him along thorough the streets, and dispatcht him in the place of publike assemblie. Aponius an accuser, they ouerthrew, and drew carts laden with stones ouer his bodie, beside many other outraged and slaine, and some, as it happeneth where the reine is let loose to the furious multitude, innocently : insomuch that in Senate a graue and honourable counsellor openly protested, that in short time there would be great cause to wish Nero againe, as being more tolerable one tyrant then many, and better to liue where nothing then there where all things were lawfull. Thus Nymphidius, sonne to Nymphidia a libertine an old seruant in court, and Martianus a fencer, secretly aspired to the Empire, working in Rome by certaine gracious women and Senatours, and sending to Spaine Gellianus one of his friends to espie the proceedings and actions of Galba.

Macer in Africke, the state being troubled, mustered men, and pretended for himselfe : but being for auarice and crueltie hated extremely, and finding no followers, could neither maintaine it with strength, nor leaue it with safetie. Galuia Crispinilla Neroes schoole-mistresse in matter of pleasure and lust, when Nero was dead, misdoubting mischances, sailed into Africke, by her aduice Macer beset the sea-coasts, and forbade any corne should bee transported, meaning to famish the citie of Rome. Fonteius Capito, Lieutenant of low Germanie, some thought had a meaning also for himselfe. Certaine it is that sitting in iudgement, the partie aggriued appealing to Caesar, hee skipped out of the seat where hee sate, into a chaire of estate set up on high, and then bade him tell on his tale before Caesar. But Fabius Valens, Lieutenant there of a Legion, greatly befriending Galbaes part, sware to him first hee with his companie, and the rest of the armie followed the example. Verginius, the onely concurrent of Galba in speech of the people, hauing ouerthrowen Vindex, and mastered France, notwithstanding his souldiers after the death of Nero was known, pressed him againe in such vehement sort, that one of the Tribunes drawing his sword, willed him to accept of it or the Empire, persisted constantly in his first resolution : and recciuing anon aduice of the Senates decree, himselfe most willingly, his souldiers hardly, and with much adoe were perswaded sith lower Germanie had sworne to sweare allegiance to Galba. The rest of the Prouinces without any difficultie accepted him all.

Now Galba disposing as Prince the affaires of the Empire, fineth the Cities of Spaine, which were not so forward to further the cause, and some hee dismantel-eth : certaine Procuratours and officers hee putteth to death, their wiues and their children, a crueltie practised no not by Nero, much lesse expected in Galbaes beginnings. Hee directeth out warrant to Trebonius Garrucianus Procuratour of Africa to put Macer to death, dismishe the Legion lately mustered, and quiet the countrey : and appoints in Verginius place Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant in Germanie. Then with coat-armour on backe a sickly old man, himselfe and his men in warlike order march ouer the mountaines. The Cities of France that tooke part against Vindex hee punisheth with losse of reuenue and countrey : the rest were relieved, their tributes a quarter abated, themselues made Citizens of Rome by meanes of their money, and Vinus ; who carrying an ill minde, and seruing in great place a weake master, made open sale of his Princes free graces and fauours. At Narbon the Embassadours sent from the Senate met him in a dutifull manner, whom Galba receiued courtcously with friendly

friendly and familiar speeches, and feasted in sober sort all with his owne, though otherwise he had plentie there of Neroes waiters and seruice sent by Nymphidius. But anon Vinus which wholly possessed and gouerned the old man, counselled him to put off popularitie, as not be seeming his place, to accept of Neroes prouision, and to become roiall in expense and seruice. Verginius hauing deliuered the armie to his successour met Galba on the way, receiued of him not as in displeasure, and yet with small honour. So dangerous a point it is yea to haue but only refused the Empire.

At Gellianus returne Nymphidius hearing that Laco was Captaine already, that Vinus had all the authoritie and credit, that his messenger was suspected and watched of all, not suffered to talke with the Prince in priuate, not once to approch to his person, was wonderfully mooued in minde. Whereupon assembling the chiefe of the Guard, hee shewed them, that Galba was for his owne part a good harmelesse old man, but misse-led by two persons much of Tigellinus making, Vinus and Laco: and therefore it were not amisse to send one or two in the name of the whole to make him remonstrance, that remoouing away those two from about him he should be more welcome, and better accepted. This speech seeming strange and absurd, to prescribe to a Prince of those yeeres, as it were to an infant, his counsell and seruants, hee taketh a contrary course, and writeth to Galba in terrifying manner, That the matters at Rome were doubtfull and dangerous, that Macer in Africke had staid the ships, the Legions of Germanie stirred anew, the like was reported from Iewrie and Syria. But perceiuing that Galba gaue to his tales small care and lesse credit, and hauing the souldiers all well affected, hee determined to preuent and giue the attempt, notwithstanding that Clodius Celsus a sober wise man and one of his friends plainly protested, that in his opinion scarce any three persons in Rome would accept him for Emperour: but the rest skoffed it out, namely one Mithridates of Pontus, Perhaps, quoth hee, Galba seemes some body now to the Romans, whilest hee is absent: but when they shall see that bald head, and riuelled face, hee will seeme the very reproch and disgrace of the daies in which hee was Prince. And so they concluded at midnight following to bring Nymphidius into the campe and proclaime him Emperour. But when the euening was come, Antonius Honoratus principall Tribune assembling the souldiers vnder his charge, demanded what euill spirit had bereaued them of vnderstanding, moouing them so suddenly and without cause to change their allegiance. If Nero deserued it, what mother, what wife, had Galba then killed? or for what misdemeanour would they forsake Seruius Galba to preferre a Curtizans sonne? with whose bloud they should ere it were long, if they would be directed by him, both reuenge Neroes death, whom hee first betraied, and shew themselues loyall to Galba, against whom hee intendeth: willing them lastly to reckon in reason what successe might ten thousand attend against the consent of the Empire armed for Galba. His souldiers thus being perswaded, perswaded the rest all in a manner to remaine in Galbaes obedience. Whereupon a shout being made in the campe, Nymphidius supposing the souldiers had called him, or hasting to confirme the wauering, and preuent the tumult, went thither himselfe with torches and linckes, hauing learned without booke an oration composed by Cingonius Varro, to pronounce there among them. But finding the gates of the campe made fast, and souldiers in armes on the walles, hee feared the matter, and drawing neere demanded what they meant, and by whose warrant they had put themselues so in armes. And when it was answered by all agreeably, that they knew not, nor would not accept other Prince beside Galba, Nymphidius finding the perill, ioined with them, and wished also long life and prosperitie to Galba. Augustus commanding his followers to doe all the like. And so by the souldiers, which guarded the gates, being admitted with a few of his traine, hee was at his entrie welcommed in with a dart hurled at him, which one Septinius bare off with a buckler. But seeing so many at the receit with naked swords prepared against

against him, he fled, and being pursued was slaine at the length in a souldiers cabin. The day following his body was laied out to view in an open place railed about.

Galba being yet in his way and hearing of Nymphidius death, commanded the rest of his fauourers and complices to be executed: among which Mithridates of Pontus paid for his mirth, and Cingonius Varro who penned the oration. As Galba drew neere to the City at the Miluian bridge, the Mariners met him, whom, being by Nero taken from seruice by sea, and inrolled into a Legion, Galba had commanded to returne to their former estate. But they being many in number, and loth to goe backe to the Gallies againe, beset the high way on both sides, demanding their Eagle and ensignes tumultuously, and so without order, that the Prince could neither be heard nor seene of the people making his entrie: neither could he appease them by putting them ouer to another time of greater leisure and better audience, but taking deferring as a kinde of denying, seditiously they murmured and followed with outcries. And some of them also drew out their swords, as though they would obtaine it by force, which by faire meanes they could not. Whereupon Galba commanding the horsemen to ride in amongst them, slew of them being unarmed seuen thousand, and of the residue allotted euery tenth man to suffer, putting the rest close vp in prison, which neuerthelesse he after enlarged to his disadvantage.

Now Galba, being with generall applause and great good liking of the Empire placed in state, behaued himselfe vnder expectation. And though in most points hee shewed himselfe a vertuous Prince, yet were not his well doings so well accepted, as those disallowed which were otherwise. All persons vniustly exiled by Nero, as well of the Nobilitie as meaner sort, with their children hee mercifully restored againe to their cuntry and honour, though not to their wealth. Contrarily Petronius Turpilianus, an ancient man and once Consull, without forme of processe or order of law, hee commanded to die, being charged with no other crime, but onely that hee had beene faithfull to Nero, and would not betray him as the rest did. Then was represented a plausible and gratefull spectacle, Elius, Polycletus, Locusta, Patrobius, Petinus and others in fetters drawen thorow the Citie and publike executed, as ministers of Nero in mischiefes, whereas Tigellinus the Master, not without notable incongruitie, was by Galba protected. And notwithstanding the people in Theatres and all common assemblies ceast not importunately to demand his death, as an accomplishment of due and exemplarie iustice pleasing to God and to man, yet gold with Vinus and Vinus with Galba waighed so much, that not onely he receiued undeserued protection, but also for his sake the people were rebuked by publike edict. Whereupon Tigellinus solemnizing the feast of his deliuerance, Vinus rose from supper with Galba and went thither with Crispina his daughter to banquet, vpon whom Tigellinus bestowed a courtesie of * a thousand thousand sesterces * That is, about eight thousand pound English. Beside Tigellinus one Halotus of all Neroes instruments the most pernicious, was likewise by Galba protected, thousand pound and preferred also to an honourable office. Now for neerenesse Galba was noted extremely, a vice though incident to age, yet doubtlesse in a Prince much misliked, and in a new Prince dangerous. To a certaine Musician which had wonderfully pleased, hee gaue with his owne handes out of his owne purse * twentie sesterces: and to his Ste- * Three shillings English. ward at the making vp of his bookes a reward from his table. But that which was most materiall of all, and prepared the way to his fall, was his hardnesse towards the souldiers: to whom large donatiue being promised in Galbaes name, and requiring if not so much, yet so much at least as they were wont to receiue, hee wholly refused the suit. adding withall, That souldiers hee tooke vp in the muster, bought not in the market. A saying no doubt fit for a great Prince in a more vertuous age, but not so in those seasons

seasons for him, who suffered himselfe to be sold euery houre, and abused to all purposes ; to be gouerned by three pedagogues, Vinius and Laco his fauorites, and Icelus his man. To priuate men it is sufficient if themselues doe no wrong : a Prince must provide that none doe it about him ; or else hee may looke when the first occasion is offered against him to bee charged with all the whole reckoning together. To him that suffereth the iniurie, it matters not much who made the motion when he feeleth the hand that is heauie vpon him. Thus Galba though innocent of much harme which passed vnder his name, yet because he permitted them to commit it, whom he ought to haue bridleed, or was ignorant of that which hee ought to haue known, lost reputation, and opened the way to his owne destruction.

F I N I S.

I

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The Proeme of Tacitus, wherein he professeth simple dealing
without partialitie.*



His beginning of my worke shall be at the yeere, when Seruius Galba was ¹ second time Consull with Titus Vinius. For the ancient storie of the people of Rome, for ² seuen hundred and twentie yeeres after the Citie was founded, ³ many excellent men haue deliuered, with no lesse eloquence then libertie of speech : but when as after the battle at Actium, the whole soueraigntie, as it was ^b meet for the peace of the state, was conferred vpon one, those worthie wits were no more to be found, and withall the truth of the storie was diuersly weakned : partly ³ because hauing no more part in the state, they were ignorant of publike affaires ; and partly being led away with a lust to ^c flatter the Princes, or againe to deface them. So betweene malice of the one side, and awed partialitie of the other, small regard there was taken by either, how posteritie should be truly enforced. But that indeuour, to please and winne thanks, in a writer a man shall easily mislike, hauing in it the foule note of seruilitie: detracting and enuious carping, carrying a counterfet shew of libertie, oft findeth a good and gracious audience. Now for Galba, Otho, Vitellius, to me they are as vnknownen, for other benefit or wrong I haue found at their hands. My first rising, I will not denie, was vnder Vespasian, my state bettered by Titus, and so further aduanced by Domitian : but they which make profession of the simple truth, may not say ought of any man for loue or for hatred. Heereafter, if the gods spare me life, I purpose when I am old, to set downe the storie of ⁴ Prince Nerua of sacred memorie, and of the Emperour Traiane, a more plentifull and safe matter to deale in, where a man may thinke what he will, and say what he thinks : a rare felicitie of the time.

*The yeere of
the City 822.*

^a Tac. Ann. 1. *ueteris resp. prospera vel aduersa, clavis scripturibus memorata sunt: temporibusq; Augusti dicendum non desuere deora ingenta, donec gliscente adulatio ne deterreretur.*

^b Tac. 1. Ann. *Non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse, quam ut ab una regeretur.*

^c Tiberij, Caij & Claudij ac Neronis res, florantibus ipsis, ob metum falsa, postquam occiderant recentibus odijs composita sunt. Tac. 1. Ann.

¹ When **SERVIUS GALBA** was second time Consull] Cornelius Tacitus, whom Vopiscus calleth *scriptorem historie Augustae*, wrote two severall volumes of histories : one from the death of Augustus, as it may seeme, to the Calends of Ianuarie next after the death of Nero, comprehending Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, and Neroes time, and the greater part of Galba ; another from the said Calends to the death of Domitian. Of this latter volume in order of time, howsoever it was in order of writing, the first foure bookes comprize the historie of one yeere and some moneths onely, from the beginning of Ianuarie, when Galba and Vinius entred their Consulships, in the yeere *ab urbe condita* 822. according to Tacitus, or rather the consent of the Empire in that time. *Claudio Cesare quartum, Vitellio t. r. ium* cons. saith hee, 11. Annalium, iust two and twenty yeeres before Galba and Vinius, *iudi seculares octingentesimo post Romam conditam anno spectati sunt*, which account exceedeth the Capitolin (as they call it) by one yeere, and agreeth fully with ^a Varro, ^b Cicero, ^c Plinie and ^d Dioes reckoning. Now although the Prince and an officer may seeme in one person incompatible qualities, yet the custome of that state beareth, that the Emperour the first yeere of his Empire of order, and estoones vpon pleasure supplied the one Consuls place. The reason is in Appian. 1. Εμφυλ. Σύλλα καίπερ ὢν Δικτατορ εἰς ὑποκρισιν ὤμων καὶ γῆρας ἀποκαταστήσας ἀρχὴν ἐποίησεν καὶ ὑπατεύσας αὐτοῦς ἡμέτερον σύν Μετέλλω τῷ εὐσεβεῖ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν εἰς Ρωμαίων βασιλέα ὑπάτους ἀποσπίνοντες τῇ πατρίδι ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀποδιδόντες, ἐν καλῷ πιδέμενοι μετὰ τῆς μερίδος ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑπατεύουσι. That is, Sylla albeit he was Dictator, yet for a colour and shew of popular government was content to be made Consull againe with Metellus Pius. and from hence it proceedeth peradventure, that euen at this day the Roman Princes, when they name Consuls for the state, diuers times pronounce themselves also, not disdaining euen with their soueraigne authoritie to iointe also the title of Consull. Now the first Consul of Galba was ^e foure yeeres before Tiberius death, obtained by fauour of Liuia Augusta, saith Plutarch in Galba ; *Λιβίας ὁπαρχίας ὑπατεύσας ἐν παλαιῇ μεγάλῃ* : which I thinke is an oversight. for she was dead foure yeeres before, in small fauour with her sonne, and they in smaller, that sought by her meanes to rise in honours. Tacit. 5. Annalium. *Quin & part. eiusdem epistola increpuit Tiberius amicitias muliebres, Fusium consulum oblique perstringens. is gratia Augusta floruerat, apud alios*

^a *Conservinus c. 21*

^b *Bruto.*

^c *lib. 8. cap. 7.*

^d *lib. 40. & lib. 52 & lib. 60.*

^e *Tac. 5. Ann.*

ciendis faminarum animis, &c. Neither was it Tiberius manner to bestow offices so long before hand. Tacit. 2. Ann. 11.

² Many excellent men] principally meant, as I take it, of Liue, although his storie reach somewhat further, of whose eloquence, those workes are witnesse that remaine : and of his libertie, Tacitus 4. Annal. in the oration of Cremutius Cordus. *Titus Livius eloquentia ac fidei praeclarus imprimis Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellavit, neque id amicitiae eorum officit. Scipionem, Afranium, hunc ipsum Cassium nusquam latrones & parricidas, quae nunc vocabula imponuntur, saepe ut insignes viros nominat.*

³ Because having no part in the state they were ignorant : *Inscitia reipub. ut aliena] Aliena ignorantur*, either because wee cannot, or because wee care not to know them. The first seemeth heere to have place ; for whereas before the people and Senate of Rome tooke knowledge of all that was done wheresoever, now the most important affaires of estate passed thorow fewer fingers, in more secret sort. Dio. lib. 53. τὰ μὲν πλείω κρύφα, καὶ δι' ἀπορήτων γίνεσθαι ἤρξατο, καὶ ὅν τὸ μὲν σαφές, ἑτέροις δὲ ῥαδίως, καὶ ἔξω τῶν παραπόντων αὐτὰ. That is, The most part of affaires began in secret sort to be dispatched, whereof the certaine truth no man lightly knew, except the doers themselves.

⁴ Prince Nerua of sacred memorie : *Principatum Divi Nervae & imperium Traiani]* To certaine Emperours the Senate for their good government, or importuned by their successours, awarded *Templum & caelestes religiones*, and the title of Divus. And not onely to the Princes themselves, but sometimes to their wives, mothers, and children also ; as wee reade in the stories. Appianus 2. Εμφυλ. καὶ ἵδὼν ἐξ ἐκείνου πρώτῃ (speaking of Divus Iulius) ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἐχέσσαν πρὸς ἀρχὴν πρὸς δὲ ἀρχὴν, ἣν μὴ πύχνη τρυφνικὸς ἢ ὅτι μάλιστα ὢν, ἀποθανόντα ἀξίους τιμῶν ἰσοδύνατον ἀποθανόντα, saith Appian. That is, From Iulius Caesar downward all the Princes, except they were tyrants, or extremely vicious, were by the Romans deified after their deaths. Nam Deum honor Principi non ante habetur quam

agere inter homines desierit. & Tacitus. And therefore in this place he nameth Traian, who then lived, simply without addition : the other that was dead, *Divum Nervam*. The ceremonies of this ⁵ ἀποθέσις or canonizing, as being in part conformable to the vse of some countries in our time, I will heere briefly set downe out of ⁶ Herodian, and others, at least the principall points. After the Princes death, the bodie being buried honourably, and in sumptuous sort according to the manner of other men, they framed an image of wax resembling in all respects the partie deceased, but palish and wan as a sicke man : and so being ⁷ laied at the entrie of the Palace in ⁸ an aiorie bed couered with cloth of gold, the Senate and Ladies assisting in mourning attire, the Physitians daily resorted vnto him to touch his pulse, and consider in colledge of his disease, doctorally at their departure resolving that hee grew in worse and worse termes, and hardly would scape it. At the end of ⁹ seven daies they opined, and found by their learning, the crisis belike being bad, that the patient was departed : whereupon some of the Senate appointed for that purpose, and principall gentlemen, taking vp the bed vpon their shoulders caried it thorow Via sacra into the Forum ; where a company of yoong gentlemen of greatest birth standing on the one side, and maids of the other, sung hymnes and sonnets, the one to the other, in commendation of the dead Prince, entuned in a solemne and mournfull note, with all kinde of other musicke and melodie, as indeed the whole ceremonie was a

¹⁰ mixt action of mourning and mirth, as appeareth also by Seneca, ἀποκολοκωτῶσαι, at the consecration of Claudius. *Et erat omnium formosissimum (funus Claudij) & impensa cura plenum, ut scires Deum effert, tibicinum, cornicinum, omnisque generis aeneatorum tanta turba, tantus conventus, ut etiam Claudius audire possit.* Afterward they carried the herse out of the citie into Campus Martius, where a square tower was builded of timber, large at the bottome, and of competent height to receive wood and fagots sufficiently, outwardly bedeckt and hung with cloth of gold, imagerie worke, and curious pictures. Vpon that tower stood a second turret in figure and furniture like to the first, but somewhat lesse, with windowes and doores standing open, wherein the herse was placed, and all kinde of spices and odours, which the whole world could yeeld, heaped therein : and so a third and fourth turret, and so forth, growing lesse and lesse toward the top : the whole building representing the forme of a ¹¹ lantern or watch-tower, which giue light in the night. Thus all being placed in order, the gentlemen first ride about it, marching in a certaine measure : then follow others in open coches with robes of honour, and vpon their faces vizards of the good Princes, and other honourable personages of ancient times. All these ceremonies thus being performed, the Prince which succeedeth taketh a torch, and first putteth to the fire himselfe, and after him all the rest of the companie : and by and by as the fire was kindled, out of the top of the highest turret an Eagle was let flie, to carry vp his soule into heauen : and so he was afterward reputed, and by the Romans adored, among the rest of the gods. Marry, which I had omitted almost, before consecration it was vsuall, that some gentlemen at least should bestow an oath to prooue their deitie. Suetonius Augusto : *Nec defuit vir Pratorius, qui se effigiem cremati (Augusti) euntem in caelum vidisse iurasset.* The like was testified of Drusilla Caius sister by one Liuius Geminus a Senatour. Dio. lib. 59. λέγει τὴν γαμίνιος βαλδύτης ἐς τὴν ἑρῶν αὐτῶν ἀναβαίνουσαν, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς συγγινομένην ἐωρακέναι ὁμοῦ, ἐξώλαιαν ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τοῖς παισὶν, εἰ ψεύδιτι, ἐωδασμένους, τῇ τε τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ὁπμύρσειαν, καὶ τῇ ἐαυτῆς ἐκείνης, ἐφ' ᾧ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐλάβε. That is, One Liuius Geminus a Senatour swore that he saw Drusilla ascending vp into heauen, and conversing with the gods, wishing to himselfe and his children utter destruction if he spake an vntruth, calling to witnesse both sundry other gods, and especially the goddesse her selfe of whom he spake. for which oath he received a million of sesterces, which makes 7812 lib. 10 shillings sterling. whose tale, for all it was well paid for, men beleue neuer the better. Seneca, ἀποκολοκωτῶσαι : Postquam in senatu iuravit se Drusillam

vidisse caelum ascendentem, & illi pro tam bono nuncio nemo credidit, quod viderit, verbis conceptis affirmavit, se non iudicatum, etiam in medio foro hominem vidisset occisum. This lesson they may seeme to have learned of Proculus Iulius, who tooke an oath not much otherwise for Romulus deitie, whom the Senate murdered and made a god : from whence this race of the Roman gods may seeme to have taken beginning. Tully also had a meaning that way for his daughter Tulliola, as appeareth by his Epistles ad Atticum, but worldly troubles put out of his head those heavenly cogitations. From C. Caesar, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, in a manner without interruption, the

¹² μαρτυρήσιν τι πένθος ἰορτὴ καὶ θρηνησιε. Dio. lib. 56. in epitaphio Augusti : ἐκὼν ἑδὴ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν πρέπει, διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν. οἷος καὶ θεῶν, καὶ ἐγὰρ κεν. ¹³ Phana. & Dio. lib. 56. in funere Augusti : καὶ πάντα δάδας ἐκείνου παρὰ λαβόντες, ὑφ' αὐτῶν αὐτῶν (τὴν πυρὴν) καὶ ἢ μὴ ἀναλίσκοντο, αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀφαιεῖς, ἀνέπατο, οἷος καὶ δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν ἐρείον ἀναφίερον.

custome

custome dured so long, that many also of the Christian Emperours enshrined in this sort their fathers and predecessours. And this was the honour done to the good Princes after their death : as for the bad, they lacked not likewise the Senates revward *ut nomen fastis eximeretur, ut statua deiceretur, ut corpus vincto traheretur in Tiberim, &c.*

II. A generall view of the whole historie following.

AW O R K E I take heere in hand containing sundry changes, bloudy battles, violent mutinies, ^a peace full of crueltie and perill : ^b foure Emperors flaine with sword, ^c three ciuill warres, forraine many moe, ^d and oft both at once : good successe in the East, bad in the West : ^e Illyricum troubled ; the countries of Gallia wauering : ^f Brittanny all conquered, not all retained : inuasions of the Sarmatian and Sueuiian nation : the ^g Dacian giuing and taking notable ouerthrowes : the Parthians also almost in armes, ^h abused by a counterfet Nero. Now for Italie, it was afflicted with many miseries, some neuer heard of, some not of many yeeres before : townes ⁱ burnt or ouerwhelmed : ^j most fruitfull tract of Campania, and the citie of Rome wasted by fire : the most ancient temples consumed to ashes : euen the Capitoll it selfe set on fire by the citizens owne hands : the holy ceremonies prophaned : great adulteries : ^k the ilands replenished with banished men : ^l the cliffes stained with bloud : and yet greater rage of crueltie in the citie. ^m to haue beene wealthy or nobly borne, was a capitall crime ; ⁿ offices of honour likewise either to beare them, or forbear them ; and vertue the ready broad way to most assured destruction. Neither were the wicked practises of the informers more odious, then was the recompence they obtained : some gained ^o as spoiles, Pontificall dignities and Consuls roomes : some other ^p Procuratorships and ^q inward credit, making hauocke of all without any difference. ^r The bondmen, vpon hatred or feare, were allured to betray their owne masters, the freedman his patron : and where enemies were wanting, one friend ruined another. And yet for all this, was not the age so utterly void of all good, but that it yeelded some good examples : diuers wiues were content to take such part as their banished husbands did : diuers mothers, as their children : some kinstolkes hardie : some sonnes in law faithfull : some bondmen no racke could remoue from being true to their masters : the death of some honorable men, and their last torments manfully borne, and to be matched with those of ancient times. Beside so manifold changes in humane affaires, many prodigious sights were seene in heauen and earth ; many forewarnings by thunders ; many presages of things to come, some portending good lucke, some bad ; some ambiguous and doubtfull, some plaine and euident : such heauy and horrible calamities in the Roman estate, yeelding proofes neuer more pregnant, ^s that the gods are carefull rather to reuenge our wrongs, then prouide for our safetie. But before I enter into my purposed matter, I thinke good to rehearse first, what the state of the citie was, how the souldiers were affected, in what termes the prouinces stood, and what there was any where in the whole Empire sound or complaining : so shall we see ^t the reasons and causes of things, not only the bare euent, which are most commonly gouerned by fortune.

^a Chiefly referred to Domitian's time.
^b Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian.
^c The first betwene Otho and Vitellius. The second betwene Vitellius and Vespasian. The third of L. Antonius against Domitian.
^d Nobilitas mutus cladibus Datus. The words seeme to import ciuill dissensions : or mutis for alteris.
^e Hausta sc. flammis : or generally εφαιδρυσται, in what sort soeuer.
^f πᾶσι τῇ γῇ πορῶνται δημόσιον, κληυα ἢ ἀρπάζει, καὶ πλεον, καὶ γέρος, saith Xenophilius of Nero whom Domitian did match in all kinde of tyrannie.

^a And oft both at once : *Ac plerumque permixta* Both at once, or perchance both in one, as in *Antonius Triumvir* armie at the taking of Cremona, *cui ciues, socij externi interessent.* Tacitus 3. Hist. and in the same booke : *Principes Sarmatarum Iazygum in commilitum asciti, trahuntur in partes Sida aique Italiis reges Suenorum.* so that this warre, and such like, though in respect of their captaines ciuill, by reason of externall helpes might be called *permixta*.

^e Illyricum troubled] As in Othoes time by the *Roxolani*. Tacitus in this first booke. in Vitellius, by the *Daci* : Tac. 3. Hist. in Vespasians by the *Sarmatae* ; Iosephus *ἀλώσ. 7. c. 12.* and generally the nations vpon that border inuaded the Romans vnder Domitian. Tacitus in the life of Agricola.

^f Brittanny

^a Britannia all conquered &c. *Britannia perdomita: & statim missa cohorte in Sarmatarum ac Sueuorum gentes*] Some learned men correct this place, which no doubt is corrupted, thus: *perdomita Britannia ac statim amissa: cohorte Sarmatarum ac Sueuorum gentes*. *perdomita Britannia* is meant by Iulius Agricola in Domitians time. Tacitus in *vita Agricola: Quia tum demum perdomita est Britannia*: now must it be lost againe in the same Domitians time (for this historie passeth no further) which cannot be prooued by any storie, no not by any slender coniecture. Tacitus writing the life of Agricola in Traians time, *Ea insecuta sunt*, saith he, *reip. tempora, qua sileti Agricolam non fuere: tot exercitus in Mæsia Daciaque, & Germania Pannoniaque, temeritate aut per ignauiam ducum amissi: tot militares viri cum et cohortibus expugnati & capti. nec iam de limite imperij & ripa, sed de hibernis legionum & possessione dubitatum*, the losse of Britanny if there had beene any such, had much better becommed this place, then any other calamitie that hee could haue told vs. But ^a Agricola left the countrey in good quiet, and so no doubt it continued all Domitians time. As for any matter happening vnder Adrian (which yet was no losse of the countrey, but some disorder) being out of the compasse of this historie, and as it is likely, of his life that wrote it, I will easily beleue it was not intended to be briefed in this place. More according to the storie, and with lesse change in the letter, we may thus amend it: *Britannia perdomita & b statim missa* (*i. missa facta, & reuocata*) *cohorte Sarmatarum ac Sueuorum gentes*, to signifie that all Britanny was conquered, but not all retained. App. τῆς Βρετανίδος νῆσα, saith hee, τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἔχουσιν ἡμεῖς (οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι) ἔσθ' ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ δέσμευτοι. ἔσθ' εὐφροδὲς αὐτοῖς ὅσον ἔσθ' ἡν ἔχουσιν. That is, Of the Ile of Britanny the Romans possesse the best part, about halfe of the whole Ile, not caring much for the rest. For euen of that which they haue they reape no great profit.

^a Tradiderat in-
scrim Agricola
successori suo pro-
uinciam quietam
suetamque.
^b Or partim
missa.

⁴ Abused by a counterfet Nero] This hapned in Titus time. Zonaras tom. 2. ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ καὶ ὁ Ἰουδονέων ἐφάνη, ὅς ἀσιανὸς ἦν, ἐκάλειτο δὲ τερέντιος μαξιμος, παρομοιωὺς δὲ τῷ νέρωνι καὶ τῷ εἶδος, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ. καὶ ὁ καὶ ἐκιδάρχει, ἐκτε τῶς ἀσίας τίνας παρομοιωσάτο. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν εὐφράτην παρομοιωὺς πολλῶν πλείους ἀμετρίσας. καὶ τέλος πρὸς ἀρτάβανον τὸν τῷ παρδων κατέφυγεν ἀρχηγόν, ὅς καὶ δὲ ὁρῆς τὸν τίτον ποιεῖται, ἐδέξατο τῶν καὶ καταγαγεῖν εἰς Ῥώμην παρεσχεδάζετο. That is, In Titus time there arose a counterfet Nero, called indeed Terentius Maximus, by birth of Asia, and much resembling Nero both in countenance and voice, skilled also on instrument. This fellow got in Asia some followers, and going forward to Euphrates many moe. At length he fled to Artabanus King of the Parthians, who bearing ill will to Titus gave him entertainment, and made provision to reduce him to Rome. Suetonius Nerone scemeda to make it in Domitians time. Quum post viginti annos, (after Neros death) saith he, *adulescente m: extitisset conditi-
onis incertæ, qui se Nerone esse iactaret, tam fauorabile nomen eius apud Parthos fuit, vt vehementer adiuuaret, & vix reddi-
tus sit*. Tacitus 2. Hist. and the abridgement of Dio make mention of another which in Othoes time was slaine in Cy-
thra insula by Calpurnius Apprenas.

⁵ The most fruitfull tract of Campania, and the cittie of Rome wasted by fire] Suet. Tito. c. 8. *Quædam sub eo fortuita ac tristia acciderunt, vt conflagratio Vesuuij montis in Campania, & incendium Romæ per triduum, totidemque no-
ctes*. Xiphilinus the abridger of Dio describeth this burning of Vesuius at large with all the circumstances and mira-
cles, among the rest, that the ashes thereof were dispersed into Africke, Syria and Egypt: *εἰσέλθε δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰσχυρίαν, καὶ τὴν τὴν ἀσπίδα τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπλήρωσε, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐπισκίασε*. That is, And at Rome filled all the aire about the
cittie, and darkened the sunne. Plinius Secundus in an ^a epistle to Tacitus setteth it out vpon occasion of his vnclcs
death, who was stifled there with ashes and smoke. In the latter Emperours time the same mountaine burned againe
in such vehement sort, that they at Constantinople were choked all vp with the ashes that issued from it, if wee may
safely beleene their owne stories. Now for the wasting of Rome by fire, Xiphilinus deliuereth it at large. πῶς δὲ
δὴ ἐπεὶ τὸ εἶδος ἔτι πολλὰ πένυ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπενέματο. καὶ ὁ τὸ στερεπτεῖον, καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρόν, τὰ τε σπηλεὰ, καὶ
τὸ ποσειδώνειον, τὰ τε θαλάσσιον τὸ τῆς ἀγέλης, καὶ τὸ πάνθειον, τὸ τε διελιπώθειον, καὶ τὸ τῆς βάλλου διατρεῖον,
καὶ πῶς τῆς πομπῆς σκευὴ καὶ τὰ οὐκ αἰεὶ οὐκ αἰεὶ μετὰ τῆς βιβλίου, τὸν τε νεῦον τῆς διὸς τῆς καπιτωλίνης
μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν κατέκαυσεν. That is, The yeere following that of Vesuius, another fire wasted very many parts of
Rome. For it consumed the temple of Serapius, that of Isis, the places called Septia, the temple of Neptune, Agrippas baths, the Pan-
theon, the Diribitorium, the Octavian buildings with the books, moreover the temple of Iupiter Capitolinus and his fellow gods.

⁶ The Ilands &c. *Plenum exilis mare*] *Mare pro insulis*. So Tacitus 4. Ann. calleth Seriphus, *saxum Seriphium*,
by way of contempt: for such commonly were the Ilands, into which the *relegati* were sent. The vsuall Ilands of
deportation were Pandateria, Planasia, Cercina, Seriphus, Gyarus, Cythera, Amorgus, Donusa, Trimerus, Baleares,
Sardinia, Naxus, and perhaps others.

⁷ The clifles &c. *Insceli cadibus scopuli*] The *relegati in insulam* were commonly vpon a second message led aside
to some creeke or promontorie, and so quietly made away, or peraduenture *scopuli* is taken heere *pro insulis*, as *mare*
was before.

⁸ Or forbear them] Xiphilinus *Domitiano* maketh mention of Herennius Senecio, whom Domitian put to
death, ^a because after the Questorship hee had not demanded in all his life any higher office. Tacitus in *vita Agri-
cola*. *Salarium tamen proconsulari solitum offerri, & quibusdam a seipso concessum Agricola non dedit* (Domitianus) *sine
offensus non petiuit, sine &c.*

⁹ As spoiles] In Tiberius time, when Libo Drusus was accused of treason, *bona damnati inter accusatores diuide-
bantur, & prætoræ extra ordinem data ijs qui senatorij ordinis erant*. Tacitus 2. Annal. Againe 3. Annal. Hunc (Tiri-
um Sabinum) *Latinius Latianus Portius Cato, Petilius Rufus, M. Oppius prætorum functi aggrediuntur cupidine consulatus*;
speaking not of the time heere intended, but of the same manner of proceeding; rather of other men, then other
manners.

¹⁰ Procuratorships.] *Procurator*, saith Cicero *pro Cæcina*, *dicitur is, qui omnium rerum eius, qui in Italia non sit, ab-
sint reip. causa, quasi quidam penè dominus est, h. e. alieni iuris vicarius*. Appian. translateth it ὁ πῶς ἀποδιδύμει ἐπὶ
τοῖς δόμοις. From this generall notion, the word was afterward particularly applied to certaine offices, which
were appointed in euery prouince (beside the Presidents, or Lieutenants) as it were, Treasurers or Receiuers
to gather vp the reuenues of the Empire. Dio. l. 53. ἐμπροσθεν ἐνομελίζοντο τὸν τὸ κοινὰς παρομοιωὺς ἐνέ-
χοντας, καὶ παρομοιωὺς σφίσιν ἀναλίσκοντας. That is, Procuratores wee call them which receiue, and according
to their commissions pay out the common reuenues. Tac. in *vita Agricola* bringeth in the Britans complaining: *Singules
sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, & quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saurer*. ^a An office of gaine,
rather

^a Lib. 6. ep. 16.

^a ἐπὶ ἀδελφίᾳ ἀρ-
χῇ ἐν πολλῇ βίᾳ
μὲν τὴν ταμίαν
ἡγάκει, but Tac-
itus himselfe in
the preface of
Agricola alle-
geth another
reason, because
he published a
booke in praise
of Heluidius
Priscus.

^c Tac. 16. Ann.
Mella petitione
honorum abstine-
rat per ambitio-
nem præposteram,
vt eques Romanus
consularibus po-
tentia æquaretur.
simul acquirenda
pecunia, per pro-
curatores admi-
nistrandis princi-
pis negotijs breuius
oper credebatur.

f 12. Ann.

8 ANN 3.

h Lucan. lib. 4.
i Felix Roma qui-
dem ciues q; babi-
tura beatos, Si li-
bertatis superis tã
cura placeret,
f Quam vindicta
placet. ---

i Lib. 2.

k Lib. 5. cap. 1 S.

1 *In fragmentis.*

^m In division of

a In composition.

III. *The state of the City and prouinces at the beginning of the yeere,
when Galba and Vinius entred their office.*

THE death of Nero, as it was at the first very ioifully receiued, so wrought it anon very diuers effects in the mindes of the Senate at home; the people and ¹ City-souldier, and of all the Legions, and captaines abroad, perceiuing the ² secret of state disclosed, that a Prince might be made elsewhere then at Rome. The Lords of the Senat were glad, finding their libertie straightway put in practise, ³ making indeed very bold with their Prince, as being new in state, and away: next were the principall Gentlemen as in degree, so in reioicing; of the people the founder sort, and such as were lincked with great houses, the followers and freedmen of condemned and exiled persons were raised to hope: the base people noseled vp in the ^{*} Race and Theaters, together with the worst sort of bondmen, and those which hauing eaten their owne, liued onely now vpon Neroes dishonours, hung downe the head, and listened for nouelties. The City-souldiers possessed with the oath of allegiance so many descents ^a to the house of the Cæsars, and to forsake Nero being wrought rather by art and cunning perswasion of others, than of their owne motion, when they saw the donatiue, which was promised them in Galbaes name, not to be performed, nor the like possibilitie and meanes of great desert, and great gaine in peace, as in warre; seeing also their thanks preuented by the Legions, who first proclaimed the new Prince: vpon these and the like respects being prone to innouation, they were pricked forward by meanes of Nymphidius Sabinus their captaine, who by treason aspired himselfe to the Empire. And though Nymphidius was in the very attempt suppressed, and the head cut off thereby of the treason; yet there remained many of the souldiers guiltie of the fact, and hating him whom they had wronged. Moreouer speeches were giuen out, noting the age and auarice of Galba. His seueritie, which was wont to be highly commended by ^b the common voice of the souldier, was now displeasent to them, who were generally weary of the ancient discipline, and so trained vp by Nero fourteene yeeres, that now they loued their Emperours no lesse for their vices, than once they reuerenced them for their vertues. And Galba had let fall a speech honourable indeede for the common wealth, but for himselfe dangerous, That souldiers he tooke vp in the muster, bought not in the market; for the rest of his doings were not according. His two fauorites, Titus Vinius, and Cornelius Laco, the one of all mortall men most vn timer, the other most vn timer, with the hatefulnesse of their leaud actions furcharged, and with the contempt of their insufficiencie, vtterly ouerthrew the silly old man. His iourney to Rome ^c was slow and bloody: for by his commandement Cingonius Varro Consull elect, and Petronius Turpilianus who ^d had beene Consull, were both put to death: Cingonius, as an associate of Nymphidius, the other as one of Neroes ^d Captaines: who, ^e howsoeuer they deserved it, dying as they did, not called, nor heard, died as guiltlesse. His entrie into the Citie, when as so many thousands of vn timer souldiers were put to the sword, seemed an unluckie beginning, and was had in horreur, euen of those which executed the slaughter. The Citie was full of extraordinary souldiers: Galba ^f brought in the Spanish Legion, and there remained another, which Nero had gathered out of the Naue, beside many companies out of the Legions of Germanie, Britannie, and Illyricum, which Nero had selected, and sent before to the ^g straits of the Caspian mountaines, for the warre intended with the Albanes, and afterward called againe to employ

^a Circo ac Theatru.

^a Tac. 14. Ann. Pretorianos totti Cæsarium domui obstrictos.

^b In this verse reported by Suetonius: Disce miles militare; Galba est, non Gaius.

^c Anno urbis condite 814.

^d Against Galba. Zonaras. ^e Εδὲ μὲν τὸ μῆνος (ὁ Γάλας) εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἀνέβητο, καὶ οὐκ ἔλαττο. Plut. in Galba. as it were translating this place.

employ against Vindex: matter enough for inuocation, though not greatly in fauour of any one, yet ready prepared for him that would venture. By chaunce the newes came together that Clodius Macer, and Fonteius Capito were flaine. Macer without question had begun to worke troubles in Africke, and was by Trebonius Garucianus the Procurator dispatched, by commandement from Galba: Capito in Germanie attempting the like, Cornelius Aquinus, and Fabius Valens 7 Lieutenants of Legions, slew without warrant. Some men were of opinion that Capito (though otherwise for extortion and vicious liuing very infamous) was neuertheles not guilty of treason: but that the Lieutenants hauing moued him to vndertake the matter against Galba, and seeing they could not induce him, tooke a new course, preferring accusation against him, and consequently killing him for the crime wherof themselves were the harchers: and so Galba either vpon a fickle disposition, or as being loth to search any deeper, did giue allowance to that which was done howsoeuer, sith it could not be vndone: but surely both the executions were greatly misliked, as in a prince once in obloquie, do he well do he ill, all is ill taken. Now his freedmen being ouer mighty, made open sale of all matters: his bondmen greedy vpon present aduantage, and hasty, as being vnder a master that was olde, and not like long to continue: in summe the faults in the new court being but the same, and of the like nature, yet were not excused alike, the very age of Galba was matter of scorne and contempt to them that were vsed to Neroes fresh youth, comparing the Princes, as the maner is of the common sort, in beauty, and comelines of presence. And this was at Rome, as in such a variety, the state of mens minds. Now for the^s prouinces abroad, of Spaine Cluius Rufus was president, a person very eloquent, and for seruice in peace able, in war vnexpert. Those of Gallia, beside the memory of Vindex, were another way assured to Galba, being of late by him made citizens of Rome, and released of part of their tribute for the time to come; only the cities which lay nearest the armies of Germany, hauing not the like honour done, yea and some beside hauing part of their territory taken away, were aggrieved as well with their fellowes benefits, as with their owne wrongs. The souldiers of Germany (a perillous matter in so mighty armies) swelled with pride vpon their late victory, and againe, as hauing supported in some degree the contrary side, were perplexed with feare, they were slow in reuolting from Nero: neither did Verginius declare himselfe at the first for Galba: whether he desired the Empire himselfe, or no, was a question: without question his souldiers made him a profer. The death of Fonteius Capito euen they^s stomached, that could not iustly complaine: onely there wanted an head, Verginius being sent for away vnder colour of friendship: whom when they saw not to be sent backe, and moreouer his doings^b called in question, they tooke it all as their owne case. The armie of vpper Germany made light reckning of Hordeonius Flaccus their Lieutenant, a man aged, and gowtie, without resolution, without authority, vnable to rule a quieter company; now being in fury, and finding him weake to gouerne the bridle, they sturred and troubled the more. The legions of lower Germanie were a while without a Lieutenant generall, till at length Vitellius came, sent by Galba, the sonne of Vitellius which had beene Censor, and thrise Consull: ⁱ that seemed sufficient. The army in Britannie was quiet; and in truth among all the legions, in all those ciuill troubles, none behaued themselves ^k more innocently: whether it was, that they were farre off, and seuered by sea, or that by continuall exploites against the enemy, the malice of their humour was spent otherwise. Illyricum also sturred not, although the legions which Nero had called thence, while they lingred in Italie, had sent to Verginius to offer

¶ Crimen ac dolum: in another place, crimen ac mox insidias, so that dolum compositum esse (seemeth heere to be equivalent to dolum in dolo.)

g Those he meaneth, as I thinke, that had giuen out hee was a traitour, or otherwise consented to his death.

h Atq; etiam rem esse: not indicially, that I can find: amperius amperius sayeth Plutar.

i Id satis videbatur: that is, to Galba to send him Lieutenant, or to the souldiers to haue a liking to make him their Emperour, being so well borne, k And yet they joined themselves with Vitellius.

admiranda Britannico exercitu Vitellius, &c.

their seruice, but the armies beeing farre asunder (a point most hole some to keepe souldiers in due faith and alleageance) could not ioine neither faultes, nor forces together. The East as yet was calme. Licinius Mutianus with foure legions ruled Syria, a man in the course of good and bad fortune famous alike: in his youth hee had to his cost wound himselfe into the acquaintance of great men; anon wealth wearing away, his state decaying suspecting also the displeasure of Claudius, hee withdrewe himselfe from Rome into Asia, then as neere to the state of an exiled person, as after he was to the state of an Emperour: of riot, and industrie; of curtesie and arrogancie; of good and ill parts strangely compounded: pleasures excessive, when his leisure serued: when the case required, excellent vertues: openly praise worthy, his secret actions were ill spoken of: but generally with them vnder him, with them about him, with his companions in office, by diuers allurements verie gracious; and such a one as could more easily deliuer the Empire to another, than obtaine it himselfe. Flauius Vespasianus with three legions gouerned the Iewish warre, appointed generall by Nero; a man that wished to Galba but well, and neuer meant to attempt against him; for he had sent his sonne Titus to do him his duety, as anon in conuenient place shall be declared. After the euent we surely beleueed, that the Empire was by the secret course of fate, by signes and oracles fore-appointed to Vespasian and his line. ¹⁰ Ægypt and the garrisons there the Gentlemen of Rome euer since Augustus time haue ruled with ¹ royall authority: for so it was thought expedient to bridle and ^{*} keepe vnder a prouince of hard accessse, fruitfull of graine, seditious, and variable through superstition and wantonnesse, not accustomed to obey any law, to agnize any magistrate. ^m Tiberius Alexander, a man borne in the countrey, was gouernour there. Africke and the legions there, Clodius Macer being slaine, liked well enough of any Prince whatsoever, hauing had ^{*} triall of a meaner master. The one Mauretania and ⁿ the other, Rhoetia, Noricum, Thracia, and the other countries ruled by Procurators, as they lay neare to any of the armies, were swayed to like or dislike, as it liked their ^o betters that bordered about them. The prouinces which were vnfurnished of forces, and especially Italy it selfe, lying open to be subdued by any, were to become the prize of the warre. And this was the state of the Romane Empire when Seruius Galba second time Consull with Titus Vinius, began the yeere which was last to themselues, and last almost to the Common wealth also.

1. ^o *πρωτεύων*
 ὡς ἡ Αἰγύπτου
 ἡ αὐτὴ βασιλεύς
 τὰς ἑξῆς.
 Strabo 17.

^{*} *Down. retinere.*
 to keepe them
 in awe, from gad-
 ding and seeking
 aid from abroad.

^m *Tiberius Alex-
 ander illustris
 eques Romanus.*

^{Tac. Ann. 15.}

^{*} *Post experimen-
 tum damni mino-
 ris: pettie Princes*

belike are har-
 dest masters to
 their subiects and
 of Macer Plus.

reporteth that
 he was excised
 ἐν ἀπαρχῇ

ὡς ἐγγύς τῶν, καὶ
 πόσις ἀδελφῶν δι'
 αἰμότητος, καὶ
 πλεονεξίας.

ⁿ *Tingitania &
 Caesariensis.*

^o *Tacitus in this
 booke: facili
 transiit ad proxi-
 mos & validiores.*

¹ *Citty-souldier*] The souldiers that were resiant at Rome were of two sorts, *Prætoriani* and *Urban* propriē *disti*, both of them by Tacitus heere, and elsewhere comprehended by the name of *Miles urbanus*. *Miles urbanus* *longo Caesarum sacramento imbutus*: and againe *ne urbano quidem militi satis confusus*, meaning onely or principally of the *Prætoriani*. In his proper signification and standing in opposition to *Prætoriani*, Tacit. *addidit classi Urbanas cohortes, & plerosque e Prætorianis*, againe, *quod raro aliâs Prætorianus, Urbanusque miles in aciem deducti*: now when it doth stand for the one, or for both, onely circumstance must helpe to discerne.

² *That secret of state disclosed: Euligato imperij arcano*] *Euligato arcana imperij* may seeme to bee that which Dionysius in the place before alledged calleth τὸ ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ μυστικά τῆς τε δοκῦστος ἀρετῆς, καὶ τὸ ἀποκρύπτειν κακίας, in affaires of state to reueale the good openly pretended, and the ill secretly intended. Notwithstanding *arcana imperij*, being in mine opinion so sundry in nature, can hardly be bounded with one definition. Tacit. *Annal. 2. Censuit Gallus in quinquennium magistratuum comitia habenda. haud dubium erat eam sententiam altius penetra-
 rare, & arcana imperij tentari*: the secret of state heerein was, that whereas hope of honour or gaine is the onely soueraigne meane in court to retaine suiters and seruants in diligence and due deuotion, to speede so many at once were to make so many slacke waiters: and for so many yeeres before hand to driue the rest to despaire. In the same booke. *Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu, ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis illis-
 tribus, seposuit Aegyptum ne fame urgeret Italiam, quæquis eam prouinciam, clausa; terra ac mari quamuis leui presidio
 aduersus ingentes exercitus infedisset.* the secret is, into a country which rebelling might endanger the state, neuer to suffer men of great houses, or great credit among the common people to haue accessse. In this place, as it may seeme, are meant the secret truths of apparences in affaires of estate. for the masse of the people is guided and gouerned more by ceremonies and shewes than matter in substance. The example of an Act done in vndue place, vtherof there had been no precedent before. In congruity a Prince of Rome were to be created at Rome, and an Emperour in the seat-towne of the Empire, and so it had bene alwaies obserued: but the truth was, and

so much the secret imported, that in substance it mattered not much where he were made, that afterward could maintaine it with armes, and with the good liking of the subiects of the Empire. This secret of state Galba disclosed, and making his profit thereof against Nero, gaue occasion to other to practise the like against him. The souldiers of Germanie in the choise of Vitellius, as Plutarch reporteth, *φέρει δὲ τὸν εἰτέλλιον ἐλπίδοι δειξάμενοι ἀνδραγαθίας πρὸς τὸν ὅς ἐστιν ἀνὴρ ἀντιπρόθετος ἀνέχεται*. That is, Go to now, by chusing Vitellius let vs shew to the world that we are able to make an Emperour better then those of Spaine and Portugall, Vitellius likewise passed out the same way he came. Nam posse ab exercitu principem fieri, sibi ipsi Vitellius documento est, saith Mutianus in Tacitus lib. 2. Hist. And generally after this secret was by Galba once disclosed, moe Emperours were made abroad, then at Rome. Beside these imperij, or dominationis arcana, Tacitus maketh mention of *arcana domus Augustae*: that is, secrets of court, or of Palace, and 3. Ann. of *secreta imperatorum*.

³ Making indeed very bold with their Prince, as being new in state] Tacitus 2. Hist. *Recens Galba principatum censuerant patres ut accusatorum cause noscerentur* and 4. Hist. in the oration of Curtius Montanus. *Elanguimus P. C. nec iam ille senatus sumus, qui occiso Nerone delatores, & ministros more maiorum puniendos flagitabat. Optimus est post malum principem dies primus*. Now accusatores, promoters, or enformers are reckened *inter instrumenta imperij*, with as good reason as one Locusta in Claudius and Neros time, *nuper veneficij damnata & diu inter instrumenta regni habita*, saith Tacitus 12. Annal. For accusers certaine it is that many good Princes, or not very bad, haue beene content to maintaine them. Marianus the mouth of Vespasian *censuit prolixè pro accusatoribus*: Tacitus 4. Histor, Helvidius Priscus suing Eprius Marcellus vpon the decree *Dubiâ voluntate Galba* became sodainly non-suite. *ibidem*.

⁴ His journey to Rome was slow] At what day Galba began his journey from Spaine to Rome, and when he entred the city, the stories being lost, it is hard precisely to determine. Notwithstanding to giue some light to this place, and withall to yeeld a reason of the times set down by me elsewhere, I thinke good to note the reasons which moued me thereto. First *Galerio Trachalo, Sitio Italica Coss. Neapoli de motu Galbæ cognouit (Nero) die ipso, quo matrem occiderat*. Sueton. ^b Nero. Now agrippina was slaine *ipsis Quinquatrum diebus*: Tacit. 14. Annal. & Sueton. ^c Nero; & *Quinquatras* begin the nineteenth day of March. Ouid. Fast. 3. so allowing some competent time for Vienna, or Lions to Naples it will appeare that Vindex rebellion began about the tenth or twelfth of March. Againe Xiphilinus saith that Galba reigned nine moneths and thirteene daies, which is to be vnderstood from the time he tooke the Empire vpon him in Spaine, as Xiphilinus himselfe noteth in the last words of Vespasians time. so that Galba, dying the fiftenth of ^d January, began his raigne about the first or second of Aprill. Nero began the 13. of October: Tacitus 12. Ann. *ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν τεσσαράδεκα καὶ ὡν καὶ ὀκτώ μηνὶ ἡμέραν δόντας, ἐτελέτησε δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἰουλίον ὡνά*. That is, And he reigned thirteene yeeres and eight moneths, wanting two daies, and died in the moneth of Iulie, saith Zonaras tomo 2. which two sayings cannot both be true, for if Nero deceased in Iulie, then raigned he more then thirteene yeere and eight moneths: but if his raigne was no longer, which Xiphilin also assureth vs of, then died he not in Iulie. Againe the same Xiphilin writeth; *καὶ τὴν συνβίβει ἐν αὐτὸν τε καὶ δύο καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ νεκροῦ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Ἰουλιανῶν ἀρχῆς διαλείπειν*. That is, That by iust computation from Neros death till the beginning of Vespasians raigne, there was one whole yeere and two and twenty daies, but the first day of Vespasians Empire was the first day of Iulie: Tac. 2. Hist. so that Neros death was vpon the 8. of Iune, and so it should seeme by Tacitus in this very booke, *septem à Nerone sine menses sunt*. Aurelius Victor saith, *Menses septem diesque totidem (imperauit Galba)* which vnderstood from Neros death agreeth iustly with the former account. About the very same time with Nero died Vindex in France. The word came first of his death to Galba in Spaine, and certaine daies after of Neros in post. Plutar. Galba. And certaine it is that Nero neuer had any newes of Vindex ouerthrow. for it could not haue beene otherwise, but that being heard must needs haue wrought some notable alteration at Rome. Philostratus lib. 5. *de vita Appollonij*. *ἀκούει φασιν ὡς Νέρωνος περὶ περὶ φασί, τεθνήκοι δὲ Βένδιξ*, That is, It was reported (at Messana where Appollonius then was) that Nero was fled, and Vindex dead. as though at Messana in Sicily the newes of Neros destruction had first beene reported. Of Neros death Icelus brought Galba the newes in seuen daies from Rome. Plutarch. *ἦκεν δὲ πρὸς ῥώμην ἱκελὶ ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐξ ἧς μαρτυρεῖται*. So allowing some time for prouision, it may seeme that Galba set forward about the beginning of Iulie, and entred the citie, as it may bee reasonably supposed, about September following; his journey such Tacitus was slow, the way long, and his men heavy laden.

⁵ Galba brought in the Spanish Legion] That is, as I thinke, Septima Galbiana, gathered (as it may seem by Tacit. 3. Hist. Dio lib. 55. and ^f Suetonius) by Galba in Spaine, which notwithstanding seemeth to haue been sent away into Illyricum before his death vnder Antonius Primus, Lieutenant, and therefore without cause remembered heere. In the tumult of Otho I finde no mention of any *Hispana legio*, neither in Tacitus in this book, nor any writet beside, vnlesse percase they alone were asleepe, when all the world beside was in armes.

⁶ To the straits of the Caspian mountaines] Suetonius ^g Nero. *Parabat (Nero) & ad Caspias portas expeditionem, conscriptâ ex Italicis senum pedum tyronibus nona legione quam Magni Alexandri phalangem appellabat*. Xiphilinus addeth further that he had purposed a voyage into Æthiopia. ^h cap. 19.

⁷ Lieutenants of legions: *Legati legionum*] Legatus in this very booke hath three significations. 1. Legatus for an Embassidour. *Censuerant patres mittendos ad Germanicum exercitum legatos*. 2. Legatus, or Legatus consularis, or consularis for a Lieutenant, deputie, president, or gouernour of a whole prouince, or army: *Othonem in prouinciam Lusitaniam specte legationis seposuit*. Hordeontus Flaccus consularis legatus aderat. inferioris Germaniae legiones diutius sine consulari fuere. 3. Legatus legionis, or legatus Prætorius, or legatus simply, but by circumstance to be discerned, for the Lieutenant of a Legion, whereof were in euery army as many Legions. Cælius legatus vicefima legionis in vita Agricole speaking of the same Legion and man; *Quippe legatis consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat. Nec legatus Prætorius adhibendum potens*. Nullo legatorum, tribunorumque pro Galba nitente. Fædis legatorum certaminibus, spoken equiuocally, and to the vantage of the word, for the one of them was legatus consularis, and the other legatus legionis.

⁸ Provinces abroad: *E prouincijs*] Scilicet *Cæsaris*, onely ment, as I take it, here, for Augustus after the warre at Actium, enforced forthwith by the Senate to vndertake the Monarchy, diuided the prouinces into two sorts. The

quiet and peaceable cuntries he rendred into the Senat & peoples hand; the prouinces that limited & bordered the Empire, with the rest where any rebellion, or war might be feared, he retained to himselfe, and his successeours, in shew to sustaine himselfe all danger alone, and leaue to the Senate the sweet at their ease, but in truth to keepe himselfe alwaies armed, and them without armes. To the Senate and people, as ^h Strabo, and ⁱ Dio write, belonged these prouinces following, which ^k Tacitus, if I be not deceiued, calleth *Publicas prouincias*. *Dux consularis*, Africke with Numidia, & Asia, so called because these two prouinces were properly assigned to those who had been Consuls, whereas for the rest it sufficed to haue borne inferiour office: and *decempretoria* Bœtica, Narbonensis, Sardinia with Corsica, Sicilia, Epirus, Macedonia, Achaia, with Thessalia &c. Creta with Cyrene, Cyprus, Pontus and Bithynia. To himselfe he retained Hispania Tarraconensis, Lusitania, Gallia Lugdunensis, Belgica, Aquitania, Syria, &c. Cilicia, Egypt, Dalmatia, Mœsia, Pannonia, and the tract of Rhene vpon the French side called by the name of ^l *superior and inferior Germania*, as it is also at this day called Germanie, but by Cæsars description comprehended in Gallia, and a very part of Belgica, who knew no other Germania, but that which the later writers call for difference sake *γερμανίαν μεγάλην*, *Great Germany*, beyond the Rhene: whereas Tacitus in this first booke naming often Germanie, meaneth alwaies the other two Prouinces, so called because the Germans continually passing the Rhene inhabited the cuntry, and so by little and little changed the name. Cæsar lib. 2. com. Dio lib. 53. Tac. li. 1. Ann. and in his booke *de moribus Germanorum*. *Treueri & Nerui circa affestationem Germanicæ originis vltro ambitiosi sunt, tanquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis, à similitudine & merita Gallorum separantur, ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubiè Germanorum populi colunt* *Vangiones, Trebogi, Nemetes, &c.* Of these two Germanies, *superior*, saith Dio, was *ἡ μὲν τὰς τῶ ποταμοῦ (ῥήν) πηγὰς*, *That is, From the head of the Rhene*, and stretched to Mentz, or Cobolentz rather: *inferior*, downward *μέχρι τῆς ὠκεανῶς ἑρεττανικῆς*, *That is, To the Brittain Ocean*. Beside these prouinces whatsoeuer was afterward conquered or became subiect to the Romane Empire, as England in Claudius time, *Pontus Polemoniæ*, and *Alpes Cottia* in Neroes time, *Dacia* in Traians, &c. ^m increased the Emperors portion. Now the gouernors that were sent into the Senates countries, both Pretorian and Consular, were called *Proconsules*, whether they had euer beene Consuls or no. Those which the Emperors sent into theirs were called *Legati*, or *Legati Consulares*, or *Propratores*, except peraduenture they sent sometimes their *Procurators*, as in small prouinces before we haue noted Dio lib. 53. *καὶ τὰς πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν τοῦ βελῶ τὰς ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν πάλιν Ἀιγυπτίων ἀρχὴν κατέδειξεν (ὁ Αὐγύστης) ἐπὶ ταῖς δὲ τοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐπεπιτοῖς, καὶ κληρωτοῖς εἶναι, πλὴν εἰ τῶ πολυπαιδίας, ἢ γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς τῆς γερουσίας συλλογῆς πέμπε, ὡς τε εἰς τὴν παραξωννυμῶν, ὡς τε στρατιωτικῇ ἐδῶντι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι τοῦ ὑπατευκότος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου τῶ ἐστρατιωκότου, ἢ δοκῶν τὸν γὰρ ἐστρατιωτικὸν μῖνον ὄντα. ῥαβδούχοις τεσφὰς ἐκατέρους, ὅσος τὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπὲρ νέουμια, χῆνται, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀπίσθια καὶ παραχρημαῖα τῶ ἐξω τὸ πομνείν γινέσθαι ἀποσπένδου, καὶ διαπαντ, ὡς καὶ ἀν ἀνακομιδῶν, ἔχειν ἐκείλῳ. τὸν δὲ ἐτέρους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀίρεισθαι, καὶ ἀποσβῶντας αὐτῶ ἀπὲρ στρατιῶν τε ὀνομαζέσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ὡς, διαταξέ, i. Of both the publike and Princes Prouinces, Aegypt onely excepted, the Gouernors were taken out of the Senatours: for the publike Prouinces annuall, and chosen by lot (except they were conferred on any vpon some speciall priuiledge, as of marriage or multitude of children) and sent out as it were from the body the Senate not wearing sword, nor paludamentum, and indifferently called *Proconsuls* whether they euer had beene Consuls or not: hauing also as many Sergeants attending as vsuall they had in the Citie. And as soon as they were out of the *Pomerium*, assuming the ensignes of their office which they alwaies retained vntill their retorne. Now for the gouernors of the Princes prouinces, he reserved them for his owne choise, and appointed that they should be termed *Legati* and *Propratores*, though they had peraduenture borne the office of Consulship before. *Et paulo post, τῇ τῆς ἐν ἐπικλήσει τῇ τῶ ἀπὲρ στρατιῶν τοῦ αἰρετοῦ χῆνται, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείῳ ἢ ἐνιαυτῷ χέρον, ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτῷ δοῖτο, ἀρχὴν ἐπέποισε, πλὴν τῆς στρατιωτικῆς σολῶν φερεσσοῦτας, καὶ εἶδος, ὅς γε καὶ στρατιῶν δὴ αὐτῶν ἐξέστιν, ἐχόντας. That is, The name of *Propratores* he gaue to those of his owne choise, and continued their office more or lesse during pleasure, appointing likewise that they should weare the *Paludamentum* and sword, as hauing authority of life and death over the souldiers. Tacitus in this booke speaking of *Gallia Narbonensis* a publike prouince; *Vinius*, saith he, *proconsulatu Galliam Narbonensem seuerè rexit*, who neuer had beene Consull before: *Annalium*, 1. I finde *Granius Marcellus* called *Prætor* of Bithynia, which was at the first deuision a publike Prouince, and so continued as appeareth out of *Plinies* ⁿ tenth booke of *Epistles*. And in the same place of Tacitus mention is made of a *Questor*, an office now vsed in the Princes countries; and in Claudius time *damnatus lege repetundarum Cadius Rufus accusantibus Bithyniis*, which action I thinke, lay not against the Princes *legati*, as executing their charge rather by way of commission, then by vertue of Office. But of *Proprator* the case is cleere, 12. Ann. in *Britannia* *P. Ostorius propratorem*. And of the same man, *Cæsar cognita morte legati, &c.* *Vitellius* in this booke is called *legatus consularis inferioris Germaniæ*: and 4. Ann. *L. Apronius inferioris Germaniæ Proprator*. *Suetonius* ^o *Nerone*. *Duce Julio Vindice, qui tum eam Prouinciæ Propratore obtinebat, id est, Galliam Lugdunensem* belonging to the Prince. In Africke *Caius* beside the *Proconsull*, the office and name due to the place, superinduced a *legatus* as from himselfe to take charge of the souldiers there. *Tacit. Hist. 4. Legio in Africa auxiliæ; tutandis imperij finibus, sub diuo Augusto Tiberioq; principibus, proconsuli parebant. Mox C. Cæsar turbidus animi, ac P. M. Sullanum obtinentem Africam metuens, ablatam proconsuli legioni, missa in eam rem legato tradidit, equatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus, & mixti vtriusq; mandatis discordia quæstæ, auctaque. Præno certamine legatorum ius aboleuit, diuturnitate officij, vel quia minoribus maior amulandi cura. Proconsulum splendidissimum quisque securitati magis quam potentie consulebant. Dio li. 59. ἐπειδὴ τε λυκίῳ πείσων ὁ πῆς τε πλῆκλινος, καὶ τὸ γὰρ πείσων ὁ ὕψος αἰσῶν τῆς ἀφεικῆς ἐτύχει, ἐφορῆν μὲν νεωτερίῳ τῇ ἀπομεγαλυνίας, ἄλλος τε καὶ ὅτι δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν καὶ ξενικὴν ἔχειν εὐαλλε, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἔδρος νεύμας, ἐτέρῳ τὸ τῆς στρατιῶν, καὶ τοῦ νομαδίας τοῦ ἀπὸ αὐτῶ ἀποσέταξε, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνους καὶ δυνεὶ τῶτο γίγνεται. That is, After that *Lucius Piso* sonne of *Cn. Piso* and *Plancina* was made *Proconsull* of Africke, *Caius* the Emperour fearing that vpon haughtinesse of stomache he might be induced to worke inuouation, especially hauing vnder his charge great forces both legionary & auxiliary, he diuided the gouernment into two parts, and gaue another the charge both of the souldiers and of the Numidians bordering thereabouts, which custome is retained euen to this day. Only of Aegypt the Gouernor was neither called *Legatus*, nor *Proprator*, but *Præfatus Aegypti*, or *Præfatus Augustalis*. Other names as *Præses* *Rector* &c. I take to be common to both sorts. Again in prouincijs publicis were *Questores* beside *Procurators*; in the Princes, *Procurators* onely.***

Dio

^h lib. 17.
ⁱ lib. 53.
^k 13. Ann.

^l In Marcellinus
lib. 15. *Germania*
prima (wherein
were *Magonia-*
cus, Vangiones,
Nemetes, & Ar-
gentoratus) and
Germania secun-
da, Agrippina &
Tungri munita.

^m τὰς αἰ κρᾶ-
τῶν ὁμοειδῶν
Dio.

ⁿ epi. 64. 55.

^o cap. 40.

^p Or according
to Dio, *Lucium*
Pisonem.

Of Spaine &c. *Hispania preerat Cuius Rufus*] *Id est, Hispania Tarraconensi*, for not onely the three Prouinces, into which Spaine is diuided, was furnished with soldiers, and of such especially in this place Tacitus intendeth, not extending his speech to the naked and peaceable, which afterward he calleth *inermes*. Cuius Rufus was a famous Oratour, and wrot a story of that time alleadged by Tacitus 13. and 14. Ann. who, notwithstanding his preferment was by Galba, & sware with the first to Otho, and in the beginning of Vitellius time returned to Rome, *non adempta Hispania quam resexit absens*. Tacit. 2. Hist. In the ninth booke and nineteenth Epi-

Ægypt and the Garrisons there the Gentlemen of Rome] πῶς αἰγυπτον, saith Dio lib. 51. καὶ πῶς αἰγυπτον νίκην ὑπέτελλε ἐπέκτισεν (ὁ Αὐγύστης) καὶ τῶν γὰρ ἁλῶν τὰ κορυφαῖα ἐπέστρεψε, πρὸς τὸ πλεονέδρον καὶ τῶν πύλων, καὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ βᾶσιον, τὸ τε κάρον τῶν τρέπων ἀπάντων, πῶς τε σιτοπομπείαν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἐδὲν βελότῃ ἐχὺ ὅπως ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτῷ ἐτόλμηνσεν, ἀλλ' ἐδὲ ἐνεπιδίμειν αὐτῇ ἐξουσίαν ἐδωκεν, ἀντιπαραδόντας ὀνομαστὶ συγχαρήσθ. That is, after the victorie at Actium Augustus made Ægypt tributary, and committed the government thereof to Cornelius Gallus. For considering the great store of people both in the Townes and the Countrey, moreover their lenitie and inconstancie, that it was the Roman store house of Corne, and very rich of money, not only he durst not trust it into the hands of the Senatours, but also expressly forbad any of them to sojourne there, except by permission namely from him. Tacitus 2. Ann. writeth that not onely Senatours, but also equites Romani illustres that is, as I thinke, those whom 16. Ann. he termeth equites Romanos dignitate senatoria) were forbidden to goe thither, but vpon permission; Ne same virgetur Italiam quinquis eam provinciam, claudatq; terra ac mari quamvis leui presidio aduersus ingentes exercitus insidisset. Arrianus lib. 3. is of opinion, that the Romans in ordering Ægypt followed the example of Alexander the great, who, saith he, καταπέμψαι ἐλάτω ἐς πολλὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς αἰγυπτοῦ, πῶς τε φύσιν τῆς χώρας θαυμάσιος καὶ πῶς ὀχυρότητα, ὅπως ἀτρεμέως αὐτῷ ἐδίδετο ἐν ἐπιτρέψει χρῆσθαι τῆς αἰγυπτοῦ πόλεως. καὶ ὁμαῖοι μοι δοκεῖ παρ' ἀλεξάνδρου μάδοντες, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν αἰγυπτον καὶ μὴ δένα τῶν ἀπὸ βασιλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ ἐκπέμπειν ὑπάρχον ἀρχιπτοῦ, ἀνὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἰππίας σφίσι ξωτελέωντων. That is, Is reported to have divided the government of Ægypt amongst many, having in admiration the naturall site and strength of the Countrey: wherefore he thought it not safe to commit the entire regiment thereof to any one man, and the Romans in my opinion learned this point of Alexander strictly to garde Ægypt and for the same cause to make none of the Senatours governeour there, but onely of the ordo Equestris.

III. The adoption of Pisc.

SOME few daies after the beginning of Ianuary, letters came out of Belgica from Pompeius Propinquus Procurator there, that the Legions of vpper Germany without respect of oth and duty demanded another Emperour; and that this their reuolt might be the lesse hainously taken, had referred the choise thereof to the Senate, and people of Rome. These newes hastened the purpose of Galba, who had already a good while before deuised with himselfe, and with some neere about him, concerning the adoption. No speech was for the time more common and currant in the whole Citie, partly vpon a licence and lust to talke of such matters, and partly because Galba was spent and feeble for age: vpon iudgement or loue to the Common-wealth very few, the most part vpon secret hopes, as they fauored or followed this man or that, offered occasion to bring them in speech for the succession. And now Vinus was growne into great hatred; who, as he waxed daily more mighty, so daily more odious: for Galba with his too much facility encreased and nourished the greedy and gaping desires of his friends neuer satisfied in so great meanes, and offending, as vnder a Prince weake of body, and light of beleefe, with lesse feare and greater aduantage. The whole power of the Prince was diuided betweene Titus Vinus the Consull, and Cornelius Laco captaine of the Garde. Neither was Icelsius the freed man inferiour in fauour with his master, who being priuiledged to weare gold rings, and made a Gentleman, was commonly called by the name of Martianus. These three, otherwise disagreeing, and in points of lesse importance drawing euery one a sundry way, in this consultation of chusing a successour were diuided into two sides. Vinus was for Marcus Otho: Laco and Icelsius agreed not so much vpon any one, as vpon any other. Neither did Galba much like of the

B 3

party,

* Crispina.

a Patichigesta-
men Othous.
Imenat Sat. 11.
b Per libertinam
atque infamiam
et Nero, facit
sumum inter a-
micos locum re-
mit, congruentia
morum.

Suet. Oth. c. 2.
c Delapso Nerone
in moxem. Acte.
affum, to in consi-
emam Othone
et c. Ann. 13.
d At Senecaes
in rearing:
Plutar.

Ann. 13. Desici-
tur familiaritate
sua, post con-
gressu & comita-
tu Otho, & po-
stremo in urbe
amulatus ag. ret.
provincia Lusita-
nia praefectus:
ubi usq. ad omnia
arma non ex prio-
re infamia, sed in-
tegrè, sanctèque
egit, proceres ocij,
& potestatis tem-
perantior.

* Praefectus urbis.
& Sueton. cap. 17.
somewhat diffe-
ring from Tacitus
writeth, Pisonem
repente à media
salutantiom tur-
ba apprehendit.
filiumq. appellans,
in castra per-
duxit.

f To this saying
alluded as it may
seeme, Dagala-
phus master of the
horse to Valenti-
an the Empe-
ror, who being
demanded in
counsell by his
master, what part-
ner he were best
to assume of the
Empire, answered
briefly, Si tuos a-
micos habes fratrem
si remp. alium
querere Marcell-
lin lib. 26.

partie, suspecting the counsell of Vinius as partiall, and grounded vpon a mariage pretended betweene * his daughter being a widow, and Otho an vnmarried man; a matter wherewith the eares of the Prince, by reason of tale-carriers in Court, were not vnacquainted. I thinke also that Galba was touched in part with care of the commonwealth, which might seeme in vaine transferred from Nero, if it were to be left vpon Otho. For Otho had spent his tender yeares without ^a regard of his honour, his youth afterward in all dissolute disorder, ² in grace with Nero ^b through emulation of vice: and therefore Nero had left in his custody, as with one that was ^c priuy to his lustes, ³ Poppæa Sabina his principall minion, till he had dispatched his hands of Octavia his wife: soone after vpon an apprehension of iealousie, he sent him ^d away into Lusitania, colourably to be Lieutenant there. Otho hauing gouerned the Prouince with all curtesie, and being the first that came into Galba, and therewith a man of action, and of those which were present during the warre of greatest account, readily conceaued hope of adoption, and daily tooke himselfe better assured, being well fauoured of most the souldiers, and greatly beloued of Neroes court, as one like to their late master. But Galba after the newes of the German rebellion, although of Vitellius as yet he vnderstood no certainty, being doubtfull to what issue this violent proceeding of the Armies would grow, and reposing no trust in the Citie-souldier, proceedeth to declare a successour, the onely stay, as he supposed, of his estate. And calling to him beside Vinius and Laco, Marius Celsus Consull elect, and Ducenius Geminus * Prouost of the City, after some speech vsed of his age, ^e he commandeth Piso Licinianus to be sent for, either vpon his owne choise, or as some haue reported, at the instance of Laco: who cunningly preferred him as a meere stranger to himselfe, whereas indeede they had in Rubellius Plautus house, had long acquaintance together, and the good opinion which went generally of Piso, gaue credit to his counsell. Piso was sonne to Marcus Crassus, and Scribonia, nobly borne on both sides; in countenance and presence (after the ancient sort, rightly to iudge) seuer; but to them which interpreted all to the worst, seeming too slowre. That quality of his, the more it was by some men, carefull in that behalfe, misdoubted and feared, the better it pleased the man, who was to adopt him. So Galba taking Piso by the hand, is saied to haue spoken in this manner.

“ If I should as a priuate man only, by an act of the Curiae and assent of the Priests,
“ as the maner is, adopt you, it would be both an honour for me, to take into my fa-
“ mily the progenie of Marcus Crassus and Pompey, and a glory for you, to adioyne
“ the honorable encrease of the Sulpitian and Lutatian houses to your owne nobi-
“ lity. But now being by the consent of gods and men called to the Empire, I am mo-
“ ued by your rare towardnes, and the loue I beare to my country, to offer vnto you,
“ without your trouble, the Princes place, that, for which our auncestors haue con-
tended in armes, which by armes my selfe haue obtained: following herein the
example of Augustus, who placed in estate next to himselfe, first Marcellus his
sisters sonne, afterward Agrippa his sonne in lawe, then his daughters sonnes, and
lastly his wiues sonne Tiberius Nero. But Augustus, as it seemeth, sought a succes-
sour in his family, and I ^f in the common-wealth. Not that I lacke some ^g neere me
in bloud, or companions in armes, whom I could respect: but neither did I by ambi-
tion attaine to the Empire, and of my iudgement herein may be prooffe, not onely
mine owne friends passed ouer, but yours also. A brother you haue, noble alike, in
yeares before you, well worthy of this honour, were not you the more woorthy.
Your yeares are such, as are settled from the affections of youth, and so spent, as
nothing

nothing past needeth excuse. Hitherto you haue tasted only of aduerse fortune : prosperity seareth more deeply the mind ; for miseries are borne with patience, felicity corrupteth. Integrity, friendship, round and free dealing, the principall gift of the minde, you for your part, no doubt will retaine as heretofore ; but in others towards you, in respect of your degree, you shall finde it to be otherwise : flattery will breake in, and pleasing speeches, and the most pestilent poison of all true meaning, priuate respects for priuate aduantage. We two this day common plainly together, others rather talke with our estate, then our persons : for indeed to persuade a Prince that which is meet, is a point of some paine ; to flatter any Prince whatsoeuer, needeth small endeouour. If this vast body of the Empire could stand without gouernor balanced in due proportion and order, the free Common-wealth might worthily haue taken beginning from mee : but now it is come long agoe to that passe, that neither mine age can benefit the people of Rome any way more, than in finding them a good successor, nor your youth, than in yeelding them a good Prince. Vnder Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius, we haue beene as it were the inheritance of one on ⁶ family : it will be in steed of liberty, that we begin to succeed by election : and now the Iulian and Claudian lines be spent, adoption will still find out of the best : for to be descended of Princes, is a matter of meere fortune, and so is esteemed : in adoptions our iudgement is most incorrupt, and seldomest abused ; and if we will chuse of the fittest, the voice of the most will point vs our man. Set Nero before your eies, whom, being descended of so many Casars, his owne infamous life and vntolerable cruelty cast out of state, not Vindex with an vnarmed Province, nor I with ⁸ one Legion : neither was there before a precedent of any Prince by publike sentence deposed. We that came in, not by descent, but called in by warre and opinion of desert, how honorably soeuer we carry our selues, yet shall we be sure to haue our enuyours. And yet be not dismaied, if in this troubled and shaken estate of the world, one Legion or two be not yet settled : I my selfe found not all so sure at the first : and when this adoption shall be heard of abroad, I ⁷ shall cease to seeme an old man, the only exception they take now against me. Nero shall doubtlesse be missed, and wished alwaies among the lewd sort ; you and I must prouide, lest good men also doe with him againe. To admonish you longer is not for this time, and all mine intent is fully performed, if I haue, as I hope, chosen aright. The surest and shortest rule to sort out good from euill, is to waigh what your selfe would vnder another Prince haue allowed or blamed : for you haue not here, as in kingdoms, a certaine race borne to soueraignty, and the rest to be slaues ; but you are to gouerne a people, which cannot beare, neither bondage, nor liberty meere without mixture.

These words and the like Galba vsed as ^h creating a Prince, but the rest that were present, spake as to a Prince already created. Piso is said to haue vttered no motion, as of a minde either troubled or excessive in ioy, neither then nor afterward when euery mans eies were fixed vpon him. His speech to his father, and soueraigne was respectiue, and reuerent ; concerning himselfe very modest : in countenance and gesture not changed, shewing himselfe rather ⁱ able to furnish the place, than desirous. Then consultation was had, where the adoption should be pronounced ; before the people, in the Senate, or in the campe, the campe was preferred, to honor the souldier thereby, whose good will and fauour, as it was by money and crowning not to be bought, so got by good meanes would not be contemned. In the meane season *Publick expectation*, which suffereth not any great secret long to be secret, had as it were, beset the Palace about : and the same finding an issue, was af-

terward

⁸ To wit, *sexta*. Tac. 5. *Hist.* principem Galbam sextae legionis auctoritate factum.

^h That is, Galba by way of instruction: the rest flattering and fawning.

ⁱ Tac. 3. *Hist.* de Iulio Blasio Nul-lum repentini honoris, adeo uon principatus appetens, ut patrum effugere, quum dignum crederetur. ^{*} *Pro rostris*, that is, vnto the people assembled in concourse.

Tacitus most contrary, and without question irreconciliable is Tacitus himselfe in another. 13. Annal.

4 Sulpician an Lutatian houses] Plutarch speaking of Galbaes pedigree *μὲγα δὲ ἔχει*, saith he, *ἐνδοξίας ἀξίωμα τοῖς Σεπείων ὀίκον*, That is, He was descended of the most honorable house of the Seruij. And Tacitus lib. 2. Hist. Postulios, Claudios, Seruios; both somewhat strangely vsing the ^b forename *pro gentilio*, to note the house which was Sulpitia: of which you may read more at large in Sueton. Galba, c. 2. & 3. But Galba, saith Plutarch, *ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ τῷ Κετλίῳ συγγενείᾳ* That is, Glorified more in affinitie with Catulus. Qu Lutatius Catulus being his great grandfather by the mother. That he was of kin to Liuia Augusta, as Plutarch writeth, I haue not elsered, although it is true, that *obituit ante omnes Liuiam Augustam, cuius & viue gratia plurimum valuit, & mortua testamento penè ditatus est.* Suet. c. 5. But of kinred I finde no word, neither doe I greatly belecue it. Only a stepmother he had named Liuia Ocellina, who adopted him, and therefore he was called Lucius Liuius Ocellinus after his name *usque ad tempus imperij*, if Suetonius in ^c Galba doe not deceiue vs.

^b This forename of Seruius was so generall to the Sulpij, that the Sulpij, surnamed Ruffi assumed another forename turning the forsaid after a sort in gentilitium, whereupon in the life of Atricius, we reade, *M. Seruius Sulpicius*, and in Iulius obsequens *P. Seruius Sulpicius Ruffus*.
^c cap. 4.

5 Neare me in bloud: Propinquos aut socios belli] Augustus adopted Agrippa and Tiberius as *socios belli*, the rest as *propinquos*. So Otho was to Galba *socius belli*, and Dolabella, who as Plutarch affirmeth was also in speech about the adoption, *propinquus*. Tac. *Cornelius Dolabella propinquitate Galbe monstratus*, if it be, as I thinke, the same man, of whom Plutarch speaketh.

6 Of one family] C. Iulius adopted Augustus; Augustus Liuia and Tiberius, who adopted Germanicus, whose Sonne Caius was, and Claudius his brother, and lastly Claudius adopted Nero in whom failed the Iulian line. Aufonius.

Aeneadum generis qui sextus & vltimus heres Tollit, & clausit Julia sacra Nero.

7 I shall cease &c. *Desinam videri senex*] *id est, Desinam contemni quasi senex.* Non legiones, non classes perinde firmo imperij munimento, quam numerum liberorum. Tac. 4. Hist. in the person of Titus. Literally to construe, it may seeme somewhat strange, that a man should cease to seeme aged, because he had adopted one that was one and thirty yeares old, as Piso ^a was, to whom in common intendment he might haue bene father, and so was reputed to all constructions, and purposes in law. But Adoption, as Generation, doeth in a sort eternize, and eternity knoweth no agednesse.

^a Tac. 1. Hist.

8 That being of ancient time obserued as cause to breake vp assemblies] *Cic. in Vatinius. Augures omnes usque ab Romulo decreuerunt, Ioue fulgente cum populo agi nefas esse.* Philippica. 5. *Ioue tonante cum populo agi non esse fas quis ignorat?* 2. de diuinatione. In nostris commentarijs scriptum habemus: *Ioue tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas.* Anon after. *Comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus auspiciis optimum habemus, si sinistrum fuerit.*

9 Where ech man maketh choise of his fellow] This maner of mustering was, that the first man should chuse out the second, who in the battell should stand fast beside him, the second the third, and so forth, ech his mate till the last man. An army so gathered was in the opinion of thole ancient times thought in a maner inuincible; and questionlesse it had very many singular commodities. *Leui. 1. 9. Ad Valimnis lacum Hetrusci, lege sacra coacto exercitu, cum vir virum legisset, quantis nunquam aliis ante simul copijs, simul animis dimicauerunt.* Much after the same maner Xenoph. 1. *παρδ.* describeth the Persian muster, either becaule it was so indeed, or becaule in his iudgement, being an excellent commander, so had bene the best. Cyrus the Generall maketh choise of 200. trayned Gentlemen such as he knew most fit for the seruice. Ech of those 200. chule foure more Gentlemen: and so rising vp to a thousand Gentlemen, euery Gentleman maketh choise of thirty common soldiers namely 10. ^a *ταρ-* gets, 10. slings, and 10 bowes.

^a *παρατάξ.*

10 Their donatiue which they had vsed of duetie to receiue.] The Princes liberalities to the souldiers were called *Donatiua*, to the people or otherwise to his friends, *Congiaria*, doubtlesse because at the first certaine measures called *congij* of wine or oyle were bestowed, and after ward other things being giuen, yet the ancient name remayned. Tac. 12. Annal. *Additum nomine Neroni donatiuum militi, congiarium plebi.* And Sueton. ^b *Nerone of the selie same thing: Deductus (Nero) in forum tyro, populo congiarium, militi donatiuum proposuit.* Which propriety of speech Tully, as it may seeme, not regarding, vseth *congiarium* instead of *donatiuum*, 16. ad Attic. ep. 8. *An irret ad tres legiones Macedonicas, qua iter secundum mare superum faciunt, quas sperat suas esse. Ea congiarium ab Antonio accipere moluerunt.* Or rather, as I thinke, the word *donatiuum*, came in with the Empire not knowen in the free state. *Donatiues* the Princes vsually bestowed vpon some great victory, or other extraordinary occasion. Claudius was the first which at his creation promised to the souldiers Donatiue, fiftene thousand sesterces a man, that is, about six score pound sterling. *Primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam premio pigneras, saith & Suetonius:* and when Nero his adopted sonne did take *togam virilem*, he gaue them another. Nero at his entry promised *donatiuum ad exemplar paternae largitionis.* Tac. Annal 12. and after the conspiracy of Piso was detected, *bina nummum millia viritum manipularibus diuisit*, that is, about sixteene pound, and diuers times in the Grecian iourney, inducing as it were by so many precedents a kind of necessity to his succours. Nymphidius promised them in Galbaes name thirty thousand sesterces, that is about twelue score pound, but Galba at his comming paid nothing at all. And heere in the adoption of Piso: *nullum orationi aut lenocinium additum, aut pretium.* Adrian following a more agreeable course to that time, in the adoption of Verus bestowed three hundred millions of sesterces vpon the souldiers: and Antonius at the marriage of his daughter Faustina exceeded vsq; *ad donatiuum militum, Spartian.*

^b cap. 7.

^c cap. 10.

V. An Embassage to the armies in Germanie.

THE newes growing daily fresher of the German reuolt, and the City being redy to admit and belecue all newes when they are euill, the Senate ordered, that Embassadors should be sent to the armies. It was besides secretly debated,

ted, whether Piso also should go; they to cary the credit of the senate, and hee the countenance of the Prince, with more shew, & greater authority. It seemed conuenient, that Laco capitaine of the Gard should be sent withall; but his vnwillingnesse brake the determination. The Embassadors likewise, the election of whom the Senat had giuen to Galba, were with shamefull inconstancy named, put out, others named in their place by labour and suite, to stay or to goe, as feare or hope moued them to doe.

VI. *The donations of Nero reuoked by Galba. Certaine Tribunes put from their charge.*

THE next care was for money: and casting about for supply it seemed most reasonable to fetch it thence, from whence the lacke had proceeded. Two and twenty hundreth millions of sesterces Nero had wasted in prodigall gifts. Galba^a commanded them all to be called, and left onely to each the tenth part of their gift: but they had in all scarce^b one tenth part remaining, hauing spent with like riot what came from others, as they had before consumed their owne. Those greedy and wastfull companions had neither lands to extend, nor goods to be seized, saue onely some furniture of vices. Thirty gentlemen of Rome were deputed collectours to gather the money; a strange kind of office, and burdensome, both for the number, and suite that was made. In euery corner^d the speare was planted, and sales proclaimed, the city disquieted with prizers and buiers: yet was it a great comfort to see that they should be as poore, to whom Nero had giuen, as they were, from whom he had taken. About the same time certaine Tribunes were called; Antonius Taurus, and Antonius Naso of the gard, Æmilius Pancensis of the city-bands and Iulius Fronto of the watch: neither was it any remedy to amend the rest; but rather an occasion of new feare in their minds, as though by cunning, and for feare certaine were singled, whereas all were indeed mistrusted alike.

^a Two and twenty hundreth millions: *Bis & vicies mille sestertiū* Mille by error for millies. Tacit. 2. Hist. Nero. *millies sestertiū*; not *uicies mille*; for so is the vse of the tongue. Now in these speeches pronounced aduerbially is vnderstood of course *centena millia*, so that *bis & vicies millies* is as much as if he had said, *bis & vicies millies centena millia sestertiū*. Plutarchus Antonio interprete DECTIES by πέντε καὶ ἑκοσι μυριάδες (δραχμῶν) that is *decies centena millia sestertiū*; counting as he doeth foure sestertij to a drachma. Sestertius, *quasi semis tertius*, that is two and an halfe; and according to the same Analogie, in Greeke πέντε καὶ ἑκοσι τέτταρον is foure talents and an halfe, and in Dutch *duyt halb batzen*, two batz and an halfe. Now sestertius signifying two and an halfe, as the vulgar note also importeth II. S. or ioyned H. S. that is *duo & semis*, is meant alwaies of so many asses; and therefore foure sestertij are precisely equiualent to a *denarius*, so called of *dena era*. Now all the Greeke stories without exception writing of the Roman affaires, in steede of *quatuor sestertij* set downe δραχμῶν ὀπίκην, not onely in small summes, but in huge great, where the difference must of force appeare, if in their opinion there were any betweene them. Seeing then *denarius* and drachma, according to the content of the most olde writers against a few, are of equall value, both containing foure sesterces, eight drachmaes making an ounce, and the ounce in our time esteemed at five shillings sterling, our present summe of *bis & vicies millies centena millia sestertiū*, reduced to English money now currant, amounteth to seuentene millions an hundreth eighty seven thousand and five hundreth pound. Neither can this summe seeme strange for Nero in fourteene yeeres, when ^a *Vitellius paucissimis mensibus nouies millies H. S. inuertisse creditur*. about seven thousand thousand pound.

VII. *The conspiracie of Otho: the death of Galba, Piso, Vinus, Laco, and Icelus.*

IN the meane season sundry causes concurring incited Otho, whose hope and deuices depended vpon the common disturbance, to trouble the state; riot and excesse too costly euen for the purse of a Prince; barenesse and beggery scarce for a meane man to beare; anger against Galba; enuy toward Piso. and that his aspiring

^a Not onely at Rome, but else-where also.

Χίρδ. Τοῖς ΕΛ. λαοδύμει τις πρὸς τὴν εἰκοσι μυριάδας, αἰς ὧσιν Γαλβὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν, ἔδωκε.

^b And in that case, saith Suetonius, order was taken, ut si quid ipsi vendissent, aufertur emptoribus. Plutar.

Τὸν ἀρχαῖον καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἡ λαοφύλαξ ἐπὶ τῇ αἰσχυρί (ὁ Γαλβὰς) καὶ παρ' ἑκείνων ἐξέσπαρτο.

^c Sueton. c. 15.

Quinquaginta.

^d Haste subijci-

ebantur ea, quae

publicè vendun-

dabant. Festus.

Sestor, aestima-

tor, redemptorque

bonorum.

^a Tac. 2. Hist.

^a Suet. Othone.

c. 5. Otho post-

quam Pisone

prelato spe deest.

dis, ad vim con-

uersus est, inste-

gante super ani-

ring might seeme to be grounded vpon greater reason, he fained also feares to himselfe: how that in respect of his greatnes he had been a burden to Nero: that he was not againe to looke for a new Lusitania, or some other place of honorable exile, but to be murdered, or made away by some meanes; that course might Otho more iustly expect, the rule being almost without instance, That alwaies hee shall bee suspected and hated of the prince in possession, whom men do account woorthy, or like to the Prince in succession, that point alone did him harme with olde Galba, and would doe him more with young Piso, a man by nature not of the mildest, and made by long exile sauage and rough: and therefore he must of force doe and dare, now or else neuer, whilest Galbaes authority was waning, and Pisoes as yet not fully well waxen; sith * changes were times most apt for greatest attempts, and delaies there dangerous, where soft quiet dealing draweth more euill, then hazarding rashly, that death happens by nature to all men alike, with onely this difference of fame, or obliuion with posterity: and if he must die either guiltles or guilty, then were it more valiantnesse to die for desert. Otho was not effeminate in minde as in body, and his freedmen and seruants, the neereft about him, being brought vp in more licence than vsually in a priuate mans house, laied before him, who greedily gaped after such baites, the court of Nero, and riotous liuing, wiues at will of his owne, and of other mens, with such like pleasures of princes, as his owne proper good, if he durst seaze vpon them; if not, vpbraiding them to him, as left vnto others. The Astrologers also vrged him forward, assuring by their star-learning great changes at hand, and a yeere of aduancement for Otho: a kinde of people to Princes vnfaithfull, to hopers deceitfull, that in our common-wealth shal be alwaies forbidden, and alwaies retained. Many of that profession were employed by Poppea in her secret affaires, the baddest instruments a^b Princes wife can vse: of which number Ptolomæus, who followed Otho into Spaine, promised he should ouerliue Nero: and so by the euent hauing won credit, perswaded him further, by coniecture alone, and speech of people comparing the yeares of Galba and Otho, that hee should be assumed to the Empire: but Otho embraced it as foretold by art, and by the forewarning of fate; as the humour is of most men to belecue that soonest, which they least vnderstand, or know what it meaneth. Neither was Ptolemæus behind for his part, perswading him now to the points in that kind of fact, which in a mind so desirous is soone apprehended. But whether it came in his minde on the sudden or no, to commit this foule act, that is not certainly knowne: certaine it is that long before that, he had by all possible meanes practised the fauour and good will of the soldier, either vpon the hope of succession, or as preparing the way to his treason: in iourneying, in marching, in warding, calling by name such as were of greatest continuance, and teaching them mates, vpon the remembrance of liuing together in Neros traine; with some renewing acquaintance; some calling for, and releeuing their needs with his purse, and his countenance; inserting withall now and then complaints, and glauncing at Galba with speeches of doubtfull construction, or what other way he could bethinke him, to stir vp, and altar the vulgar sort. The trauailes in iourneying, the straitnesse of prouision, the hard hand held ouer them were much mislik't of the souldiers: for whereas before they were wont to visit the lakes of Campania, and townes of Achaia at their ease vpon shipbord, now it seemed sore to trot all a foot ouer the Pyrenees and Alpes, and huge long voiajes at small ease in their armour. The soldiers mindes being thus already incensed, Meuius Pudens an acquaintace of Tigellinus, ministred matter to inflame them further; who alluring some vnstaied heads, or such as were needy of money, and desperate

mi dolorem, etiam magnitudine arum alieni.

Neg; n. dissimulabat nisi principem se stare non posse, nihilque re-ferre ab hoste in-actis, an in foro sub creditoribus caueret: for hee was, as Plutarch affirmeth, aboute fixtene hundred thousand pound indebted.

** Transiunt rerum: that is, the very time and moment when the state passeth from one to another, or suffereth otherwise any notable alteration.*

^b Principale vid. trimonium, i. ux- or principis as Tacitus speaketh ab- so, 11. Annal. Ag- Claudia marri- monij sui ignarus, lasciuia populi suuere edictis in- crepti: that is, ignorant of his wiues behaviour at home.

e. Aureanus vnum
 faith Plutarch,
 and Suetonius,
 that is, 15. s.
 7 d. ob. Now this
 cohort or band
 consisted of a
 thousand sould-
 diers; so that
 his whole libera-
 lity that way cost
 him one dinner
 781. li. 5. s.
 * Publicam, i. p-
 ublicam, or rather
 δημοσιαν.
 " Spiculator.

a Suet. Oth. c. 6.
 yeeldeth ano-
 ther reason:
obstitit respectus
cohortis quae tunc
excubabat, ne
oneraretur inui-
dia, quod eiusdem
statione & Caius
fuera occisus, &
desertus Nero.
Medium quoq;
tempus religio, &
Mathematici
excusant.
 e For before hee
 had said, that
 multi de Germania
 & Illyrico electi
 remained in
 Rome.

desperate vpon new desires, by litle and litle proceeded so farre, that so oft as Galba was feasted at Othoes, vnder pretence of a banquet-beneuolence, he distributed to ech man of the cohort which waited, ^c an hundreth sesterces. which, as being a *publicke largenesse, Otho strengthened with secret rewards to particular persons: so confident a corrupter, that whereas Coccius Proculus a ^c bilman of the Gard had a suite with his neighbour about a small parcell of ground, which lay doubtfull betweene them, Otho with his owne money bought the neighbours whole ground, and freely bestowed it vpon him: such was the insufficiencie of Laco the captaine, grossely to ouersee not onely close practises, but euen those dealings, which all the whole world espied beside. But at that time Otho appointed Onomastus one of his freedmen for master workeman to contriue the treason, who bringing Barbius Proculus the watch-word-carier of the bilmen, and Veturius a Centurions Lieutenant anon to his master, after that Otho by sundry speeches, and much priuate conference, perceiued them to be crafty, and bould, fit for his purpose, hee lades them with rewards in hand, but much more with promises to come; giuing them money to assay the minds of moe of their fellowes: and so two common souldies tooke vpon them to transerre the Empire of the people of Rome, and accordingly performed it indeed. Few were by them made priuy to the principall purpose, and they by diuerse deuices incited the houerling mindes of the rest; drawing into the association the chiefe of the souldiers preferred by Nymphidius, as being suspect to the present estate; the meaner sort, and the rest, by meanes of the anger and displeasure conceiued vpon despaire of their donatiue so often differred: some also there were, whom the memory of Nero, and desire of former licence did mooue: in generall, all were afraide they should finde a change in the seruice. This contagion infected also the Legions and Aydes, whose faith was weakened already, when as they heard their fellowes of Germany had left their allegiance. And so ready were the bad to rebell, yea the good to dissemble, that vpon the fourteenth of Ianuary, they had determined, as Otho returned from supper to haue taken him vp by the way, ^d had they not feared such casuall chances, as night might haue bred; and by reason the soldiers were lodged scatteringly throughout the whole towne; and that drunken men would a great deale more hardly agree; not for any care of common wealth, which they purposed, when they were sober, to pollute with the bloud of their Prince; but least in the darke by error it might chance, that in steed of Otho, some other man should be offered to the ^c Pannonian and German souldiers, and so be accepted for Emperour, the most part of them not knowing Otho by sight. Many signes of treason euen now as it were discovering it selfe, were suppressed by the conspiratours: some other in Galbaes hearing Laco the captaine put away with a iest; a man litle seene in souldiers affections, and of any aduise, were it neuer so excellent, whereof himselfe was not auctour, an enemy, and against the skillfull obstinately contentious. The fifteenth of Ianuary as Galba was sacrificing before Apolloes temple, Vmbricius the Priest, by view of vnprosperous entrailes, foresheweth daungers at hand, and a home enemy in Othoes audience (for he was the next man) who contrarily construed it as good lucke on his side, and happy successe in his affaires. Anon after, Onomastus bringeth in worde, that the master carpenter, and those which had vndertaken the worke at a price, stayed for his comming: for that was the watch word agreed betweene them, to signifie, that now the souldiers were drawing together, and the conspiracy ripe. Otho faining an answere to such as demanded the cause of his departure, that hee had certaineould tenements to buy, which he suspected were ruinous, and therefore would haue them

them viewed before, * following his seruants direction, went through Tiberius house into the Velabrum, and thence to the 3 golden Milliarium vnder the Temple of Saturnus. There three and twenty Bilmen attending his coming salute him Emperour: and as he stood amazed, trembling for feare at their fewnesse, they snatch him vp hastily into a chaire, and with their swords drawen carrie him away. As they went forward toward the Camp, about so many mo souldiers ioyned themselves, some acquainted indeede with the cause, but most for the wonder and strangenesse: part with showtes, and drawne swords, part holding their peace, meaning so to proceed, as the euent should direct them. Iulius Martialis warded as Tribune that day in the Campe: who being either terrified with the greatnesse of so sudden a treason, or else fearing the Campe was further corrupted, and death, if he should make shew of resistance, gaue most men to misdeeme by his dealing, that he was somewhat of counsell with the case. The rest likewise of the Tribunes and Centurions preferred present security before duty with danger: and generally after that maner were their mindes and affections inclined, that into so horrible a treason few only durst enter, more wished it so, and all were contented to suffer it to passe. Galba in the meane while ignorant of all which had passed, was busily occupied about his deuotion, importuning the gods now of another mans Empire, when as suddenly word was brought, that a Senatour, they wist not well who, was carried to the Campe; and straight-waies that it was Otho. Anon flocked thither out of all quarters, * as they happened to meete him, some making the feare more then it was, some lesse, not forgetting euen then to fall to their flattering biace. The matter being consulted vpon, it was thought conuenient, to sound the minde of the Cohort, which warded in the Palace, not by Galba himselfe, whose authority was to be reserved intier for greater exploits, but by Piso: who calling them before the staires of the house, vsed this speech. It is now, fellow-souldiers, six daies, since that I was, not knowing what might after befall, and whether this name were to be wished, or feared, adopted Caesar: with what successe to our house, or to the commonwealth, that lies in your hands: not that I am for mine owne particular, afraid of any heavy chance that can happen: froward fortune I haue proued with the most; and the good I doe take to bring no lesse danger: but my fathers case, the Senates, and the whole Empires I lament, if this day of force we must either kill or be killed; a hard choise for any good man. In the last troubles these comforts we had: the Citie was kept cleane without any bloud-shed; the State passed ouer without any discord; order was taken as it seemed, sufficient, by declaring a successour, that hereafter also there should be no new occasion of warre. I will not extoll and magnifie here mine ancient house, or modest behauiour; neither in the comparison with Otho, neede we to reckon vp vertues: his vices wherein alone he triumphes, haue ruined the State euen then, when he was but a frinde of the Emperours. By his gesture and gate should he deserue to be Prince, or by that womanish attire he weareth? they are fowly deceiued, whom riot deceiues with shew of liberality: to cast away and consume well may he be learned; to giue in good order he hath not the skill: bodily pleasures and banqueting, wanton daliance with women, these be the points which now he proposeth himselfe; these he accounteth the prerogatiues of Princes; whereof the lust and pleasure shall be only his owne, the shame and ignominy redoundeth to all: for neuer any man yet vsed the Empire well, which he got by ill meanes. The consent of the world made Galba Emperour, and Galba by your consent made me. If the weale publike, the Senat, the people, be friuolous names, and no substance; yet for your owne interest prouide, fellow-souldiers, that the raf-

** inmixta libertas.*

** Spiculatorum.*

** Vt quisq; obuius fuerat, sc. Othoni, or Othomanu, as I thinke.*

"kallest fort be no Emperour makers. The Legions abroad haue sometime mutined
 "against their Generals; that hath been heard of: your truth and good name hath re-
 "mained as yet to this day vntouched: and Nero also forsooke you, not you Nero.
 "Shall lesse then thirty renegates and traitors, whom none would permit to choose
 "their Centurion, or Tribune, dispose of the Empire? doe you allow the example? doe
 "you winke at their crime, and so make it your owne? the prouinces will vsurp the like
 "licence, and the end of these treasons wil fal to our share, the end of those wars vnto
 "yours. Neither is there more gotten by murthuring your Prince, then by keeping
 "your hands innocent and cleane: as wel shal you receiue of vs a donatiue for truth, as
 "of others for treason. The "bilmen being slipped away, the rest of the cohort seeming
 "to bee moued with his words, more of feare, as it hapneth in tumults, and yet with
 "some reason, make ready their ensignes, which afterward me supposed was done for
 "a color and fraud. Marius Celsus also was sent to the selected souldiers of the Illyrian
 "army, encamped in Vipsanius cloyster: and commandement was giuen to Amulius
 "Serenus, & Domitius Sabinus, which had been * leaders of the principall ensigne, to
 "fetch forth the German soldiers * out of the court of Liberty. The legion of mariners
 "Galba distrusted, as being incensed against him for the slaughter of their fellows at
 "his first entry. Cerius Seuerus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus Tribunes
 "were sent to the Prætorian camp; to try whether the sedition might now at the be-
 "ginning, & before it were grown to a ripenes, by better aduise be asswaged. Subrius
 "& Cerius with threats, & menacing were put by the souldiers to silence: vpon Longi-
 "nus they lay violent hands, and disarme him, because he had come to that place not
 "by order of seruice, but by extraordinary fauour of Galba; a man faithfull to his
 "prince, & therefore of rebels worse liked. The legion of mariners without any stay ioi-
 "ned themselues to them of the gard: the selected of the Illyrian army, with darts bent
 "vpon him, driue Celsus away: the German ensignes^f were long in suspence, beeing
 "as yet feeble in body, but in mind wel affected for that being sent by Nero before to
 "Alexandria, at their returne tired & sick with so long a cut, they were by Galba care-
 "fully cherished. Now was all the common people & bondmen withall assembled in-
 "to the palace, requiring with tumultuous cries, as if they were to demand in the stage
 "or Race a pastime, that Otho might be pulled in peeces, & those other traitors exiled
 "not vpon⁴ iudgement or any true meaning; for the selfesame day with as vehement
 "instance they would be as ready to demand the other way: but only vpon a receiued
 "custome to flatter the Prince whatsoeuer he be, framing⁵ acclamations at pleasure,
 "& vainely indeuouring to shew their good wils. In the meane season Galba was di-
 "stracted with two diuers opinions. Titus Vinius thought best to stay within dores, to
 "oppose the bond-men against them to fortifie the passages, and not to go forth to
 "men in their fury: that he should giue a space for the bad to repent, for the good to
 "consent: that treasons preuaile on the sudden, good counsels gather forces by lea-
 "sure: and lastly if he would, or reason required it, then might he well go, as now, so
 "anon: but to come in again, if he chanced to repent him, were likely to lie in the wil
 "of another. The rest were all of a contrary minde: that it was the much better way,
 "to cut off delaies with all possible speed, before the conspiracy of few, as yet without
 "force, tooke further increase: that euen Otho himselfe would tremble for feare, who
 "being conueid priuily away, and brought in among those which knew not the mat-
 "ter, through slothful delaying, and trifling the time, learns now at his leisure to coun-
 "terfait the Prince. what? would they expect till Otho hauing composed the Campe,
 "and set all in order, should inuade the Place of publike assembly, and as Galba
 "peeped out of a hole, vnder his nose enter the Capitol; whilest he, like a goodly trim
 "Captaine

* Spiculatores.

* Primipilares.
 * à Libertatis
 atrio.

^f Suetonius
 somewhat o-
 therwise, c. 20.
 omnes qui accer-
 ferentur, spreure
 nuncium, excepta
 Germanicorum
 vexillatione.
 Hi ob recens me-
 ritum, quod se-
 negros & in vali-
 dos magnopere
 fossisset, in auxi-
 lium aduolauere:
 sed seruis, itinere
 deuio per igno-
 rantiam locorum
 retardati.

taine, with his couragious friendes, so they may be in couert, kept close within doores, and shut vp the gates, meaning be like to attend the siege there? much helpe might one hope for at bond-mens hands, if the agreement of so great a multitude, and their first indignation, which is alwaies the hoatest, were suffered to coole: that therefore the party dishonorable was also more dangerous: or if needes they must die, then better to meete and encounter the danger: that would at least breed Otho more enuy, and were withal most for their honour. As Vinius replied against the opinion, Laco, at the instigation of Icelus, persisting in priuate displeasures to the ouerthrow of the publicke estate, beginneth to charge him with manacing and threats: and Galba without any longer delay gaue himselfe wholly to follow their counsell, which had the fairer shew in appearance. Yet first was Piso sent to the Campe, as being a yoong man of great name and gracious, fresh in mens fauour, and enemy to Vinius, either because he was so, or that Vinius ill-willers did wish it to be so; and it is thought rather he was so indeed. Piso was scant gone abroad, when first a flying rumour without Author was spred, that Otho was slaine in the Campe: anon, as in great lies it falles out, some affirmed they were present, and saw it; a report which men partly reioycing, and partly not curious, easily beleeued. Many supposed this rumour was framed, and increased by some of Othoes men, being now shuffed in with the rest, and giuing out vnruly good newes of purpose to allure Galba out of his hold. But vpon the report howsoeuer, not onely the people and simpler sort clap hands, and declare immoderately their affections, but most of the Gentlemen, and Senators without temporizing, as being now freed of feare, breake open the gates, rush into the Palace, presse forward to Galba, protesting how sory they were, the reuenge of his quarrell was thus preuented by others; the greatest cowards, and such as in danger dared the least, as triall made prooffe, being most excessive in vvords, and hardy of tongue. Thus whilest all affirmed, and no body knew, Galba yeelding to an vnruth so generally soothed, puts on * a brest-plate, and being not able for body nor age to sustaine the presse which came in vpon him, was lifted vp in a Chaire. In the Palace Iulius Atticus met him, one of the "Bill-men, holding out a bloudy sword in his hand, with which he cried aloude he had slaine Otho. My friende, quoth Galba, who bad thee? a man of rare vertue to keepe in awe a licentious souldier, whom neither threatens could terrifie, nor flattering speeches corrupt and abuse.

By this time the souldiers were wholly agreed, with so great fernency fauouring Otho, that not content to assist him in companies with their bodies, they cast a ring about him with banners, as he stood * in the midst of the ensignes in the Tribunnall, in which a little before the image of Galba was planted in gold, not suffering the Tribunes or Centurions to approach, yea and further the common-souldier bidding beware of Officers. All the whole Campe resounding with clamours, with tumult, with mutuall encouragement: none of those different chantings of dull flattery practised among the popular: but as they espied any souldier comming, they would take him by the hand, embrace him in their armour, set him fast by them, begin him the oath, recommending sometime their Emperour to the souldiers, and sometime the souldiers to their Emperour. Neither was Otho slacke for his part to stretch forth his hands, to bow himselfe to euery meane person, * to throw kisses abroad, and what seruile crouching else not for an Empire! When the whole Legion of Mariners had sworne allegiance, trusting now to his strength, and supposing it requisite to incense them in Common, whom as yet hee had onely incited in seuerall, standing vpon the Rampier of the Campe, hee begins in this manner.

g Purposing onely, as Plutarch reporteth, to shew himselfe abroad to the people and doe his sacrifice to the gods for his deliuerance, as making no doubt but that Otho was dead. τὰς δὲ θυσίας, ἡ εὐχὴν τῆς πελιδνῆς βελόνης: but in the end he found himselfe bidden to another banquet. * Thoracem. Sueton. Loricam linteam. * Or a priuy coate. * Spiculatores. * Medium inter signa. i. medium inter milites, subsignatos. * jacere oscula. εὐχόμενα δὲ ἰκέρουσι δια τὸ δακτύλιον ἰπερεπε. Xiphilinus.

" I am come here, as you see, to your presence, my louing companions : but what I
 " am, that cannot I tell. A priuate man I will not be tearmed, being named Prince
 " by you ; nor Prince well I cannot, whilst yet another possesseth the place : your
 " name also, whether traytors or true subiects, shalbe likewise in doubt, till it be deci-
 " ded what maner of man you haue in your campe, an Emperour of the people of
 " Rome, or an enemy. Do you not heare how my death, and your punishment are

^h For so Tacitus
 saith a little be-
 fore: *dissonus*
clamor plebis &
seruitorum, & e-
dem Otho &
conspiratorum
exilium poscen-
tium.

both ^h required at once? so euident it is, that we can neither perish nor be safe, but
 ioyntlie together : and perhaps Galba, according to the measure of his discretion,
 hath promised it already, as one that could finde in his heart, vnaskt, vnrequired, to
 murther so many thousands of most innocent Citizens. A horroure perceth my heart,
 as oft as I call to remembrance the dismall entry, and that onely conquest of his,
 " when he did in sight of the City command to be slaine the tenth person of those,
 " which vpon their humble request he had receiued into his protection. Such was
 " his vnprosperous entry : and what glorious fact brought he beside to commend
 " him withall to the Princes place, sauing the slaughter of Obultronius Sabinus and
 " Cornelius Marcellus in Spaine, of Betuus Chilo in France, of Fonteius Capito in
 " Germany, of Clodius Macer in Africke, of Cingonius in the way, Turpilianus in
 " the City, Nymphidius in the campe? Nay, what Prouince is there, what campe any
 " where, that he hath not, as he pretends, amended and corrected, but in truth with
 " cruelty misused and stained with bloud? Those things which other men account
 " haynous faults, he tearmes them gentle remedies : cruelty he clokes with the name
 " of seuerity; and wretched couetousnes he tearmeth prouident sparing; your stripes

ⁱ Elius was left
 by Nero, at his
 pilgrimage into
 Achaia, as his
 vicegerent in
 Rome, with ab-
 solute authority;
 and with him
 Polycletus :
 which two as
 Xiphilinus wit-
 nesseth, *ἡ πόλις*
ὑπὸ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν
παύσ' ὅσας ν-
δύσθη. Of Vati-
 nius Tacitus ma-
 keth mention
 15. Anna. Vati-
 nius inter fœdissi-
 ma eius aule
 ostenta fuit. Su-
 arine tabernæ
 alumnus, corpore
 detorto, facieq;
 scurrilibus primò
 in contumelias
 assumptus, deinde
 optimi cuiusque
 criminatioe co-
 usq; valuit, ut
 gratia pecunia,
 vi nocendi etiam
 malis præmineret.
 k Or haue my
 watch word gi-
 uen them.

^l Suetonius c. 6.
 addeth: *Ad con-*
ciliandos pollici-
cationibus mili-
tum animos
nihil magis pro-
concione restatus
est, quam id de-
minum se habitum
rum, quod sibi illi
reliquissent.

and indignities ancient discipline. Since the death of Nero it is scarce seuen
 monthes, and yet hath one Icelus already raked more together, then all that rable,
 Polycletus, Vatinius, ⁱ Elius, and their fellowes haue done in so many yeares. And
 certainly with lesse couetousnesse, and more respect would Titus Vinius haue raged
 if himselfe had beene Emperour : now he oppresseth vs as vassals, and holdeth vs vile
 as strangers: the only wealth of that man were enough for the donatiue, which daily
 is cast in your teeth, but neuer paied to your purses. And least we might hope to bet-
 ter our estate, at the least when Galba were gone, he hath fetched out of exile one,
 that in cruelty and couetousnesse he iudged likest himself. You saw, fellow-soldiers,
 by that notable storme, that euen the gods much abhorred that vntoward adoption.
 The Senat, the people are of the same minde : your part now only remaineth : your
 valor and vertue is looked for : you are the men who adde strength to good causes :
 without you, be the attempt neuer so worthy, it shall neuer take any worthy effect. I
 desire you not to a war, I cal you not to any dangerous exploit : the souldiers be all of
 our side, and that one vnarmed cohort, which waits vpon Galba, endeuors not now
 to defend him against vs, but rather detaines him from scaping out from vs : when
 you shall come in their view, when they shall see my enseigne ^k this will be their only
 contention, who shall in my behalfe do greatest seruice. No delay in that enterprise
 is to be vsed, which neuer is commended, before it be ^l ended. Then he comman-
 ded the Armory to be opened : armes by and by were taken contrary to custome,
 and order of seruice, where the Prætorian and Legionary man is seuered by his dif-
 ferent cognisance : with Helmets and Targets they mingle themselues, among the
 Aide souldiers : no Centurion nor Tribune encouraging them, they become Cap-
 taine and encourager, ech man to himselfe ; and that which cheefely encouraged
 the bad, the good were discouraged, and quite out of heart. Now Piso being scared
 away with the noise, as the sedition grew fuller and hoater, with showtes resoun-
 ding euen into the City, by this time had ioyned himselfe to Galba againe, who

was

was in the meane season issued out of the Palace, and comeneere to the place of publicke assembly. Marius Celsus likewise had brought an heavy answer againe: whereupon some thought it expedient to retire into the Palace againe, some rather to possesse themselves of the Capitoll, some other to take the Roftra: but the most did onely impugne the opinions of others; and as often it chanceth in Counsels crossed with euill successe, that way was commonly iudged the best, whereof the time was forepassed. It is reported that Laco, vnwitting to Galba, had a meaning to haue slaine Titus Vinius, hoping belike by his death to mitigate the souldiers, or mistrusting he was confederate with Otho, or els vpon priuate displeasure: the time and the place bred scruple in the matter: for when men are set in a killing, it is not so easie to stop when you list; and many other accidents staied the purpose; fearefull messages, the slippings away of his friendes, their courages being all quailed, euen of those which cheerefully at first made most ostentation of loyalty and stoutnesse. Galba was driuen to and fro with the croud of the company, as it waied vp and downe. ^m The standing in * Temples and Churches on euery side were taken to view this * sorrowfull sight: the people all mute, with countenances amazed, and listening cares; no tumult, no quietnesse: such a silence as argued great feare, and great anger: notwithstanding it was carried to Otho, that the common people were a putting in armes: whereupon he ⁿ commanded his men to march in all speed, and preuent the danger. So the Roman souldies, ⁷ as if they had gone to pull Vologeses or Pacorus out of the throne anciently possessed by Arsaces line, and not to murder their owne Emperour vnarmed, and aged, dispersing the people, tramping the Senat vnder foote, ^o set spurres to their horses, and fiercely in armes rush into the Place of assembly: neither did the sight of the Capitoll, nor reuerence of the Temples about, nor the Princes past and to come, terrifie them from committing that abhominable act; whereof the next successour is the reuenger. The enseigne-bearer of Galbaes cohort, Atilius Vergilio by report, as soone as he saw a far off the armed men, marching in array, Pluckt downe the image of Galba, and dashed it against the pauement, by that it did plainly appeare, that all the souldiers were wholly for Otho. The people vnbidden make away in all haste, leauing the place of assembly voide, or if any seemed to linger, they were drawne vpon by the souldiers. At Lacus Curtius Galba was tumbled out of his chaire to the ground, through the fearefulnesse of them which bare it. His last words are diuersly by diuers reported, as they admired or hated the man: some say, he humbly demanded, what ill he had euer deserued, requesting onely a few daies respite to pay their donatiue. The most doe agree; that he offered stoutly his necke, to doe their pleasure, and strike, if it seemed so good to the Common-wealth: it mattered not much to the murderers what he did say. The very man that slew him is not certainly knowen: some say Terentius Euocatus; others Lecanius: the more receiued opinion is, that Camurius, a souldier of the fifteenth Legion, pearced his throate with a sword: his armes and legges (^p for his brest was armed) others did miserably mangle and hew: many stabbes, vpon a sauage and beastly cruelty, were bestowed vpon the headlesse carcasse. Next after Galba, they assayled Vinius, of whom likewise there is question, whether the present feare wasted his speech, or else that he cried aloud. They had no commandement from Otho to kill him: which, whether he fained for feare, or confessed as associate of the conspiracy, the fame of his leaud life doth make it more probable he was guilty of the treason, whereof he was a cause. At the first wound in his hamme he tumbled downe before the Temple of Diuus Julius, and after by Iulius Carus, a Legionary souldier, was thrust through

^m Or, the standings vpon the common halles and Temples.

^{*} Basilica ac templa. ⁷ *Sanctae huius murtuorum dicitur.* ^{Plut. Seneca lib 3. de ira. ^{Fremu indiciorum basilice resonant.}}

^o *lugubri prospectu, for prospectu.* Tacitus

² Hist. 93. *Luxu & sagina mancipari.*

Plutarch turneth this place.

ἀντὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

ⁿ For he himselfe remained still in the campe

Suet. Otho. c. 6.

while this tragedy was a playing; a circumstance which in

reason Tacitus should not haue

touched so

lightly.

^o *Equites, viso procul, Galba,*

parumper relictum, deinde

in sum incitavit. ^{c. 6. Suet. c. 19.}

^p *Tuorace, or*

Lorica Intera:

supra.

^q Tacitus *Suet. Galbam, Titus*

Primi de uerborum

mortalium, odio

flagrantissimum onerabat.

• Both Plutarch
and Xiphilinus
write that not
Piso, but Galba
was protected by
Densus.

• Plut. noteth
that he fill f. a-
red them with
the vine rod.
• καλῶς ἐστὶν ἰ-
κατοντάχην
ἐστὶ πλὴν τῶν
δυσμύσας.

• Spiculator.

• Of what Legi-
on of the Mari-
ners as I thinke:
for other Legion
I finde none in
this action: and
they received
Aquilam & sig-
na at Othoes
hand, as it may
seeme by Tacit.
• Plut. of Galba
they demanded
it indeed at his
en-ry, but they
were paid with
other money for
their paines.

• Plutarch. φη-
σὶν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλ-
λ' ἔργον (ὅτι Ὀθῶν)
σχέτως ἐφ' ἡμῶν
ὡς δὲ ποικίλιν αὐ-
τὸν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ ἐπὶ
καρτερῶν ἐκπύ-
διεναι πᾶσι τοῖς
ἀνέχουσιν.

the sides. A worthy man that day our age did aforde, Sempronius Densus a Cen-
turiion of the Cohort which garded Galba, and by him appointed to wait vpon Piso,
who with his Raper drawne encountring the armed men, and vpbayding to them
their disloyalty, partly by deedes, and partly by words turning the blowes vpon his
owne head, gaue Piso, although he were wounded, time and space to escape away.
Piso recouering the Temple of Vesta, and being receiued by the Sextons compassi-
on, and hid in his Cabin, not by the reuerence of sanctuary, or sacred ceremonies of
the holy goddesse, but onely by hiding himselfe, differred imminent death, when as
straight there comes thither, by Othoes expresse commandement, hotly bent by
name for his blood, Sulpitius Florus, one of the Brittish Cohorts, lately by Galba
made Citizen of Rome, and Statius Marcus a Bilman: of these two was Piso
drawn out and slaine in the gates of the Temple. No mans death did Otho so ioy-
fully take; no head did he view and reuiew so insatiably: whether it was that then
first of all his minde was at ease, and free to reioyce, lightened of all maner burdens
and care; or that the remembrance of maiesty in Galba, of acquaintance in Vinus,
had strooke a kinde of horror into his vnmercifull minde: marry for Piso, his enemy
and concurrent, he thought he might iustly withal reason reioyce at his ruine. Their
heads were planted vpon speares, and caried among the enseignes of the Cohortes,
neare the Standerd of the Legion, struiing to shew their bloody hands, they which
had slaine them, they which were present, some truely, some falsely, all making their
vaunt, as of a goodly and memorable act. More then a hundreth and twenty suppli-
cations, put vp for some good seruice that day, were afterward found by Vitellius,
who caused the men to be all sought out, and slaine, not in honour of Galba, but
vpon a tradition receiued among Princes as an assurance of their present estate, and
a meane of reuenge afterward. Now the Senat and people were no more the same
men: they runne all by heapes to the Campe, contending and shouldring who
should get formost, defacing Galba, extolling the souldiers iudgment, kissing
Othoes hand, and the lesse they ment it in heart, doing so much the more in outward
apparence. Neither did Otho reiect any one though comming single, moderating
with speeches and countenance the greedy, and manacing disposition of the souldi-
ers; who demanded to the slaughter Marius Celsus Consull elect, and to the last
faithfull to Galba, offended with his sufficiency and innocency as capitall crimes.
A quarrell was sought apparently to sacke, and massacre, and to ouerthrow persona-
ges of honour: but Othoes authority was not sufficiently grounded as yet to pro-
hibite a mischiese, well might he command one: so making semblance of anger, he
willes them to put him in prison; that he would shew at leasure exemplary iustice
vpon him, and so deliuered him from present destruction. All things beside were
ordered according as the souldiers appointed. They elected Captaines of the Guard
Plotius Firmus in time past a common-souldier, and then Captaine of the Watch,
and in Galbaes life a fauourer of Otho: to him they adioyne Licinius Proculus, a
neare and inward acquaintance of Otho, and therefore suspected to haue beene a
furtherer of his proceedings. Flauius Sabinus they ordeined Prouost of the Citie,
following therein the iudgement of Nero, vnder whom he had obtained before
the said charge, most men in so doing respecting Vespasian his brother. With
great instance was it demanded that the fees of vacations vsually giuen to the
Centurions might be remitted: for the common-souldier paid them as an annuall
pension; whereby some in companies, part wandring by licence abroad, or in the
Campe made no dainty to beare any burden, nor rooke any care how they gained,
till they had wherewith to pay the Centurion, by robbing and spoiling, or ser-
uile

uile ministers redeeming their ease. Further the souldier which had any wealth was sure to be tired with trauell and stripes till he brought out his immunity ; and when the poore wretch had consumed his substance , and wasted his body with sloth, he returned to his band vnlusty, and beggerly, whereas he was actiue and wealthy before : and so likewise another and another corrupted with like licence, and brought to like beggery, were caried to mutinees, dissentions, and ciuill warres in the end. But Otho left by gratifying the souldier he should aliene the Centurions mindes, promised to pay out of his ⁹ owne Cofers the yeerely vacations ; a thing no doubt very profitable, and by good Princes succeeding established for a perpetuall order. Laco confined in shew into an Iland, was murdered by Euocatus, whom Otho had sent before for the purpose. Vpon Martianus Icelus, as ¹⁰ being a freedman, open execution was done. The day being thus consumed in mischiefes, the last of all illes was the reioyceing. ¹¹ The Citie-Pretor calleth the Senat to counsell : the rest of the Magistrates contend to exceed in flattery : the Lords of the Senat run thither in haist : * to Otho is awarded Tribunitiall authority, and the name of Augustus, ¹² with all other Princely prerogatiues, and titles, ech man endeouoring to abolish the opprobrious speeches, and reuiling tearmes which they had indifferently vsed against him, which neuerthelesse he seemed not much to remember ; whether he purposed to pardon the offences, or differre the punishment, by reason of the short time he ruled, could not be seene. Otho, the Place of assembly being yet imbrued with bloud, was caried thorow the dead bodies, as they lay slaine, first to the Capitoll, and thence to the Palace, giuing permission to bury, and burne the carcases. Piso was by his wife Verania, and Scribonianus his brother ; Titus Vinus by his daughter Crispina, composed and laied in graue ; hauing first sought out ^y and redeemed their heads, which the murderers had kept to be sold. Piso was when he died one and thirty yeeres old, of better fame then fortune : his brother Magnus was slaine by Claudius, and Crassus by Nero : himselfe liued a great while in exile, and foure daies a Prince, adopted in haist before his eldest brother, with this onely aduantage, that he was thereby the first made away. Titus Vinus liued forty seuen yeeres, not all after one sort : his father was of a Prætorian house ; his mothers father one of the *proscriptes. At his first seruice in warre he became infamous : his Lieutenant generall Calusius ^z Sabinus wife, carried with an vnwomanly desire to view the site of the Campe ; and hauing in souldiers attire wantonly perused the watch, and other Campe offices, in the very * Principia forfeited hir honour ; and the man accused of the fact was Titus Vinus : whereupon by commandement of Caius the Emperour he was imprisoned, and non through change of times being enlarged he passed thorow offices of honour without touch ; first Prætor, then Lieuetenant of a Legion with good commendation : afterward he stained himselfe with a seruile crime, conueighing away a golden cup from Claudius boord ; whereupon the day following Claudius made him alone of all his guesstes to be serued in * earthen : notwithstanding being Proconsull of Gallia Narbonensis he gouerned the country with great seuerity and sincerenesse : anon by reason of credit with Galba being drawn to the place of dangerous downe-fall, he was bolde, craftie, actiue, and as he listed to bend his minde, mischieuous or industrious in equall degree. The testament of Titus Vinus his wealth made voide ; Pises, his pouerty ratified. Galbaes body long neglected, and in the darke despitefully intreated, Argius his Steward, one ¹³ of his principal bondmen, ^z buried with small ceremony in his priuate Gardens. His head, by the * followers and * rascalles of the Campe, mangled and stabbed was found the day after before Patrobius roombe,

* By Suet. c. 7. it appeareth that Otho was present in senate.

Vergent: iam die ingressus senatum (Otho) postea, breui ratione, quasi raptus de publico, & suscipere imperium visum. Etus, gesturusque communi omnium arbitrio, Palatium petiuit.

^y Crispina paid for her fathers ten thousand sesterces: that is, 78. li. 2. s. 6. d. Plutarch.

* de proscriptione. ab Octauio, Antonio, Lepido, triumuiris reip. perdende.

^z De quo vide Senecam epist. 27.

* Principia the place in the Campe where the Standard and ensignes are pitched.

* scilicet.

^z τὴ δὲ σὺντα τῇ Γαλβᾷ Πρίσκιος Ἐλβιδίος ἀνείλετο, τὴ δὲ Οὐρανὸς ἱππὶς ἐλάττω: & οὐκ ἐδύκετο Ἀργίου ἀπαλαύσεως. Plutarch.

* iuxta, qui extra ordinem & sine armis exercitum sequuntur quæstus gratia. Polybius.

Festus * calones, militum serui ; so called, because they carried clubs after their masters, which the Grecians call ἡγεῖα Seruus.

Festus.

a Freed man of Nero, whom Galba had executed, and so was put with his body burned before. This end had Seruius Galba, hauing liued ¹⁴ seuentie three yeeres, and out liued fise Princes in great prosperity; happier vnder the Empire of others then in his owne: his house of ancient nobility, and great wealth: himselfe a man of a midle disposition, rather vicelesse, then greatly vertuous; neither neglecting his fame, nor yet ambitiously carefull of it: of other mens mony not greedy, sparing of his owne, of the common a niggard: bearing with his fauorites and freed-men, without reprehension, when they were good; if they were bad, to his owne shame ignorant of their ill doings: but his honorable birth, and the dangerous times couered the matter, entituling that wisedom, which in trueth was but sloth: in his flourishing age greatly renowned for seruice in ^a Germany: Africke he ruled as Proconsul with great moderation: and growing in yeeres, the nearer Spaine vprightly and well: seeming more then a priuate man, whilest he was priuate, and by ^b all mens opinions capable of the Empire, had he neuer beene Emperour.

^a Dio lib. 60.
ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν
which was the
first yeere of
Clauius Em-
pire) ὁ Γαλβας ὁ
Συλπίκιος Καί-
σαρς ἡγεμόνησεν,
^b Aufonius.
Spem frustrate
senex, primatus
sceptra metens Vi-
sus es; imperio
proditus inferior.
Fama tibi meior
inueni: sed iustus
et ordo est, Com-
placuisse dolens,
dissplicuisse prius.

^a Gellius lib. 1. c. 9.
Geometriam, Gno-
monicam, Musicā
ceterasq; item ar-
tiplinas altiores,
μαθηματικά
veteres Graeci ap-
pellabant, vulgus
autem, quos geni-
licio vocabulo
Chaldaeos dicere
oportet, mathema-
ticos dicit.
^b Tac. 12. Ann.
qui obijceret
Chaldaeos, magos
interrogatos su-
per nuptijs im-
peratoris.
^c Tac. Ann. 12.
^d 2. Histor.
^e A. V. C. 770.
but Tacitus 2.
Ann. placeth it
in the yeere
Before.
^f A. V. C. 615.

^a The Astrologers also: *Mathematicis*] This vse of the word *Mathematicus* pro *Apotelesmatico* is vterly ^a vn- known to the ancient Græcians, and to the Romans also, for ought I remember, till the Emperours time. Before they were called *Chaldaei non ex aris, sed ex gentis vocabulo*, saith Tully: then *Mathematici* (a name vndue to their occupation) or *Planetarij*, and ^b *Chaldaei* also in our time *Astrologi*, a word of the ancientest both Greeke and Latine applied to that part of the Mathematicall sciences, both now, and then also, known by the name of Astronomy. In Augustus time, *Αγρίππας τὸν ἀπολόγους καὶ τὸν γόντις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλασε*. That is, Agrippa banished Astrologers (for so in Diestime they began to call them) and Magicians out of the City. Dio lib. 49. In Tiberius time, *Facta est de Mathematicis, magisque Italia pellendis senatusconsulta, quorum numero L. Pituanus saxo deiectus est*. In P. Martium Coss. extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere iussissent, more prisco aduertere. Tac. 2. Anna. In Clau- dius time ^c *De Mathematicis Italia pellendis factum senatusconsultum atrox et irritum*. And in Vitellius time ^d *puls.* Italia Mathematici, Plinianus lib. 7. de officio Proconsulis. *Præterea interdicta est Mathematicorum callida impostura: nec hodie primum interdicti eis placuit, sed vetus hac prohibitio est, denique extat senatusconsultum Pomponio ^e et R. f. Coss. fac- tum, quo cauetur, ut Mathematicis, Chaldaeis, ariolis et ceteris, qui similem artem fecerint, aqua et igni interdicatur, omniaq; bona eorum publicentur, and anon after, sapissime denique interdictum est ferè ab omnibus principibus, ne quis omnino hu- iusmodi ineptijs se immisceret, yea before the Princes campe in, M. Popillio Lanate, Cn. ^f Calpurnio Coss. C. Cornelius His- pallus prætor edicto Chaldaeos intra decimum diem abire ex vrbe atq; Italia iussit: leuibz atque ineptis ingenijs, fallaci siderum interpretatione quasuosam mendacijs suis caliginem inijcientes: saith Valerius lib. 1. Tertullian in his booke de habitu muliebri, and againe in lib. de Idololatria, is of opinion, that the Angels which fell from their first creation were authors of Astrology, and therefore exiled out of Heauen, as their creatures out of Italy. *Expelluntur*, saith he, *Mathematici, sicut angeli eorum, vrbs et Italia interdicitur Mathematicis, sicut cælum angelis eorum, eadem pœna est exitij discipulis et magistris*. All these lawes notwithstanding they remained at Rome, saith Tacitus, and that in as good credit as before, the better beleued, the oftener they had perused the Gayles. *Iuuenalis Satyra. 6.**

*Inde fides artis, sonnit si dextera ferro,
Leuq; si longo castrorum in carcere mansit.
Nemo Mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit.*

And of Ptolemæus the same Iuuenal.

*Præcipuus tamen est horum, qui sapius exul,
Cuius amicitia conducendaque tabella.*

^a *Magnus cinis obijt et formidatus Othoni*. Suetonius & Othone nameth him Seleucus, by error as it may seeme; for Seleucus was Vespasiansman. ^b *Nec erat intactus tali superstitione (Vespasians) ut qui mox rerum dominus Seleucum quendam Mathematicum rectorem et præcium palam habuerit.*

^a The lakes of Campania, and townes of Achaia] The ancientest and best Historiographers, taking their pleasure in *explicatione consiliorum*, and faining Orations, haue left vs sometimes rather an image of their owne wits then of the times wherof they haue written. The nature of which, in mine opinion, were better learned *ex Actis vrbis diuturnis, Actis senatus*, and such like, if any were extant, then by any story we haue. Not that I thinke a simple collection of memories of the like vse in other respects, as a story well written, neither doe I condemne that liberty of faining speeches, which I see granted them by ⁱ Dionysius Halicarnassicus, and other good writers, so it be done with iudgement and *pro decoro personarum*, including no euident absurdity or contradiction. Thucydides the first, and as many thinke the best Author of such set speeches in stories, challengeth expressly that right. *ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἔχαστοι, ἢ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν, ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔσθιν ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεύσαι ἦν, ἐμὸν τε ὦν ἀττῶ ἤκιστα, καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ποτὲν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν. ὥς δ' αὖ ἐδόκεν μοι ἔχαστοι πρὸς τῶν ἀπὸ παρὲντων τὰ δέοντα μαλίστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχρυσάμην ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς συμπίπτουσιν γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, ὥς τις εἰρήται: vpon which place albeit the Scholiast taking his pleasure affirms, that his Author hath so great examples, and where the truth cannot be had, approacheth to the truth, and most commonly enfor- meth the iudgement more then the truth would it selfe. Let vs see how Tacitus hath caried himself in this point: who though otherwise sharpe sighted enough, hath in this place, in my opinion, scarcely auoided an inconueni- ence. Those which were wont Campania lacus et Achaia vrbes classibus adire were the ^k Prætorian souldiers: those whom*

ⁱ In his booke
ἀπὸ τῶν Θουκυδίδου
καὶ ἡγεμονίας.

^k Xiphilinus &
Suetonius Nerone
cap. 19. prætorian-
nos pro concione
ad inchoandum
opus cohortatus est.

whom O ho had here to talke with were the Legionaries of Spaine as they passed the mountaines, who surely could not in possibility accompany Nero into Achaia. Hist. 4. in the oration of Vocula: *Non adeo turbata civilibus armis rem Romanam, ut Treueri etiam & Lingonibus despectui sit.* Melius Dino Julio, *Dinoq; Augusto notes eorum animos Galbam, & infracta tributa hostiles spiritus induisse.* Nunc hostes, quia molle servitium, cum spoliati, ex utiq; fuerint, amicos fore, and yet it is plaine by Tacitus himselfe, and all other histories of that time, Treueri, and Lingones; were of all the French the onely men with Galba atrocibus edictis, aut damno finium perculerat, relieving the rest of their tribute, and making them Citizens. Vulcatius Gallicanus in the life of Avidius Cassius bringeth in M. Antonius the Philosopher profoundly disputing the causes of the fall of certaine Emperours, among other of Pertinax.

¹ *Enumeravit deinde omnes principes qui occisi essent habuisse causas quibus mererentur occidi, nec quenquam facile bonum vel victum a tyranno, vel occisum; dicens meruisse Neronem, debuisse Caligulam, Othonem & Vitellium nec imperare voluisse.* Nam de Pertinace & Galba paria sentiebat, cum diceret, in Imperatore avaritiam esse acerbissimum malum, whereas Pertinax was living thirteen yeares after Antoninus was dead, succeeding in state to Commodus his Sonne. Appianus placing in the Roman battell Domitius in dextro cornu, Lucius Scipio in the middle battel, and Eumenes in sinistro: and of the enemies Antiochus in dextro, Philippus in the middle, and Seleucus in sinistro, in ioyning like a good and skilfull Captaine matching the middles, opposeth the left to the left (a thing not possible in nature) Eumenes to Seleucus and his people, which indeed was true, as it appeareth by ^m Liuy, but Appians ordering of the battell is false. For Eumenes by Liuy, and in trueth was placed in dextro. Appians words be *ἐπεστὰς δὲ τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Δομίτιος αὐτός, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸν ἔστη* (sc. Domitius) *τὸν ὑπερὸν. τὸ δὲ λαὸν ἔδωκεν Εὐμένει.* That is, Domitius commanded the right wing, in the middle battell was the Consul himselfe, the left wing was given to Eumenes: of the enemies *ἐπὶ δεξιῇ τοῖς μὲν δεξιῇς Ἀντίοχος αὐτός. τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ δεξιῇ Σελεύκος ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντίοχου. τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι Φίλιππος ὁ ἐλεφαντάρχης.* That is, The right wing was led by Antiochus himselfe, the left by Seleucus his Sonne, the maine battell by Philip master of the Elephants, now in the ioyning, Eumenes saith he, *τὸ ἰππέα ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ Γαλάταις τε καὶ Καππαδόχαις.* That is, charged with his horsemen against the Galatians and Cappadocians which were over against them, and least we might doubt where these Cappadoces stood, he concludeth with these words, *καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τὸ λαὸν τὴν φάλαγγος τῆς Μακεδόνων.* That is, And these things were done on the left hand of the Macedonian battell. The like error is in Dyonisius lib. 6. *τῆς τε προμαχῶν φάλαγγος, saith he, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κίερος ἔχεν ὁ ἰππάρχης πρὸς αἰβέτιος ἐναντίον σέξτω περικυλίῳ.* That is, Of the Roman Army the left wing was commanded by T. Aebutius Generall of the horse over against Sext. Tarquinius, whom before he had placed *ἐπὶ τῷ λαῷ τῶν λατίνων κίερος,* That is, In the left wing of the Latins, in the battell ad lacum Regillum. And in Callisthenes story of Alexander Polybius lib. 12. noteth many *σφάλματα τακτικά.* That is, Errors in marshalling the men in battell.

³ The golden Milliarium] *Milliarium aureum* was a golden piller set up by Augustus, as Dio witnesseth lib. 54. in capite fori Romani, saith Pliny, *eis ὅν αἱ τελευτημέναι τῆς ἰταλίας ὁδοὶ πάντα τελευτῶσιν.* That is, At which all the high waies of Italy doe end: Plutarchus Galbâ, so called because from thence began the account of miles. Beside *Milliarium aureum* there were *Milliaria lapidea*, that is, little pillers of stone erected by order from C. Gracchus at the end of every mile. Plutarchus Gracchus. *ὡς δὲ τὰς διαμετρήσας καὶ μίλιον ὁδὸν πῶσαι (τὸ δὲ μίλιον ὁκτώ σάδων ὀλίγον ὀπίσθι) κλονα λίθινὰ σημεῖα τῷ μέτρῳ κατέστη.* That is, Moreover having measured out the whole way by miles (a mile being little lesse then eight stadia) he erected pillers of stone as markes of the measure, whereupon grew the vsuall phrase *ad tertium, quartum, quintum ab urbe lapidem*, for three, foure or five miles from the City.

⁴ Not vpon iudgement, or any] Tacit. 3. Hist. *Populi mobilem animum, & se se ducem præbuisse, easdem illas adulationes pro Vespasiana fore, vvhich now they vsed to Vitellius, and in the same booke. Vulgus eadem prauitate infestabatur interfectum (Vitellium) quâ fouerat viuentem.* Iuuenalis Satyra. 10.

Sed quid

*Turba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, & odit
Damnatos, iam populus, si o Nortia Tusco
Fauisset, si oppressa foret secunda senectus
Principis, hac ipsâ Scianum diceret hora
Augustum.* —

⁵ Framing acclamations at pleasure] The formula of acclamations in Senate is to be seene in the later Roman Stories, in fauour, as in Lampridius, to Alexander Seuerus, *Auguste innocens dñ te seruent, &c.* In Vulcatius Gallicanus, to Antonius, *Antonine pie dñ te seruent, Antonine clemens dñ te seruent, &c.* to Diuus Claudius, in Trebellius Pollio, *Auguste Claudi dñ te nobis præsent (dictum sexagesies) Claudi Auguste, &c.* In Flavius Vopiscus, Tacitus the Emperour, *Tacite Auguste dñ te seruent, te diligimus, te principem facimus, &c.* In disfauour, as in Lampridius after Commodus death, *Hosti patriæ honores detrahantur, parricida honores detrahantur, parricida trahatur, &c.* Of popular acclamation we may gesse they were much after this forme.

⁶ Easily beleeued: credula fama] Dionysius noteth in Thucydides among many other innouations in speech, that he commonly changed actiues into passiues, and passiues into actiues, *τὸ μὲν παθητικὰ ῥήματα δὲ ἐξείηται ποιῶν, τὰ δὲ δὲ ἐξείηται παθητικὰ.* In Tacitus here we haue *credula* to signifie, *cui facile credatur*, passiuely, whereas *credulus* in common Latin, and so it is vsed in this booke, signifieth only *qui facile credit*, likewise, *Ne vulgi largitione causturionum animos auerteret, s. largitione quæ fiat vulgo, siue gregario militi.* Againe 15. Annal. *Iniuria minimum, i. quæ minoribus inferuntur.* But to giue a taste once for all of Tacitus Grammar, I will note here three or foure places worthy the noting. Hist. 3. *It omnes Mutiano volentia scripsere, volentia, pleasing, againe, Turba sacricolarum immixtus, ignarusque delituit, i. ignotus:* in another place, *gnarum id Casari, for notum.* and *quæ gnara Vitellianis, incomperta hostibus* 1. Annal. *Fama dediti Segeſti vulgata, ut quibusq; bellum inuitis, aut cupientibus erat, ὡς ἢν ἐκ τοῦ ἢ βυλοῦ ἢ ἀκοντὶ πλάτος.* 15. Ann. *Hæc atque talia plebi volenti fuere, δῆμον βυλοῦ ἢ ἢν.* In vita Agriculæ: *Et quibus bellum volentibus erat.* 5. Hist. *Cæsar Titum ut superior sui iam crederetur. χρεῖσθων ἐαυτῷ.* Ann. 2. *Appellatq; Colophona, ut Clarij Apollinis oratio vteretur.* Homer. *ὁδῶν. κ. ψυχὴ χριστοῦ ἢς διδάσκει τερεπῆας.* Annal. 3. *Adulteros earum morte aut fuga puniuit. i. exilio, φονῇ.* To be short, who to list seeke and looke more nearely into Tacitus phrases shall doubtlesse finde as many strange points in his Grammar, as Dionysius hath done in Thucydides.

⁷ As if they had gone to pull Vologeses or Pacorus out] Dio lib. 40. *ὁκλήσει δὲ (ὁ παρ' αὐτοῖς) ὑπὸ πύλαις,*

¹ M. Antonius.

^m lib. 37.

^m Flavius Sabina.

^o Palladius in v. m. de Seianus erat auctore Tacito Ann. 4. templum Nortæ dea Lisa. lib. 7.

τὸ μὲν πολὺ, τέχνη καὶ ὀρέγεια, ἢ δὴ καὶ πόλεις ἀλλὰς, καὶ κτισθῆντα, ἐν ᾗ καὶ βασιλεία ἔχουσιν. τὸ δὲ μὲν
σφῶν ἦν μὲν περὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι βαρβάρους, καὶ τὸν ὄνομα τότε, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχον. ἀλλὰ
τότε μὲν αὐτοὶ τὸ ἐν μέρει χέρας βραχεῖ ὦκαν, καὶ δυναστεῖαν ὑπερβολὴν ἐκ ἐκείνην. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦτε τῶν περὶ
ἀρχὴ κατελύθη, καὶ τὰ τῶν μακεδόνων ἠκμασεν, οἷτε τὸ ἀλλεῖνδρον διάδοχοι στασιάζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπαντῶν
ἦσαν καὶ μὴ ἀνέχοντες, ἐς τὸ μέσον τότε πρῶτον ὑπὸ ἀρσάκην πρὸς ἀφικοντο. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος καὶ οἱ ἐπειτα βασιλεῖς

• And solis & lu-
na fratres also
saith Marcelli-
nus lib. 23. quod
Arsaces aeterni vi-
tus sui consecra-
tione (ut ipse existi-
mans) permixtus
est omnium pri-
mum.

σάντες αὐτῶν • ἀρσακίδαι ἐπωνομάθησαν. καὶ εὐτυχῆσαντες, πρῶτε πλῆθος ἔχον ἐκείνου τοῦ πᾶν, καὶ τὴν με-
σοποταμίαν σατραπίαν κατέχον. τελευτῶντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐχώρησαν, ὥστε καὶ
τοῖς ῥωμαίοις τὸ τε ἀντιπλεῦσαι, καὶ δεῦρο αἰὲ ἀντίπαλοι νομίζονται. That is, The Parthians inhabite beyond the
River of Tigris in castles and holds. Now of late they have some Cities also, among others Ctesiphon where the kings place of resi-
dence is. They were a severall Nation among the ancient Barbarians, and this name had they even vnder the Persian Empire, not-
withstanding at that time their territory was small, neither had they any dominion abroad. But when the Persian monarchy was
dissolved by the Macedonian power, and Alexanders successors waging war one against another, began to wither and decay,
then attempted the Parthians first of all to come forward vnder the conduct of one Arsaces, of whom all the kings afterward were
called Arsacidæ, and so good was their fortune that they conquered all the Countrey adjoining, together with the Province of
Mesopotamia. In fine they grew to such height both of glory and strength that they opposed themselves in open war against the Ro-
mans, and till this day are accounted the onely men to match and make head against them. Herodianus lib. 6. τῶν δὲ Ἀλλε-
ξάνδρου διαδόχων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερεμένων, πλείους τε σιωχέσι τῆς Μακεδόνων δυνάμεως ἐξαδενέσης, πρῶτος
Ἀρσάκης λέγεται τὸν ἴνον Παρθυσῆος ἀναπεισάτω ἐπὶ κείνην βαρβάρους ἀποστῆναι Μακεδόνων. πρῶτος μὲν τὸ δι-
άδογμα ἐκόντων Παρθυσῆων, καὶ τῶν πρῶτον βαρβάρων, αὐτὸς τε ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ
πλείστον περιέμεινεν ἡ ἀρχή. That is, Alexanders successors being divided one against another, and the Macedonian power
greatly weakened with continuall wars, Arsaces by birth a Parthian is said first of all to have perswaded the Barbarians of those
quarters to revolt from the Macedonians, and assuming the diadem by consent both of the Parthians and other barbarians there-
about himselfe was King, and after him the crowne continued for a long time in his posterity. The very precise time of the
Parthian reuolt was vnder Antiochus, Tacitus 5. Hist. Antiochus Parthorum bello prohibitus est: nam ea tempestate Ar-
saces descenderat. Appianus συνεκλήσκει which Antiochus, to wit, Antiochus surnamed Deus, Grand child
to Seleucus founder of the Syrian kingdome. καὶ παρδυσῆος τῆς ἀποστάσεως τότε ἦσαν, ὥς τε παραγυμνὸς τῆς
τῶν σελευκιδῶν ἀρχῆς. That is, At that time began the Parthians the reuolt by reason the kingdome of the Seleucidæ was
in great disorder. From this Arsaces the Parthian kingdome continued to Artabanus, who reigning in Alexander
Seuerus time, was then destroyed by Artaxerxes a Persian, and so the Empire of those Easterne Countries united
again to the crowne of Persia. Herodianus lib. 6. Vologeses or Vologesus (for both waies we find it written the
Grecians call him Ουολόγαισος) was at this time king of Parthia, sonne to Vonones that died in Claudius time,
Anno vrb. cond. 802. and brother to Pacorus king of Media, and Tiridates by Nero crowned king of Armenia.

p Ammianus lib.
23. affirmeth it
was Seleucus
Nicator.

14. Hist. gratie
Vologeso adēa.

The fees of vacations: *Vacationes*] Id est, pretia vacationum, for so he termeth them 1. Annal. Mox indiscretis
vocibus pretia vacationum incusant. Now vacationum, of what? *munerum*, for so Tacitus speaketh in another place.
hinc vacationes munerum redimi. So that vacationes in this place, and in another, is as much as pretia vacationum mu-
nerum, for the common souldier by the strictnesse of ancient discipline was tied and bound to many seruile mi-
nisteries in the Campe, by Tacitus called *munera*, as is aforesaid, and by Vegetius *munia*, as to bring in wood,
straw, hay, water &c. Being negligent, or failing in execution therof, they were cudgelled and whipped by the
Centurions. Tac. 1. Annal. *Frastra vite intergo militis, alteram clara voce, ac rursus aliam poscebat centurio Lucilius,*
whereupon in all mutinees the Centurions were the men principally shot at by the Common-souldier. In the
German sedition at the entring of Tiberius, they muttered first among themselves *venisse tempus quo cuncti modum*
miseriarum exposcerent, seuiti atque centurionum vlciscerentur: and straight after put in execution against them. Re-
pentē lymphati districti gladijs in centuriones inuadunt, ea vetustissima militarium odij materies, & sauiendi principum, pro-
fstratos verberibus multant sexagenis singulos, ut numerum centurionum adaequarent, Tum conuulsos laniatosque & partim ex-
animos, ante vallum, aut in amnem Rhenum projiciunt. Now the wealthy souldier, and those which had meanes, re-
deemed and bought out for mony this seruice at the Centurions hands. So the souldiers in Pannony com-
plaine. *Denis in diem assibus animam & corpus assimari, hinc vestem, arma, tentoria, hinc seuitiam centurionum, & vaca-*
ationes munerum redimi, and the German, *mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum, Angustias stipendij, duritiam operum*
ac proprijs nominibus incusant vallum, fossas pabuli, materia lignorum adgestus, & siqua alia ex necessitate, aut aduersus oti-
um castrorum quaeruntur. That then which heere they demanded was, that for purchasing immunity from these
munera, they should not be forced to pay any mony to the Centurions.

1. Annal.
lib. 2. cap. 19.

His owne Cofers: *Ex Fisco suo*] *Fisci*, sparte a sunt vtensilia ad maioris summae pecunias capiendas; Asconius, and
so Tully vseth the word, in *Verrem*. *Fiscos complures cum pecunia Siciliensi a quodam senatore ad equitem Romanam esse*
translatos. And in the same sense we read in Tacit. 1. Annal. *cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa, interque*
Aquilas veherentur, in Suet. Claudio, *positis ante se cum pecunia fisci &c.* Whereupon quia maior summa est pecunia
publica quam privata, vt pro censu privato loculos, & arcas & sacellos dicimus, sic pro publico thesauro arary dicitur fiscus, saith
Asconius, applying the names of *fiscus* and *ararium*, both to one thing; as Tully doth, *Verrinā 3. Quaternos H. S.*
quos mihi senatus decreuit & ex arario dedit, ego habebō, & in eistam transferam ex fisco. But after the diuision of the Em-
pire made by Augustus in *publicas*, & *principis* *provincias* the words were no more indifferently vsed, *Fiscus* being
appropriated to signifie the Princes treasure, and *Ararium* the publicke, a difference notwithstanding more of
names then of substance. λόγῳ μὲν τὸ τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνων (Αὐγύστη) ἀποκέκετο, ἐργῳ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα
πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν αὐτῆς ἀνελίσκετο. Dio lib. 53. That is, In name the publike treasure was severed from Augustus exche-
quer, but in truth that also was spent at his disposition.

3 cap. 18.

Being a Freed-man] *Ingenui* were commonly murderd priuily; *serui*, or *libertini* generis publicely executed.
Such also was Asiaticus end, that carried the credit with Vitellius, as soone as Vespasian came in. Tacit. 4. Hist.
Asiaticus, vt libertus malam potentiam seruli supplicio expiauit.

The City Prator calleth the Senate] For both the Consuls were slaine. In which case or otherwise in
their absence *ius vocandi senatum* belonged to the Prator *urbanus*. Cic. lib. ad familiares 10. Paulo post idem nūti
Munatius literas legendas dedit, quas ipsi miserat, & eas quas publicē. Placuit nobis vt statim ad Cornutium pratorem urb.
lit. ras

a epi. 12.

litteris deferretur: qui quòd Coss. aberant, consulare manus sustinebat more maiorum. Senatus est continuò convocatus.

¹ With all other princely prerogatives] The principall titles vsually annexed to the Princes place were these
² Princeps, ³ Imperator, ⁴ Caesar, ⁵ Augustus, ⁶ Tribunitia potestatis, ⁷ Pater patrie, ⁸ Pontifex maximus. Tac. 1. Annal.
Augustus cunctis discordijs civilibus fessa nomine ¹ Principis sub imperium accepit, which title of Princeps, as I thinke, was
borrowed from princeps senatus in the former state. ² Imperator hath a double signification both touched by Dio,
lib. 52. ἐν τῷ ἑταίρῳ καὶ πάλιν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐπικλήσιν ἐπέτετο (ὁ Αὐγούστου) λέγων δὲ ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς νύ-
χους καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον διδομένον πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐτέρον πλῆθος τοῦ κρατοῦ σημαίνονταν. That is, In that yeere Augustus
took to himselfe the name of Imperator. I meane not that name which in ancient time was given to certaine persons vpon some
notable victory, but this other signifying soueraigne power and maiesty. And not onely this later which began first in Iu-
lius Caesar, A. V. C. 709. importing soueraigne maiesty, but also the other was vsual vnder the Emperours, both in
the Princes stile, and conferred likewise vpon priuate persons that had deserued it. Tac. 3. Anna. Tiberius id quoque
Blasphemia tribuit, ut imperator à legionibus salutareretur, prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta rep. gaudio & impetu victoris exer-
citus conclamabantur, erantque plures simul imperatores, nec super caterorum equalitatem concessit quibusdam & Augustus id
vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius Blasphemia postremum. In the Princes stile thus. Imp. Caesar Augustus, Imp. decimum sextum : Im-
perator in the first place signifying supreme authority, in the second πᾶσι τῶν νίκων obtained either by him-
selfe, or by his Deputies. So Nero remaining at Rome ob rem bene gestam à Corbulone in Armenia consalutatus est Im-
perator. Tac. 13. Anna. ³ Caesar by kinred or adoption from D. Iulus to Nero, in quo, saith Sueton. progenies Casar-
um defecit, Galba and the rest nullo gradu contingentes Casarum Domum were called Cæsars in respect of succession
in office and place, rather then blood : and not onely the Princes themselues, but also their sonnes and designed
successours. 5. Hist. Eiusdem anni principio Caesar Titus, in his fathers time. And before that, 3. Hist. milites Domitia-
num, Casarem consalutant. And Piso in this booke, ex quo Caesar ascitus sum. ⁴ The name of Augustus peculiar to the
Prince in possession had his beginning from Octavius, whose originall and Etymologie Dio declareth lib. 53. ὁ
καὶσαρ ἐπεθύμει μὴ ἰχυρώς βασιλεύειν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ὡς ὁ παλαιός τε καὶ ὁ νεώτερος ἐν τέτταρτος βασιλείας ἐπι-
θυμεῖν, ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἀντεποιήσαντο, ἀλλὰ αὐγαστος, ὥς καὶ πλέον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνδρείους ὧν, ἐπεκλήθη. πάντα γὰρ
τὰ ἐμπόδια, καὶ τὰ ἱερῶτα, αὐγαστα προσπαρένευται, ἐξ ἑῶν καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντες προσέτι τὸ
σεβάζεσθαι, προστίπον. That is, Octavius desired most earnestly to haue beene called Romulus, but perceiuing that thereby he
came into suspicion of affecting the kingdome, he desisted from that purpose, and was surnamed Augustus, as being somewhat
more then a man. For in Latine things most pretious and sacred are called Augusta, and so the Greekes call him Sebastos, which
is deriued of a word signifying deuine adoration. ⁵ Tribunitia potestatis. Dio lib. 53. ἡ ἐξουσία ἡ δημοκρατικὴ καλεμένη,
διδομένη τοῖς τὰ τὸ ἐπικρατοῦμενα ὑπὸ ἑτέρου πινόμενοι, ἀνὰ μὴ συνεπεινῶσι, πάειν, καὶ κατὰ κράτος εἰσέρχονται. καὶ ἀπο-
βιβάζονται μὴ ὀφείλοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ ἀδικεῖσθαι δύνασθαι, καὶ ἀκετον τὸν κρίνοντα αὐτό, ὥς καὶ ἐναντὶ τοῦ
λύσαι. Δημοκρατικὴ μὴ γὰρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος πάντως τελόντες, ἔχουσιν νομίμως εἶναι. πάλιν δὲ δὴ Νέ-
ωνα μὴ τῷ δημοκρατικῷ πᾶσι, ὅσην περὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἐχέτω, προστίθενται (οἱ αὐτοκράτορες) καὶ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ
ἀδείμασις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν ὥς καὶ κατ' ἑτος αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀειδημοκρατικῶν λαμβανόντων, προσβαίνει.
That is, Tribunitia authority giues the Emperours power to stop any thing done by others against their owne liking. Moreover
it preserues their person from all manner of iniury or contumely, giuing them authority immediately to make away without iudge-
ment or formality of law, as an execrable person, whosoever shall offer them neuer so little an indignity in word or deed. And
albeit the Princes themselves beare not the office of Tribunes, as being Patritij : and therefore by law not capable thereof, yet
take they to them all their power and authority at the highest reckoning that euer it was, and by it account the yeeres of their go-
uernment (writing for example Tribunitia potestatis quartum Trib. pot. quintum the fourth and fift yeere of their Em-
pire) as though they assumed that authoritie from yeere to yeere with the yeerely Tribune. Tac. 3. Annal. Tiberius potestatem
tribunitiam Druso (filio) petebat id summi fastigij vocabulum * Augustus reperit, ne Regis aut Dictatoris nomen assumeret,
ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperio præmineret. | 1. Annal. Augustus posito Triumvirii nomine, Consul se ferens, &
ad tuendam plebem Tribunitio iure contentum. Flavius Vopiscus in the life of Tacitus the Emperour ; Tribunitia pote-
state, que pars maxima regalis imperij est. As for the office of Tribanus plebis, vnder the Emperours the ² name rather
then the authority, and ius intercedendi in some sort remained. In Tiberius time, cum premium accusatori decerneretur,
Iunius Otho tribunus plebis intercessit, and in Neros, Rusticus Arulenus flagrans iuuenis, & cupidine landis offerebat se
intercessurum senatusconsulto, nam plebi tribunus erat. Tacit. 16. Annal. ⁶ The name and honour of Pater Patrie
was giuen by M. Cato to Tully in Catilines conspiracy, and after peculiar to the Princes, vnlesse it were some
that for modesty, or in respect of their youth refused it. Appianus 2. Εμφλ. Κάπωνος δὲ αὐτὸν (τὸν Κικέρωνα)
καὶ πατέρα τῆς πατρίδος προσπαρένευσεν, ἐπεβόησεν δὲ δήμος. καὶ δοκεῖ ποῖν ἤδε ἡ εὐφημία ἀπὸ Κικέρωνος ἀρξα-
μένη φανελεῖν ἐς πάλιν αὐτοκράτορων τὸν φανουλὺν ἀξίως. ἐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς δὲ, καὶ τὸ εἶναι βασιλεύον ἐνδὺς ἀπ'-
ἀρχῆς αἵμα τῶν ἀλλοιῶν ἐπωνυμίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν χρόνῳ μόλις ἤδε ὡς ἐντελής ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δὴ μαρτυρεῖται ἠμφότεραι.
That is, When Cato called Cicero Pater patrie all the people consented with a shoute. And some thinke that this honourable ac-
clamation in Tully was a precedent for the Senate afterward to confer the same title vpon their Princes, such as seemed worthy:
for euen they, though being absolute Princes, yet haue not this at first together with the rest of their stile, but after a long time
this title is decreed vnto them for a full accomplishment of their honour and a finall testimony of their greatest and most vertuous
actions. ⁷ The office of Pontifex maximus was a seuerall charge in the free common wealth, vnited in the person
of Caesar at what time he vsurped the State, and so for the mozt part continued in his successours, of which we
shall haue occasion to speake more hereafter. Besides these titles of honour vsually expressed in the Princes stile,
many other dignities conferred vpon Augustus, and the first Emperours at seuerall times, and vpon occasion,
were all in one ordinary decree granted to the Prince at the first assembly of the Senate after his comming to
State, as ⁸ Imperium proconsulare, ⁹ ius relationis himselfe being not Consull, and that of being aboue all law, ¹⁰ le-
gis solui, &c. Dio lib. 53. ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ, δυνάμει τῇ παλαιῇ ρωμαίων ² ἐς πάντα ἄπικρυς, ἐδίδην, ἀπο-
κρίνοιντο (οἱ αὐτοκράτορες) λέγουσιν γὰρ δὴ τῷ νόμῳ, ὥς αὐτὰ τὰ λατρινὰ ῥήματα λέγει, ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐλάττει-
ν ἀπὸ νόμου ἀναγκάσει νομίμως εἶπαι καὶ ἐδέναι τῷ γεγενημένων ἐνέχοντα. That is, And here the Emperours ob-
tained another prerogative (such as was neuer absolutely granted to any of the ancient Romans, that is, legis solui to be tied to
no obseruation of any written law. Againe, δια πᾶσι ἡ γραμματεία χρηματίζειν αὐτῷ (τῷ Αὐγούστῳ) θεοῖς ὅτις ὅτις ἀν-
ἐθέλησεν καὶ ἐλάττειν βελὴν, καὶ μὴ ἀπατεύσθαι, ἐδωκε, πᾶσι τῶν ἀνδράπων εἶναι κατὰ τὰς ἐξουσίας, ὥς
μητε

μήτε

μήτε ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ τῇ εἰπο τῷ πωμηνεῖς χαταπίδωκεν αὐτῷ, μήτ' αὖτις ἀναγεῖναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπαγκῶ τὸ πλεον
τῷ ἐξαρχεῖ ἀρχόντων ἰσχεῖν ἐπέτρεψε. That is, For these causes the Senate granted Augustus power to propose any one
thing which himself listed every Senate, though he were not as then Consul. Likewise that he should have Proconsular autho-
ritie once for all. So that he should not neede either to depose it when he entred the Pomerium, nor againe to resume it. Beside
that in all other places subiect to the Emperors his power and authority should be above and superiour to all the particullar Magi-
strates there. The Consul apud Vopiscum in Probo, hauing made relation to the Senate of Probus letters elected Em-
perour by the souldier, Decerno igitur, saith he, P.C. votis omnium concinentibus (Aurelio Probo) nomen Caesareum, no-
men Augustum, addo Proconsulare imperium, Patri patrie reuerentiam, Pontificatum maximum, ino^a tertia relationis,
Tribunitiam potestatem. Post hac acclamatum est Omnes, Omnes. Vopiscus.

* That is, beside the two Consuls.

¹³ Of his principall bondmen: *E prioribus servis*] *Primoribus servis* it would be, as I thinke. *Servorum enim alij primores alij Mediaslini*, of *Primores* Tacitus maketh mention 4. *Annal. Lygus etate atque formâ carus domino, interq; primores, ministros erat.* Now that *dispensatores* were of the better sort it appeareth by that of Suetonius ^b *Nerone. Certum dominis servorum numerum indixit (Nero) nec nisi ex totâ cuiusque familiâ probatissimos, ne dispensatoribus quidem aut amanuensis exceptis recepit.*

В сар. 44.

²⁴ Seventy three yeeres] Galba was borne, saith *Suetonius, *Messala & Lentulo Coss. 9 Calendas Ian. Anno ab urbe condita. 751. Iulian, 822. 18. Cal. Febr.* So that Galba liued but 23. daies onely aboute seventy yeares, and yet Suetonius in two or three places agreeth with Tacitus, onely Xiphilinus hath 72. which is with the most.

• 62p. 4.

VIII. *After the death of Galba, the newes growing hotter of Vitellius and the German revolt, how the City stood affected betweene him and Otho.*

• Tac. *Fulgus* &
magnitudine ni-
mia curarum ex-
pers populus: and
yet *expers*, not in
all circumstances,
as here may be
seene, nor of all
common cares:

Plebs cui unica
ex rep. annonæ cu-
ra, saith Tacitus
elsewhere.
b Ar. Pharsalia

Caesar ouerthrew
Pompey: *an. vr.*
condite 706. at
Philippi Octa-
uius and Antoni-
us ouercame
Brutus and Cas-
sius: *an. v. c.* 712.
in the Perusin
war Octavius
tooke armes a-
gainst L. Antoni-
us and Fulvia.

Anno. 713. at
Mutina the Con-
suls Hirtius and
Pansa fought
with M. Antoni-
us. Anno. 710.
For admitting
them before e-
quall in vices,
the victory it
selfe would cor-
rupt the winner:
*victoria etiam
egregios duces in-
soloscere*, saith
Tac. elsewhere.

THIS Citie thus terrified, and hauing in horreur both the hainousnesse of the late fact, and the old conditions of Otho, was put in a further feare, by the newes of Vitellius reuolt, which were in Galbaes time suppressed, that men should beleue no more had rebelled, saue the Army of vpper Germany alone. But then seeing ^a two of all mortall men the most detestable creatures, in slothfulnesse, incontineney, and wastfull life, fatally elect, as it were to ruine the Empire, not onely the Senators and Gentlemen, who had some part and care of the State, but the ^a Commons also openly began to waile and lament. Their talke was no more of the fresh and bleeding examples of the late murdering peace: but of ciuill warres recorded in ancient Story, of the City so oft surprized by her owne Citizens, Italy wasted, the Prouinces spoiled; of Pharsalia, Phillippi, Perusia, Mutina, ^b famous names of common calamities. The world was subuerted almost, euen when good men stroue for the State: notwithstanding there remained when Caius Iulius, there remained when Cæsar Augustus was conqueror, the forme of an Empire.² If Pompey had preuailed, if Brutus, the popular State would haue stood: now whether for Otho, or for Vitellius should they goe to the Temples! that both praiers were impious alike, both vowes alike detestable, betweene two, in the warre of whom this alone you might know, that he which should win, would be ^c worse then before. Some secretly wished Vespasian with the Easterne armies; and as he was more liked then either of the other, so did they greatly mislike to multiply warres and calamities: and againe Vespasian was not altogether without exception; the ³ onely Prince before his time, which changed to the better.

* Two of all mortall men the most] Otho and Vitellius are here compared as like, in opposition both to a good Prince: 2. Hist. as vnlike, with notes of distinction, opposed the one to the other. *Vitellij ignaue voluptates: Othonis flagrantissima libidines. Vitellius ventre & gula sibi ipsi hostis: Otho luxu, seuitia, audacia reipub. exitiosus ducebatur.* Of the one side an ill minde in a man of nothing, of the other an ill minde ioyned with courage and edge.

If Pompey had prevailed, if Brutus the popular State would haue stood] Of Brutus I cannot call it in question carrying that honourable minde which no doubt he did to the liberty of his country: but surely for Pompey I cannot affirme it, his doings affirme rather the contrary, and Tacitus himselfe teacheth vs otherwise 2. Hist. *Mors è plebe infima C. Marius, & nobilium seu:issimus L. Sulla, victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior non melior. Salust. apud Sueton. lib. de claris grammaticis. Pompeius oris prabi, animoq; inuerecundo.* Appianus 2. Εμφυλ. maketh report of a word that escaped Pompey, a man not vsed to dissemble that way, a little before the battell at Pharsalia. τὸ ἄνθρωπος δ' ἐνεπὶ πῶς φίλοις, ὅπ' ἦτ' ἡμέρα, ὁπότερος αὐτὸν κρατίστου, μεγάλων ἔς αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἄρξει κακῶν, παρέτασεν ἔς τὴν μάχην, ὡς δὲ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῇ τὴν δαίνο αὐτὸν ὡς περὶ πένες ἐν πῶ φόβῳ νομίζοντες ἠγάγοντο ἐς αὐτὸν Πομπηίου κρατίστου τα μεθεῖναι τὴν μοναρχίαν. That is, Pompey before

he set his men in array at the battell of Pharsalia, to them about him let fall vnawares a word, whereby it was discovered that himselfe if the victorie had gone on his side, would still haue retained the monarchy. This day, quoth he, whether soeuer of vs two shall win, will be the beginning of great calamity for euer to the Roman estate. Of the same opinion is Tully also in his letters ad Atticum, whose iudgement, as of a man of affaires, and in re presenti we may iustly account aboue all exception, lib. 8. epist. 11. *Neutri æquos est ille, ut nos beati simus, uterque regnare vult.* De Pompeio & Cesare. lib. 9. epi. 6. *Mirandum in modum Cnaeus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concupiscit. εἰδὸς οὐ λέγω.* That is, I tell you this vpon mine owne knowledge. Lib. 7. 5. *Ex victoria tum multa mala, tum certe tyranni existet.*

The onely Prince before his time which changed] For after him Titus his sonne changed also the same way Suetonius Tit. cap. 1. *Titus amor ac delicia generis humani: tantum illi ad promouendam omnium voluntatem vel ingenij, vel aui vel fortune super fuit: & (quod difficillimum est) in imperio, quando priuatus, atque etiam sub patre principe, ne odio quidem, nequm vituperati. ne publica caruit.*

IX. The reuolt of the Armies of both Germanies, and rising of Vitellius.

NOW will I set downe the beginning and causes of Vitellius commotion. After that Iulius Vindex with all his host was slaine, the Army growing insolent with spoile and glory, as hauing obtained, without paine and danger, a most rich conquest, loued much better exploits and fighting, * rewards and booties, then ordinary pay, they had passed before a long, fruitlesse, and hard seruice there, partly through the * quality of the soyle, and climate, and partly through the straitnesse of discipline, which in time of peace being rigorously obserued, by ciuill wars is vtterly dissolued; corrupters being ready at hand on both sides, and fugitiues scaping as then without punishment. Men, Armour, Horses they had sufficient for vse, and ornament too: but before the * war they had no further acquaintance together, but with the men of their owne Troupes, and Companies: the Armies lay seuered ^b in seuerall Prouinces, then against Vindex the Legions being assembled in one, and hauing prooued themselues and the forces of Gallia, sought now a fresh occasion of wars, and new troubles, not terming ^c them as they were wont, friends and allies, but enemies and conquered persons. The tract of Gallia, which lies vpon Rhene, hauing followed before the souldiers side, aduanced themselues then with the foremost to instigate the Armies against the Galbians: for so now they called them, disdayning the name of Vindex as stale. Thus being incensed against the Sequani and Hedui, and so further, as the townes were in wealth, they conceived in hope sacking of Cities, wasting of Countries, rifling of houses; irritated next after couetousnesse and presumption, principall vices of them which be stronger, by the perversenesse of them of Gallia foolishly bragging, that Galba had released a fourth part of their tribute, and * generally made them Citizens of Rome in despite of the Army. Moreouer it was giuen out craftily, and rashly beleueed, ² that in the Legions euery tenth man was allotted to die, and the ablest men of the centurions should be cassed: from euery quarter hainous rumours, sinister reports from Rome, the ³ Colony of Lions discontented, and as it were a nurcery of tales by reason of their constant affection to Nero: but greatest matter to forge out a lie, and win it credit, the camp it selfe did yeeld vpon hatred, feare, security also, when they had measured their owne ability. Aulus Vitellius entering the yeere before about the first of December into lower Germany, with great care and diligence had visited and surueyed the standing camps of the Legions: many he restored to their roomes, to their fame and honor, most part to win fauor, and some vpon iudgement; vndoing that with integrity, which Fonteius Capito vpon bribery and lucre had done displacing or placing for mony in degrees of seruice: neither were his doings accepted after the measure of an ordinary Lieutenant general, but in a far higher degree. And as among the seuerer sort Vitellius was thought base and demisse, so his fauorers termed it curtesie

* premia: as the sacke or spoile of a Citie, or Country, donatiues, or any other extraordinary liberality.

* ingenio loci cæli. 2. Hist. Germanica hiberna cæli ac laboribus dura.

* Against Vindex.

^b And so remained, for ought I know, in the war against Vindex, where onely the vpper army was present, by the testimony of all writers, and Tac. himselfe in many places.

^c To wit, them of Gallia, with whom they had fought.

* publice, i. non sumptibus, for the primores of Gallia had obtained the priuledge before Claudius time. 1. Ann. primores Gallica fœdera & ciuitatem Romanam pridem afflicti.

* *auditate impe-*
randi.

d Valens in
lower Germany
where Vitellius
and Cæcina in
higher, where
Hordeonius
Flaccus was
Lieutenant
generall.

* *collegium Cæsi-*
ru, & aeterni. Vitel-
lio, c. 2. L. Vitellius
imperatoris pater,
cum Claudio prin-
cipe duos ordina-
rios consulas
cenfuramque
gessit.

ε τῶν ἐνδοξῶν
σπουδαίων
ὅτι τῶν Οὐρῶν
νῦν, ἐξ ἧται αὐτῶν
ἐν τῇ τῶν
πομπῇ αὐτῶν.
Xiphilinus.
§ 2. Hist Centu-
rionem Sisennam
dextris, concor-
dia insignia, Sy-
riaci exercitus
nomine, ad Prae-
torianos ferentem,
varijs artibus ag-
gressus est.

and goodnesse, because without measure or iudgement he gaue out his owne, laste out other mens, construing vices for vertues * vpon an extreme desire of the Empire. Many in both Armies there were, as modest and quiet men, so likewise bad and valiant; by name among other Alienus Coecina and Fabius Valens ^d Lieutenants of Legions, in appetites immoderat, and singularly rash. Valens offended with Galba, as being not recompensed according to his deserts for discovering Verginius doubtfull proceeding, and the oppressing of Capitoes conspiracy, ceased not to vrge and incite Vitellius; laying open before him the souldiers feruent good will; the honorable report that went euery where of his doings: as for Hordeonius Flaccus that silly man could hinder but little, that Britanny would ioine, the German Aides follow him, that the Prouinces were not assured; in fine that the old man was Emperour of curtesie and quickly would lose it; let Vitellius onely but open his bosome, make towards, and receiue in good fortune, as she offered herselfe: that Verginius indeed had good cause to be doubtfull, being only of a Gentlemans house, his father hauing not borne office; the place was aboue his capacity, if he had vndertaken it, and then refusing it, he was out of danger: that contrariwise Vitellius father had beene thrise Consull, Censor, * colleague with the Emperour: that these qualities in the father tooke long agoe from the son the security of a priuat person, and put vpon him the dignity of a Prince. His dull spirits were moued with these speeches rather to desire then to hope. But in vpper Germany Cæcina a comely yoong man, of body big, and minde insatiable, quicke of speech, of gate stately, had maruellously won the good will of the souldier. This yoong man Galba promoted to gouerne a Legion, for that being Questor in Bætica, he came without stay to his side: by and by being conuicted to haue dealt false with the common treasure, hee was by Galbaes commandement endited of purloyning: Cæcina taking heavily the disgrace, determined to trouble the state, and with the calamities of the commonwealth to couer and close vp his owne priuate wounds. Neither in the Army wanted there seedes of sedition: for they all had beene present in field against Vindex, and could not be brought to sweare vnto Galba, before they did know that Nero was slaine; and were also in taking the othe preuented by the enseignes of low Germany, againe the Treueri, Lingones, and those other Cities, which Galba had pinched with heavy edicts, or with losse of Territory, lay neare to the standing Campes of the Legions: whereupon grew seditious conferences, and the souldier by conuersation with the 4 Countrey-man more corrupted, and by ^e reason of the good will borne to Verginius to be employed for any other man. The Lingones according to their accustomed maner had sent gifts to the Legions ^f Right-hands in token of mutuall loue and hospitality, their messengers purposely with sad cheere and heavy countenance in the Principia, in the souldiers cabins, lament and bewaile, sometime the wrong done to themselues, sometime the honour done to their neighbours, and perceiuing their talke had so ready an audience, they passed on further, incensing their mindes, and bewailing the hard hap euen of the Army it selfe, their dangers, and contumelies. The matter thus growing toward a sedition, Hordeonius Flaccus commandeth the messengers to get them away; and that their departure might be the more secret, he commands them to auoide the Campe in the night season. Thereupon a suspition and grieuous rumour arose, the most part affirming they were made away: and that without doubt, vnlesse they prouide for themselues the more surely, it would come to passe that those of the soldiers which were of most courage, and most misliked the present estate, should likewise by night, vnawares to the rest, be secretly murdered. Vpon this the Legions priuily conspire, and couenant together:

ther: the Ayde-souldier was made also of the party, whom at first they suspected, as though with his cohorts and wings enuironing them he ment them a mischief; but anon he appeared more earnest then any, as the bad agree better to broach a new warre, than in peace to keepe concord one with another. Notwithstanding the Legions of lower Germany, the first daie of Ianuary, sware their solemne alleageance to Galba, with much adoe, and slow comming forward, some few in the first ranckes yeelding a weake applause; the rest standing mute, each looking his neighbour should dare, as it is the nature of men, to follow with speed that, which they are otherwise of themselves loath to begin: but euen the Legions were diuersly minded, the first and the fift rebelliously affected, so that some cast stones at Galbaes Images: the fifteene and sixteene murmuring and threatning, and daring no further, stooode waiting for others to shew them the way. In the higher Army the fourth Legion and the eighteenth, wintering both in one * place, the very first day of Ianuarie brake the Images of Galba in pieces; the fourth very resolutely, the eighteenth after some little staie, anon by common consent: and lest they might seeme to haue shaken off the obedience of the Empire, they sware ^s To the Senate and people of Rome, a stile long agoe ouerworne; no Lieutenant, no Tribune labouring for Galba, yea some, as in tumults it happeneth, troubling more: neuertheless no man presumed to make any solemne oration assembly-wise, or out of Tribunnall: for as yet they had none to bestow their benefit vpon. Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant generall stood by ^h and lookt on, while this pageant was playing, not daring neither to restraine the rebellious, nor stay the doubtfull, nor encourage the good; a timorous slugge, and innocent, as being a coward. Fower Centurions of the eighteenth Legion, Nonius Receptus, Donatus Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus, endeavouring to saue and protect the Images of Galba, with the souldiers violence were caried away, bound and laide vp: neither did there remaine any more in any of them all any sparke of faith, or allegeance, no memory of the ⁱ oath before ginen; but as in seditions it hapneth, as the most part went, so did they all goe. The same day at night the * Standerd-bearer of the fourth Legion brings word to Vitellius, as he sate at banquet in Coleyne, that the fourth and eighteenth Legion had broken downe the Images of Galba, and sworne to the Senate and people of Rome. That oath seemed friuolous and voide: wherefore it was thought good * to vse the opportunity, and profer them a Prince. Thereupon Vitellius dispatcheth in post to the Legions and Lieutenants of his owne Prouince, aduertising them that the higher Army was reuolted from Galba: wherefore either fight they must against the reuolters, or if they liked better of peace, and concord, set vp an Emperour: and with lesse dangers they might take a Prince, then seeke one. The first Legion lay nearest, and Fabius Valens Lieutenant, of all the rest the forwardest man: who the very day after, with the horse-men of his Legion, and of the Aides, entring Coleyn, ^k solemnely saluted Vitellius Emperour. The rest of the Legions of the same Prouince stroue who should be formost to follow the example: and higher Army, laying aside those glorious titles, and goodly to shew, of the Senate and people of Rome, the third of Ianuary roundly come ouer to Vitellius side: a man might easily perceiue that the other two daies they meant nothing lesse, then a free Common wealth. They of Coleyn, the Treueri, and Lingones, were not inferior to the souldiers in forwardnesse, offering aides, horses, armour, money, as they were able in body, wealth, or wit, and not only the 7 principall men of the Colonies and camps, which presently had wealth at will, and vpon the victory hoped for great matters, but also the * bandes and common souldier, vpon an instinct and heat of

* At Magonia.
acum.
g. Sardinia (Caieth
uct. c. 16.) legationem ad Praetorem cum mandatis destinaverunt; displicere imperatorem in Hispania factum, eligere ipsi, quibus civis exercitus comprobarent. But the embassage, as it may seeme, vpon the reuolt to Vitellius was reuoked.
h. Yet was he left by Vitellius Lieutenant of both Germanies, 2. Hist. alterward he fauored Vespasians side, and lastly was slaine by his owne souldiers 4. Hist.
i. Which they had sworne to Galba, pressed thereto by Verginius after Neroes decease.
* Aquilifer.
* occupare nutum tem fortunam, is per aduenture properly to catch first hold, or put your selfe in such position of fortune waivering, and now standing in doubt, where shes might best bestow his selfe.
k. Suet. Vitell. c. 8. somewhat otherwise: vix dum mense transacto, neq. dei, neq. temporis habita ratione, ac iam vespere subito a militibus ex cubiculo raptus, ita ut erat in veste domestica Imperator est constitutus, circumlatumq. per celeberrimos vias. Plut. saith it was at mid-day.
* manipuli. i. manipulares, in opposition to primores castrorum.

*balteos. Varro
lib. 4. de ling. Lat.
Balteum, cingulum
de corio bollatum,
vsually trimmed
with filuer or
gold. Spartianus
Hadriano, vestem
humilimam fre-
quenter, & sine
auro Balteum
sum bat.

1 He that wrote
the first neweste
Galba of the
German rebelli-
on supra.

*vitiaculum
as 795.

m For it might
be his owne case.

a 2. Hist.
vita Agric.

o This number
of forty thousand
far exceeding the
number of a le-
gion in any age,
was made vp by
gelding the other
Legions of that
prouince, yet
leauing vnto
them their stan-
dard and their
name, and by
Auxiliaries of
the Germans:
as it appeareth
by the words of
Tacitus.

affection, and couetous humour, gaue vp their money, and in stead of money their
*belts, their trappings, the siluer trimming of their harnesse. Vitellius hauing great-
ly commended their cheerfull willingnes, committed the offices of court, common-
ly supplied by freedmen, to Gentlemen of Rome; and paies the vacations to the
Centurions out of his cofers. The souldiers cruelty demanding many to death hee
doth oft condescend vnto: sometimes he deceiues them with shew of emprisoning.
1 Pompeius Propinquus, Procurator of Belgica, was streight put to death: Iulius
Burdo admirall of the German nauy he saued by flight, the whole army was incen-
ded against him, as first an entiser of Fonteius Capito to rebell, & then a great helper
to make him away: wel beloued was Capito, & gladly remembred; & in that raging
and bloudthirsty company a man might openly kill whom hee list, marie pardon
or saue but by policie hee could not: so Burdo was presently had into prison, and
after the victory, the souldiers malice being appeased, enlarged againe. In the
mean time Crispinus the Centurion was yeelded vnto them, as an *expiatory sacri-
fice, who had embrued his hands with Capitoes bloud, and therefore more in the
cie of the souldier, and of lesse account^m with Vitellius. Next after was Iulius Ci-
uilis, a man of great might, and credit among the Batauians, deliuered from danger
left by his death that fierce nation should become foes. Moreouer in the state of the
Lingones there lay^o of Batauians eight cohorts, the aides of the fourteenth Legion,
but then by meanes of the troublesome times they were departed away, of no small
moment to swaie the whole cause, as they hapned to fauour the one or the other.
The foure Centurions before mentioned, Nonius, Donatius, Romilius and Cal-
purnius, Vitellius commanded to be executed, being attainted of truth; a most hai-
nous crime among rebels. Then came to the side Valerius Asiaticus Lieutenant of
Belgica, to whom anon after Vitellius married his daughter; and Iunius Bloesus
Gouernour of Gallia Lugdunensis with the Italian Legion, and Taurin wing en-
camped at Lions. The Rhoetian souldier without any stay ioined himselfe. In Britan-
nie also the matter went cleere. ⁿ Trebellius Maximus was Lieutenant generall
there, contemned and hated of the army for his niggardly sparing and polling: and
Roscius Coelius Lieutenant of the twentieth legion inflamed them further against
him his ancient enemy, but now by occasion of ciuill dissentions they were fallen
out further, & brake into more hainous termes: Trebellius obiecing to Coelius, and
charging him with factious behauiour, and dissoluing of discipline: Coelius againe
that Trebellius had spoiled and beggered the legions: but in the meane time, the
Lieutenants thus iarring, the modesty of the army was marred; the discord at
length growing so great, that Trebellius being railed away by the Aydes also, in
cohorts and wings sorting themselues to Coelius side, was glad to giue place being
forsaken, and flee to Vitellius. The prouince although the Lieutenant generall was
absent, remained in quiet, the Lieutenants of the Legions supplying the charge, in
right of equall authority; but Coelius indeed bare the most stroke, because he was
of most boldnesse. ^o Now that the brittish host was adioined, Vitellius growing
strong in men and money, ordaines for the warre two sundry Generals, and two
sundry waies for the Generals to passe. Fabius Valens was willed to allure by faire
meanes, or if they refused, to waste and destroy the countries of Gallia, and so by
the Cottian Alpes to enter by force into Italie. Cæcina was commanded a shorter
passage, by the Penine Alpes to make his discent. Valens had vnder his conduct the
choise men of the lower army, and the fift Legion with cohort and wings, ^o fortie
thousand armed men. Out of higher Germany Cæcina ledde thirty thousand, the
flower and strength whereof consisted in the one and twentieth Legion. Moreouer
they

they had both assigned vnto them ^p Aides of the Germans; out of whom Vitellius, who was to follow with the maine weight of the warre, furnished vp his Army also. Strange was the difference between the Army and their Emperor, the souldier was instant, demanding Armes whilest they of Gallia stood in a teare, whilest Spaine in a doubt: as for the winter, that was no let, nor such like excuses receiueable, only in idle and peaceable times: that Italy must out of hand be inuaded, the Citie surprized; that nought is more safe then speed in ciuill dissension, where dispatch is more needfull then long consultation: on the other side Vitellius, a man of nothing, playing the Prince before hand in rioting and prodigall banquets, drunke at noone-day, and heavy with surfet; but the souldiers forwardnesse and feruency fully supplied the place of the leader, as if he were present in person, encouraging or terrifying the valiant or dastard. When all was in order ready to march, they call to sound the remoue, increasing Vitellius stile with the ¹¹ name of Germanicus: for Cæsar, euen after the victory, ¹ he refused to be called.

p Not onely of
the French side,
but *transphre-*
nans; and such,
I thinke were
principally ment
in this place.

9 In perpetuum
saith Suet. Vi-
tel. c. 8. but Tac.
3. bish. teacheth
vs otherwise.
Quin & Casarem
dici se voluit
albernatu antea;

² The Army growing insolent, &c. *Caso cum omnibus copijs Iulio vindice ferreæ prædæ, gloriæque exercitus] Exercitus ex re ipsâ atq; opere exercitij nomen accepit.* Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 1. and so it seemeth that Tacitus here doth in some sort appropriate the name to the Roman trained souldier, terming the raw and vnttrained of *Vindex*, *copias*, which word notwithstanding is common to both sorts. 1. Hist. *Aegyptum, copiaque quibus coereretur*, meaning of the two Legions remaining there. Beside this *vindex* hath also in Tacitus another signification for provision, or vittrailes, 3. Hist. *Per specie parandarum copiarum civilis prædæ miles imbueretur* and, *Lixas calonesq; Debricum mittit, copias ceteraque vsui allaturus*, againe, & *locus ipse castrorum placebat, lute prospectans, into copiarum augeſtu florissiſſimus pone tergum munipſit*, 4. Hist. *Nihil aquæ exercitus nostros, quàm egestas copiarum satigabat*, and so it is taken in this booke, *Prædæ & provisionis copijs iuvare militem.*

2 That in the Legions euery tenth man was allotted to die] In ancient time if some great part of the Armie had lost their ensignes, throwen away their weapons, and run cowardly out of the field, the maner was for the Generall to put all the Standerd-bearers, Centurions, &c. to death, and of the common sort euery tenth man. The example is in Liuy lib. 2. of Appius Claudius in the Volscian war, in Dio, of Augustus and Antony; lib. 49. and in Tacitus of L. Apronius Proconsul of Africke, when ancient discipline was welny expired. Annal. 3. The maner is in Polybius lib. 6. ἐάν ποτε συμβῇ κὴ σιμαίας πῖνας ὀλοχαρῶς πῖναι δόλοχαρῶς λιπεῖν τοὺς τόπους, τὸ ἤ ἀπαντας ξυλοκοπεῖν, ἢ φονάειν ἀποδοκιμάζουσι, λύπην δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ εὐεσκατὰ συμβέρονται ἅμω καὶ καταπληκτικὴν. συναδριούσας γὰρ τὸ πρῶτόπεσον ὁ χιλιάρχος, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς λελοιπύτας κατηγορεῖ πικρῶς. καὶ τὸ τελευτᾷ, πότε μὲν ἅντες, πότε ὀκτώ, πότε δὲ εἴκοσι, τὸ δ' ὅλο πρὸς τὸ κλήσθαι αἰσχραζόμενον, ὥστε δέκατον μάλιστα γίνεσθαι τῶν ὑπαρπικότων, τῶς δὲ λοιπῶν κληθεῖται τῶν ἀποδοκιμαζόντων καὶ τοὺς μὲν λαχόντας ξυλοκοπεῖ ἀπαρεσθήτως. τοὺς δὲ λοιπῶς τὸ μέγεθος κειδᾶς δὲς ἀπὸ πυρρῶν ἔξω κελδεῖ τε χάρων, καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ποιεῖσαι τὴν παρεμβολήν. That is, if at any time it happen that whole ensignes pressed by the enemy doe forsake their standing and run away, the maner of the Romans is not straightwaies to put them all to death without difference, but they follow a meane course both profitable and terrible. For the Tribune calling the Army together and producing those which failed in service, first he checketh them sharply, and in conclusion out of the offenders he chuseth by lot sometime five, sometimes eight, sometimes twenty (alwaies having an eye to the number, and aiming as neere as he can to take euery tenth man) and those on whom the lot fallles are beaten to death with clubs without remission. To the rest he giues them their allowance in Barly in steede of Wheat, and so commandes them to quarter without the trench and places of surety. And not onely vpon the causes before rehearsed of ἀποταξίς and ἀπορροή, That is, Forsaking their standing and casting away their armour, but vpon^a occasion of a mutinee Scipio in Spaine in the second war Punicke, and in later times also, when seuerity of discipline was much decayed Caesar at Placentia renewed the custome, and Antony at Brundisum. Liuius lib. 28. Appianus, 2. Εμφυλ. & 3. Εμφυλ. Dio. lib. 41.

³ The Colony of Lyons discontented] The Senate fearing that Lepidus and Plancus, whom they had called into Italy, would betray the side, and goe to Antonius, willed them still to stay in France, and found the Colony of ^b Lyons, at the confluent of the Rhone, and Saone and thereto place those which before had beene driven out of Vienna by the Allobroges. Dio. lib. 46. Now Lyons in Neroes time being burnt, *hanc cladem*, saith Tacitus 16. Annal. *quadraiges, H. S. solatus est princeps*, and therefore they had cause to loue Nero, as of the other side to hate Galba, *qui reditus ipsorum occasione ira in fiscum uerberat.* Tac.

4. The Country-man: *Paganos*] *Paganus* a Townes-man, a Country-man, in opposition to *miles*. Veget. lib. 2. cap. 3. *Nam si doctrina cesset armorum, nihil paganus distat a milite*, and that which Suetonius 4. Galba uttereth in these words, *Dimota paganorum turba*, the selfsame circumstance Tacitus in this booke noteth with these *Disiecta plebe, conculcato senatu*; and Tacitus himselfe 4. Hist. *Tria millia legionariorum, & tumultuaria Belgarum Chabantes, simul paganorum, lixarumque ignava, sed procax ante periculum manus*, and againe 2. Hist. *Mulæ & atroces inter se militum cædes, manente legionum, auxiliorumq; discordia*; *vbi aduersus paganos certandum foret, consensu*. Antonius Primus, 3. Hi. disgracing the Prætorians (who were before discharged of their seruice and disarmed by commission from V. tellius) names them *paganos* *Vos, inquit, nisi vincitis, pagani, quis alius imperator, quæ castra alia excipient?* like as Cæsar at Rome in a mutinee and afterward Alexander Seuerus at Antioch, dismissing his souldiers in displeasure, called them *Quirites*, *Quirites discedite atque arma deponite*. Sueton. Cæsar cap. 70. Lampridius Seuerus.

The very first day of January] And before that day, as it may appeare by Plutarch; the Army of vpper
D 3 Germany

Germany had giuen shrewd signes of small good liking of Galba. *Ἰδὲ γὰρ ποτὲ ὄντος, καὶ τῷ χαλιδόρῳ καὶ λευγαῶν τὸ Ρωμαίοις συνήδες, εὐτυχίαν ἐπευχόμενον τῷ αὐτοκράτῳ Γάλβᾳ, διεθορύβοντο οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτα ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀπυρόντων ἐκείνων, ἀντερώων, Οὐκ ἄξιός. That is, For in a publike play the Tribunes and Centurions wishing good lucke to Galba the Emperour, according to the vsuall maner of the Romans, many of the souldiers at the first murmured, and when as the Captaines persisted in their wishes, they answered and cried againe, He doth not deserue it. Now to breake downe the images of the Prince was the vsuall beginning in all rebellions. 3. Hist. *Trierarchi magno tumultu Vitellij imagines innadunt, & pauci resistentium obruncant &c.* in the same place. *Simul Vitellij imagines deceptæ.**

6 Coleyn: *Coloniæ Agrippinensium*] Founded by Agrippina Claudius wife. Tacitus 12. Annal. *Sed Agrippina quo vim suam socijs quoque nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Vbiorum in quo genita erat, veteranos, coloniæq; deduci imperat, cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius.*

2 cap. 9.

7 The principall men of the Colonies] *Principes coloniarum*, be the *Decurion*, *Principes castrorum*, whom Vegetius lib. 2. calleth also *militēs principales*, and Tacitus 3. Hist. *primores castrorum*, are the *Aquiliferi*, *Signiferi*, *Optiones*, &c. *qui privilegijs inuiniuntur.* Where as the rest, the common souldiers are called *munifices*, *quod munia facere coguntur.*

8 *Iulius Civilis*] The same man who afterward with the Batauians, and aide of the French and Germans, maintained war so long with the Romans, as it appeareth. 4. and 5. Hist. Of the euent heere noted Tacitus maketh mention againe, 4. Hist. *Iulius Paulus, & Claudius Civilis, regia stirpe, multo ceteros (Batauos nobiles) antebant. Paulum Fontinus Capito falso rebellionis crimine interfecit, iniecta Civilis catena, missusque ad Neronem, & a Galbâ absolutus, sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adiit, flagitante supplicium eius exercitu. Inde causa irarum, spesque ex malis nostris.* Where is to be marked, that he calleth him there Claudius Civilis, whom here he nameth Iulius Civilis, forgetting himselfe in the one or the other, or else the describers of bookes not forgetting their accustomed negligence.

9 Of Batauians eight Cohorts, the Aydes of the fourteenth Legion] The great and notable rebellion of Britanny, by the vertue of Suetonius Paulinus, and valiantnesse of the fourteenth Legion, not without great losse of men being suppressed, Nero sent out of Germany thither a fresh supply of 2000. Legionaries, a thousand horse and eight Cohorts of Auxiliaries, which I take to be the very eight Cohorts of Batauians mentioned here Howsoever, certain it is that these Cohorts of Batauians were assigned as Auxiliaries to the fourteenth Legion: That Nero, for what occasions soeuer, vpon speciall confidence of their valour sent for into Italy the same Legion, with her Auxiliaries. That in the troubles of Vindex the Auxiliaries vpon some quarrell departed from the Legion, in preiudice, as it may seeme of Neros cause: That Galba a comming to state the Legion was sent into Illyricum, the Batauians into Britanny againe, and in the meane season, as they were in their way thitherward, hearing the newes of Vitellius commotion they ioyned themselves to the side. For confirmation of the premises Tacitus alone may suffice. 14. Annal. *Auxit quæ copias Cæsar missis à Germaniâ duobus legionariorum millibus, octo auxiliariorum cohortibus ac mille equitibus. 2. Hist. Mota ad imperium Othonis, à Dalmatiâ, Pannoniâque legiones, præcipuè fama Quartadecimani rebellionis Britannia compressa. Addiderat gloriam Nero eligendo ut potissimus, unde longa illis erga Neronem fides, and in the same booke, cohortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis à Quartadecima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellij motu in ciuitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adiunctas retulimus, superbè agebant, ut cuiusque legionis tentoria accessissent, coactos à se quartadecimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam, atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam iactantes.*

10 Now that the British host was adioyned] if it be true that *Trebellius desertus (à militibus) ad Vitellium perferret*; if it be true which Paullinus alleadgeth. 2. Hist. *Britannicum militem hoste ac mari distineri*, which Tacitus himselfe writeth. *In Britannico exercitu nihil irarum. Non sanè aliæ legiones per omnes ciuiliū bellorum motus innocentius egerunt*, how can it be true that here is said, *Adiuncto Britannico exercitu*, and in another place: *Vitellius à Britannico dilecto octo millia sibi adiunxit?*

8 Lilius lib. 30.

11 With the name of Germanicus] The first of the Romans that bare the name of the place the conquered was Cn. Martius of Corioli named Coriolanus; then P. Scipio the elder of Africke subdued, & Africanus Lucius his brother likewise of Asia, Asiaticus. Many of the Metelli, more for distinction, then for any notable conquest obtained. The former Emperours at pleasure sometime tooke some few names to themselves, sometime bestowed them on others. In the later times, vertue decaying, ambition in titles increased. Xiphilinus Commodus. *ἔτι καὶ ἱεροβολὴν ἐμμένει τὸ κράτος, καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἔτις ἐπίσταται. Αυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λέκιος Αἰλίου Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος, Αὐγαστος Εὐσεβὴς, Εὐτυχὴς, Σαρματικός, Γερμανικός, Μέγιστος, Βρεταννικός, Εἰρηνοποιὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης, Ἀνίκητος, Ρωμαῖος Ἡγεμὼν, Ἀρχιεὺς, Δημαρχικὴς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτον, Αυτοκράτωρ τὸ ὅγδοον, Υπαὶ τὸ ἑβδόμον, Πατὴρ πατρίδος. That is, So exceeding great was the madnesse of that vile monster Commodus, and with this stile he sent a letter to the Senate; Imp. Cæsar L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus. Augustus Pius Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximus, Britannicus, concordia orbis terrarum, Inuictus, Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestas. *αὐτὴ. Imperat. viij. Consul. vij. Pater patriæ.* And Iustinian accounted of as a sober Emperour hath his stile notwithstanding not much shorter. Imp. Cæsar Flavius Iustinianus Alemanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, Pius Felix, Inclytus victor ac Triumphator semper Augustus. Now what right Vitellius had to the name of Germanicus, where he had neuer seene enemy in face, sith he was Emperour, the fountaine of iustice, who can doe no wrong, we will not dispute it.*

X. How Fabius Valens guided his charge of forty thousand fighting men from Coleyn to the Cottian Alpes.

THE very day of remoouing there appeared a lucky signe to Fabius Valens, and the Army which he led to the war, an Eagle softly flying before, as the army marched, as it were to note out the way; and for a great space the souldiers

ers so shouted for ioy, and the bird passed on without feare so assuredly, that it was reputed an vndoubted token of great and prosperous successe. The state of Triers, as frindes, they passed thorow with all security. At Diuodurum a towne of the Mediomatrici, although they were with all kind of curtesie receiued, a sudden feare came vpon them, and the alarme was giuen to sacke the poore innocent City, not for the pray or desire of spoile, but vpon a fury, and rage, and causes not knowen, and therefore the remedies harder to finde: till at length, being pacified by Valens entreating, they held their hands from razing the City: notwithstanding about foure thousand men were slaine. This accident strooke such a terror into them of Gallia, that alwaies after, as the Campe was a comming, whole Cities with their Officers and humble supplications went out for to meet them, with women and children downe on their knees along the way side; and generally all meanes by the which men asswage their enemies anger; though war they had none, yet then were they forced to purchase their peace. Valens in the ^a City of the Leuci receiued the newes that Galba was slaine, and Otho in place: the souldier was neither gladder, nor sadder, hauing nothing but war in his minde: the French thereby were ^b resolved; Otho and Vitellius they hated alike, and Vitellius they feared beside. The next City, was that of the Lingones, sure to the side: being intertained there curteously, they requited it with modest behauiour: but the ioy lasted not long through the disorder of those Cohorts, which being departed, as before I haue said, from the fourteenth Legion, Fabius Valens had ioyned to his Army, hard words grew at the first, then quarrelling betweene the Batauians, and Legionaries: and as the rest of the souldiers suted on sides, it had welny come to a hot fray, had not Valens in time, by punishing a few, reclaimed the Batauians, who had now forgotten their duty. Against the Hedui was sought, but in vaine, some occasion of war: being willed to bring in both mony and armour, they brought also vittailles for nothing. That which the Hedui did vpon feare, the same did the Lugdunenses for ioy, neuerthelesse the Italian Legion and Taurin wing were taken away. The eighteenth Cohort it was thought conuenient to leaue there at Lions in the accustomed standing campe. Manlius Valens Lieutenant of the Italian Legion, although he had well deserued of the side, was not in any credit with Vitellius: Fabius by secret sinister reports had defaced him vnwitting, in outward speech commending him, that he might be at more vnawares circumuented. The ancient hart-burning ^c betweene them of Lions and them of Vienna, was by the late war freshly reuiued: much hurt was done on both sides, ^d so often and in so cruell sort, that a man might easily see, they fought not alone for Nero and Galba: and Galba by occasion of displeasure had confiscated the reuenues of the Lugdunenses; contrariwise much honoured them of Vienna: whereupon grew emulation and enuy, and inseparable hatred betweene them, whom one riuer separated. Vpon these causes, the Lugdunenses incited the souldiers seuerally to the subuersion of the Viennenses; shewing vnto them how they had besieged Lions, furthered Vindex attempts, mustered of late Legions for Galba: and hauing so placed in the first shew the causes why iustly they were to be hated; then they suggest to the souldiers minde, what a rich and welthy pray they might get: and so from secret exhorting proceeding to publike requests, they besought them to go and reuenge so many wrongs, to raze the seat-towne of the French war: that there was ^e nothing else but strangers and enemies: contrariwise themselves a Roman colony, and part of the army, their companions in welth and in woe: and if fortune should chance to disfaour, they praied not to leaue, and abandon their frindes, to the mercy of their mortall and mercilesse enemies. With these

^a Suet Vitellio
c. 9. saith that
Vitellius had the
newes of Galbaes
death before
Valens departed.

^b For as long as
Galba their be-
nefit: & out liued,
they were loth
any way, but
enforced to aide
Vitellius: but
now hating alike
Otho, and Vitel-
lius, and fearing
but the one, it
was great reason
to make the most
countenance thi-
ther, whence they
feared most pre-
sent danger.

^c The discord as
it may seeme was
founded vpon
this ground.
The first inhabi-
tants of Lions had
beene driuen by
force out of Vi-
enna, and there-
fore were iustly
to hate them, as
vnjust vsurpers of
that which was
theirs.

^d Municipalem
armis armis bel-
lis civilibus mi-
scuit, as Tacitus
writeth 3 Hist.
of Capua and
Puteoli.

these speeches and many such like they had wrought and incensed the souldier so, that euen the Lieutenants, and Captaines of the side did scanty thinke it a possible matter to quench their choler; when they of Vienna in very good season, foreseeing their danger, with 3 sacred veles and infules afore them, as the Army marched, embracing their armour, their knees, their feet, mollified the souldiers mindes: beside, Valens bestowed vpon them ^c three hundreth sesterces a man. Then was the antiquity and dignity of the Colony respected: then were the words of Fabius, commending vnto them the liues, and welfare of the Viennenses, patiently heard: being fined notwithstanding to forsaite their publike munition, ech man according to his ability with priuate prouision helped the souldier. But the report went constantly that Fabius fauour was bought with a large summe of mony: the man, a great while needy and poore, becoming now rich on the sodaine, cloaked not wel the change of his fortune; exercising excessiue the lusts and desires which long pouerty had kindled; and of a beggerly yong man a prodigall old. Afterward the army marched on slowly thorow the Territory of the Allobroges, and the Vocontij, the Generall setting to sale the length of his iourneies, and places of lodging; bargaining shamelessly with the owners of the grounds, and magistrates of the Cities, and that in such threatening manner, that he offered to set 4 Lucus a free-towne of the Vocontij, on fire, till he was appeased with mony: where matter of mony was wanting, there payment was made with women and such like pleasures. And so at the last they came to the Alpes.

* That is, 46. s. 10. d. ob. and so for 40000. (for so many he had beside the eight cohorts of Batarians, the legio Italica, and ala Taurina) 93730 pound.

A luckie signe] Many of the Latin stories [for to them and their disciples this vertue is peculiar] account it, I thinke, a capitall crime to set downe any notable mutation in state without many prodigious *portenta*, miraculous *omina* &c. inducing the change, most of them being counterfeit, and coyned to driue ^a the Reader into an extasie, many happening commonly, and remembred onely when any notable euent did ensue. In the second booke, at Othoes death, we haue another tale much of this making, or somewhat worse, with a preface to giue it some credit. As for our Eagle here she was surely either a notorious coufener, or else notoriously ignorant of what would befall, thus to giue *omen haud dubium* of great prosperity, which in effect dured but a moment.

* Nothing else but strangers and enemies: contrariwise themselves a Roman colony] And so was Vienna too. The Emperour Claudius in a speech in Senate which yet is extant at Lions grauen in brasse: *ORNATISSIMA ECCE COLONIA VALENTISSIMA QVE VIENNENSIVM QVAM LONGO IAM TEMPORE HVIC CVRIAE SENATORES CONFERT?* And Tacitus himselfe almost in the next sentence, *Tum respublicas dignitasque colonia valuit*, speaking of Vienna, so that both being Colonies, and both externall alike, this Rhetoricke of his was here out of season.

³ Sacred veles, and infules: *Velamenta & infulas*] *Velamenta & infula* signes of submission and humble demanding of mercy. 3. Hist Antonius Primus vehemently assaulling Cremona, *primores velamenta & infulas promittit ostentat*. And Coriolanus wasting the Roman Country, *sacerdotes suis insignibus velatos ille supplices ad castra hostium traditum est*, saith ^b Liuy, and the same Liuy lib. 30. *Haud procul aberat (Carthagines portu Scipio) cum velata infula ramisque olea Carthaginensium occurrit nauis*. Now ^c *infula* saith Varro and Festus, were certaine *velamenta lanca*, quibus sacerdotes & *histia*, templaque velabantur, so that by their description there should seeme to be no great difference betweene *velamenta* and *infulas*.

⁴ Lucus a Free-towne: *Municipium id Vocontiorum est*] *Municipium* and *Colonia* though vsed indifferently in many good Authours, yet indeed, and in precisenesse of speech carry seuerall senses, and so doth Tacitus. 2. Hist. put them as diuers. *Dispersi per municipia & colonias Vstelliani*. The difference is that *municipia in ciuitatem extrinsecus assumuntur*, and *coloniae in ciuitate educuntur*, Gellius ^d lib. 16. ex oratione D. Hadriani ad Italenses, distinguisheth them in this manner. *Municipes sunt ciues Romani ex municipijs, suo iure & suis legibus vtentes: muneris tantum cum P. R. honorarij participes, a quo munere capeffendo appellati videntur: nullis alijs necessitatibus, neque vlla P. R. lege astricti, quum nunquam P. R. eorum fundus factus esset. Coloniarum alia necessitudo est; non enim veniant extrinsecus in ciuitatem, nec suis radicibus nituntur, sed ex ciuitate quasi propagatae sunt, & iura institutaque omnia P. R. non sui arbitrij habent*. Now that Lucus was indeed *municipium*, according to the exquisite vse of the word, may appeere by Pliny lib. 3. ca. 4. *Vocontiorum ciuitatis federata duo capita, Vasio & Lucus Augusti*.

XI. The iourney of Cicina from Coleyn with thirty thousand men thorow the Penine Alpes into Italy.

CICINA gained more spoile, and shed more bloud. The Heluctians (a ^a people of Gallia anciently in name for warlike men, and after for the memory of their renowne) hauing not heard of Galbaes death, and refusing to be

* Liuy lib. 22. seemeth to call them *Semigermarios* *Quad Peninum*

be at Vitellius deuotion, had exasperated his froward and troublesome disposition. The warre was commenced through the rauening and hastinesse of the one and twentieth Legion; who by force tooke away certaine mony, which the Heluetians had sent to the pay of a Garison, in a Castle anciently kept with their owne men, and at their owne costs. The Heluetians being highly displeased at the fact, intercepted letters sent from the Army of Germany to the Legions of Pannonia, committing a Centurion, and certaine souldiers to warde. Cæcina desirous of war, and ready to reuenge faults as they fell, without giuing time of repentance, remooued his campe hastily forward, walteth the country, and sacketh a place well peopled, by reason of the pleasant and holesome bathes, and through long peace beautified with buildings in forme of a free towne: word also was sent to the Rhoetian Aides to assaile the Heluetians backes, as they made head to the Legions. The Heluetians fierce before danger, in danger fearefull, though at the first tumult they had chosen a Capitaine Claudius Seuerus, yet wist not at all how to handle their weapons, to keepe their array: they had no common counsell amongst them to direct their doings all to one end: to venture the battell against the old experimented souldier, would be their ruine: to trie the siege seemed vn safe, their walles being decaied, and fallen for age: on the one side was Cæcina with a puissant Army; on the other the wings and cohorts of Rhoetia, and the Rhoetian youth practised in armes, and trained vp souldier-like, on euery side there was burning and killing: in the middest the Heluetians stragling, flinging weapons away, and for the most part wounded or wandring in disarray, fled to the mount Vocetius; and being straightway by a cohort of Thracians beaten downe from their hold, and chased by the Germanes and Rhoetians, they were in the woods and couerts put to the sword: many thousands of men were slaine, * many sold to be slaues. And as the Army, hauing spoiled the country marched toward Auenticum head-citie of the Nation in battell array, messengers were sent to yeeld vp the Citie: which being accepted, Iulius Alpinus a principall man was by Cæcinaes sentence adiudged to die, as one which had raised the trouble: the rest he referred to Vitellius to pardon, or punish as pleased him best. Whereupon the Heluetians send Embassadors thither: it is hard to say whether of both they found Emperour or Armie, harder to be appeased: the souldiers require the towne to be razed, they bend their weapons and fists against the Embassadors faces; and Vitellius for his part spareth no threats, nor speeches, till Claudius Cossus one of the Embassage, a famous Orator, but cunningly cloaking his Arte with an apt kinde of feare, and so much the more of force to perswade, appeased the souldiers furious wrath: * as vsually the common sort is suddenly changeable, and within a moment as prone to pittie, as it was before excessiuely cruell: with shedding of teares, and importunate begging a better answer, they obtained at length that their Citie should be saued and pardoned. Cæcina hauing staied a few daies in Heluetia of purpose to heare how Vitellius resolved, and withall preparing to passe the Alpes, receiued from Italie a ioyfull message; that the Syllan wing which lay about Po had sworne to Vitellius. They had serued in Africke vnder Vitellius being Proconsull, and afterward being remooued from thence by Neroes appointment to passe into Ægypt, and staied vpon the troubles of Vindex, and so remaining in Italie, they went to the side, perswaded thereto by the Decurions, who being beholding to Vitellius, and vtterly vnacquainted with Otho, extolled the strength of the Legions comming, the fame and renowne of the German Army; and as a present for a new Prince, they brought over to his side the strongest Free-townes beyond the Po, Milan, Nouara, Eporedia and Vercelles. That aduertisement

*serunt iunera
obscure gentibus
Semigermanis.
fuerunt.*

** sub corona
nundata. Corona
capiti imposta,
sicut Gellius, lib.
7. cap. 4. follow-
ing the opinion
of Sabinus the
Lawyer, signum
suæ captiuitatis
venalium. Anti-
quitus, saith the
Lawyer mancipia
iure belli capti et
vincti induci veni-
bant, & id circo
dicebantur sub co-
rona venire. Ca-
to lib. de re mili-
tari, alluding to
this custome, ber-
terit ere, saith
he, ut populus sua
opera potius ob rem
bene gestam coro-
natus supplicatum
eat, quam rem male
gesta coronatus
veniat.
* ut est mos vul-
go mutabili
subito.*

ment Cæcina receiued by their meanes: and because the Garrison of one only wing seemed not sufficient to keepe and defend the largest Country of Italy, he sent beforehand certaine cohorts of Frenchmen, Portugals and Brittans with the German enseignes, and Petrin wing, himselfe pausing a while, and standing in doubt, whether he shoul turne aside into Noricum by the Rhœtian mountaines, against Petronius the Procurator, who had raised the Country, and broken the bridges in Othoes behalfe: but fearing to lose the Aides he had sent; and counting it more reputation to retaine Italie; and that Noricum, wheresoeuer the matter should chance to be tried, would follow, and increase the conquerours heape; he conducted ouer by the way of the Penine mountaines, thorow the winter snowes, ² his heavy Legionary souldier.

¹ Petrin wing] our printed bookes haue in *Alpe Graia*, corruptly no question, for *Alpes Graia* are the passage out of Sauoy into Italy, as I thinke, by mount Semse, or S. Bernardo minor, the direct way from Lions to Milan. Out of Suifferland, where Cæcina was, be the *Penine* by mount S. Bernardo maior. The Cortiz are out of Dauphiney into Italy by mount Gineura. In the Vatican copy of Tacitus it is, *cum Alpe tarina*, which with lesse mutation of letters and more possibility of circumstance, we may rather imagine should haue beene, *cum ala Petrina*, then *cum ala Taurina*, which passed the other way with Valens, and Tacitus himselfe 4 Hist. maketh mention of one Claudius Sagitta which was *è Vitellianis*, and *Præfetus ala Petrine*.

² His heavy Legionary: *Subsignanum militem & graue legionum agmen*] *Subsignanus miles & graue legionum agmen* (and yet there was here but one whole Legion, the One and twentieth) may seeme to signifie both one thing, as being contradiuided both to Auxiliaries. 2. Hist. *Eruptere legionarij in perniciem auxiliorum* 4. Hist. *Id solum, ut in tumultu, monuit, subsignano milite media firmare. Auxilia possim circumfusa sunt*, and yet in another place we haue; *Quicquid sub signis sociorum*.

XII. Marius Celsus pardoned.

NOW Otho in the meane time, contrary to all expectation, did not giue ouer himselfe to pleasure and idlenesse; but differred his delights, dissembled his riot, and ordered all as was most fitting for the honor of the Empire. This glose of vertues, and vices which would returne to their course, increased mens feare And first he ¹ commandeth Marius Celsus Consul elect, whom before he had saued from the souldiers rage by a colourable casting in prison, to be sent for into the Capitoll: his meaning was, by pardoning so noble a man, so odious to the side, to purchase a name of mercifull dealing. Celsus being called, constantly confessed the whole accusation of faithfulness vnto Galba, affirming that Princes were not to ¹ mislike such examples: and Otho, not as remitting a fault, but admitting the defence as iust and vertuous, straight-way put him in place nearest about him, and anon in the war appointed him one of his principall Leaders; lest lying aloofe as a pardoned enemy, he might peraduenture suspect the breach were but badly made vp: and Celsus, fatally fauouring the losing side, persisted vnfortunately faithfull for Otho also. The sauing of Celsus, an act which reioyced the chiefe of the City, and was to the common sort plausible, euen of the souldier was not misliked, admiring that vertue, with which they were displeased ere-while.

¹ The very next day after that Galba was slaine, as it seemes by Plutarch.

¹ Were not to mislike such example: *Exemplum vltro imputauit*] *Imputare* in Tacitus is a word of a middle signification, indifferent to the good part and bad: yet more vsually standing for *beneficij loco numerare*, or some such like thing. Examples, Hist. 1. *Neque enim erat adhuc, cui imputaretur*, that is, for as yet there was none whom they might account benefited by the reuolt. In this place *Exemplum vltro imputauit*, he accounted this fact of his standing sure to his old master beneficiall to Otho also, and the example not to be disliked of any Prince whatsoever. Plutarch, I know in the beginning of Otho seemeth to take it otherwise, καὶ ὁ δὲ (ὁ δὲ) Μαρίας Κέλσον ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἡσυχάζειν καὶ δελεῖσθαι φιλονεικίᾳ, καὶ παρελθεῖν τῇ αἰτίᾳ ἐπιλαθεῖν μάλλον, ἢ τὰς αἰτίας ἀντιμετρεῖν. τὸ δὲ Κέλσον μὴτ' ἀγαντὸς ὥσκει αἰνῶν μὴτ' ἀναίδητος. ἀλλ' ἐξήσαντο αὐτῇ τὸ πρὸς τὸ δίδοναι τὸ ἐγκλημα πίστιν (ἐγκληθῆναι γὰρ ὅτι Γάβριελ ἐβόων ἐαυτὸν παρέχειν, ὃ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁφείλειν) ἠγάσθησαν οἱ παρόντες αὐτοτέρων καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπῆνεσεν. That is, Otho commanded Marius Celsus to be brought before him, whom he embraced and intreated very kindly, desiring him rather to forget that euer he was in fault, then to remember that he

2 *virilia scelerata*
 in opposition to
fecunda pueritia,
 for all vices are
 not incident to
 all ages.
 a The ill-willers
 hating him as
 Nerves chiefe
 instrument of all
 wickednesse ; the
 wel-willers : as
 one that had left
 and betrayed his
 matter.
 b *Plutarch O-*
thone, ἑπεμφεν
 ἐπὶ τὸ Τυγαίου
 ὁ Ὀθων εἰς ἐπὶ
 αὐτοῦ Σπινόαν
 ἀγρὸς ἐκείδον
 διητάτο πλοίων
 παρρημάτων
 ὡς φησὶ ὁ μὲν
 ἐπιτάξας, καὶ
 γὰρ περὶ τῆς
 χυσιῶν πολλῶ
 πένθει ἐπιχει-
 ροῖ παρῆναι.
 μὴ τιθένται δὲ,
 δῶκε μὲν δούκας
 ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸν, ἱερὰ δὲ
 δὲ ὑπομείναντες
 ἀνὰ πόρῃναι, τὸ
 γήρειον καὶ λαβῶν
 δουρὸς αὐτὸν ἐ-
 λαμνομένους.
 c A place of or-
 dinarie repaire
 for pleasure and
 health.
Tac. 12. Ann.
Instanta mole
cuvantium Ciadus
valetudine ad-
uersa corripitur.
refomendisque vi-
ribus mollie cœlis
& salubritate
aquarum Sinis-
effata pergit.

ched

L IKEY was conceived vpon causes vnlike, when Tigellinus death was obtained. ¹ Sophonius Tigellinus was a man by birth obscure, a beastly boy, and a vicious old man: who hauing attained the Captaines place of the watch, and the Gard, and other rewards due vnto vertue by vices (because it was the more expedit way) exercised in those places cruelty, and auarice, and other lewd qualities incident to * riper yeeres, corrupting Nero to all kinde of mischief; some things attempting vnwitting to him, and at last a Traitor, and backslider from him: whereupon both the ill and well willers of Nero, vpon ² diuers respects, cried out importunately to make him away. In Galbaes time the credit, and might of Titus Vinius did protect him, who pretended that Tigellinus before had saued his daughter, as indeed he had done, not vpon any mercifull minde, as hauing murdered so many, but onely proiecting for time to come a plot to escape: for the lewdest men misdoubting the present, and fearing a change, prepare before hand priuate friends to set and oppose against publike hatred: whereupon it groweth that no care is taken of innocent life, but onely a care to passe without punishment. But now for Vinius sake he fared the worse, to his owne ancient hatefulnesse the others late enuy being adioyned: insomuch that the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of common assembly, and where the Commons are most in their kingdome, to the Race and Theatres, ceased not seditiously to molest, till such time as message of death ^b was sent to Tigellinus being at the Bathes of ^c Sinuessæ, where wallowing among his Concubines, dallying and kissing, and vsing vnhonest delaies, he cut his owne throte at length with a Razour, fouling his infamous life with a slow and dishonest departing. About the same time Galuia Crispinilla was likewise required to the slaughter; but the Prince, although with some obloquie, shifting it off, saued her selfe: one which had beene in her time Schoole-mistresse of Neros lusts; and after his death had sailed into Africke to incite Clodius Macer to war, and euidently endeououred to ³ famish the City of Rome: afterward shee married a Consull, and had the goodwill, and good word of all the whole Citie, vnhurt and vntou-

ched whilest Galba, Otho, and Vitellius liued ; and after their times 3 mighty in
mony, & because she was childlesse, good helps in all the worlds both good and bad.

a The Scholiast
of Iuvenal. lib. 1.
Sat. 1. calleth him
*C. Fulcinius Tigel-
linus*, where also
his *foeda pueritia*
is discribed.
b 14. *Annal.*

^x ^a Sophonius Tigellinus] Of Tigellinus all the Stories are full. After the death of Burrhus, Nero, saith ^b Tacitus, *duos Prætorij cohortibus imposuerat, Fenium Rufum ex vulgi favore : Sophonium Tigellinum ex intimis libidinibus assumptum, & τὰ λεία τε καὶ μακροτέρα παῖ τε τῶν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνδρώπας ὑπερῆγοντα.* That is, In luxuriousnesse and cruelty exceeding all the men of his time. Xiphil. for those were indeed the two vertues, by which Tigellinus was credited with Nero. Tacitus 14. Annal. *Fenium vita fama; laudatum, per sanctitatem impudicitiamq; Tigellinus in animo principis anteibat,* againe, *Poppæa & Tigellino coram, quod erat scienti principi intimum consiliorum, interrogat &c.* 14. Annal. he is described as the onely Authour of all the miseries of that time. *Validior indies Tigellinus, & malas artes, quibus solis pollebat, gratiores ratus, si principem societate sceleris obstringeret, metus eius rimatur &c.* Tacitus bestoweth as favours vpon him these friendly termes : *flagrantissima flagitia, adulteria, vetus impudicitia, infamia,* in another place. *Tigellino scilicet comitante cum pellicibus,* againe, he notes him as Authour, or priuy at least to the burning of Rome. *Plusq; infamie id incendium habuit, quia prædij Tegellini Aemyliani proruperat.* A fit man in all respects for such a bad master, and vnfit to haue benee by Galba protected.

To furnish the City of Rome] Tacitus 3. Hist. *Africam eodem latere sitam, terra, mariq; invadere parabat, clavis annona subsidys inopiam ac discordiam hosti facturum*, for so was it, that Ægypt and Africke furnished the City of Rome for corne. Ægypt for foure monthes in the yeare, and Africke for eight. Iosephus *ἀνὰ τ. 2. cap. 28. χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἑτερίαν, οἱ μισοὶν ὀκτὼ τὸ κτὶ τὴν ῥώμην πῆνθος τετέλεστο, καὶ ἔξωθεν παντίως φορολογεῖται* (οἱ λιβύες) καὶ ταῖς χρεῖαις τῆς ἡγεμονίας παρέχουσιν ἐτάμους τὰς εἰσφορὰς. That is, They of Africa beside eight monthes provision of corne yearely for the people of Rome, pay all manner of tributes, and willingly support all other charges of the Empire, & paulò post. *τῇ δὲ ἐνιαιμσίᾳ παρ' ὧν (ἰουδαίων) φόρος κατ' ἓνα μῆνα πλέον ῥωμαίοις παρέχει (ἡ ἑβραϊσμός) καὶ τῇ χρεματάν ἐξώθεν, τῇ ῥώμῃ σίτον μῶν τριμήνων. That is, Egypt paies more tribute in one moneth then the Jewes doe in a whole yeare, and beside this great summe of money they yeeld provision of corne for Rome for the space of foure monthes.*

³ Mighty in money and because she was childlesse] Rich and childlesse, two good helps to get many friends, every man contending to please them, of whose wealth he may hope to be heire. Silvanus being in Neros time accused *repetundarum valuit* saith Tacitus, *pecuniosa orbitate & sancta*: and yet in the end he deceived them all, overliuing those *quorum ambitu enaserat, in ciuitate nostra* (saith Seneca *Consol. ad Martian. cap. 19.*) *plus gratia orbis conferit quam eripit*. Contrarily in Germany *nulla orbitatis pretia, sed quanto plus propinquorum, quo maior affinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus*. *De moribus Germanorum*.

XIIII. *Of the letters, messages, and practises that passed
betweene the sides.*

a Suet. Othone. c. 8.
Otho per internun-
cios & literas con-
sortera imperij ge-
nerumq; se Vise-
lio obtulit.

b The like conditions offered by Flavius Sabinus in Vespasians name were accepted by Vitellius as much as in him lay, had not his friends disturbed the bargain. 3. Hist.

For in truth
they were sent to
practise the Le-
gions.

d For Vitellius
was greeted Em-
peror the second
of January, and
Otho the fif-
teenth.

IN the meane time Otho sent to Vitellius many ^a letters spiced with womanish persuasions, and ^b offering him money and countenance, and what place of rest he would chuse to passe therein his prodigall life: Vitellius quit him againe with the like; at the first in milde termes, with fond and vncomely dissembling on both sides: afterward in scolding maner, obiecing ech to other vicious life, and villanous actes: neither amisse. Otho reuoking the Embassage which Galba had sent, sendeth a new in the name of the Senate to both the German Armies, the Italian Legion, and Companies which remained at Lions. The Embassadors that went staied with Vitellius, being as it seemed quickly intreated, and willingly with-holden. Those of the Gard, which Otho had assigned ^c in shew to attend vpon the Embassadors, were turned home againe, not suffered to haue conference with the Legions: Fabius Valens sendeth withall a packet in the name of the German Army to the Prætorian, and Viban Cohorts, extolling the strength of the side, and offering amity, blaming them beside in that they did conuert vpon Otho the title of the Empire, whereof Vitellius had so ^d long before the rightfull possession. So were they with threats and promises doubly assaied, as being in war not able to stand, in peace not likely to loose: notwithstanding the Prætorians persisted for Otho. Plots also were laid for priuy attempts: Otho sent some into Germany, to practise against Vitellius person, and Vitellius to Rome against Othoes, both missed of their purpose: the Vitellianists, missed the punishment, scaping vnspied, as in so great a multitude of men, where nobody knoweth nor marketh another: but Othoes men, among such as knew ech other, were quickly bewraied, as strangers. Moreouer Vitellius wrote letters to Titianus Othoes brother, threatening the death of him and his son,

if his mother and children tooke any harme : and so^e both the houses continued entier ; for feare peradventure in Othoes time , but Vitellius being conquerour, and without such a bridle, caried away the vndoubted commendation of clemency.

^e To wit, of Vitellius and Titianus.

XV. *How the Prouinces declared themselves in fauour or disfauour of the sides.*

THE first aduertisement which put Otho in courage was out of Illyricum, that the Legions of Dalmatia, Pannonia and Moesia had sworne vnto him : the like was reported of Spaine , and Cluius Rufus by publike edict solemnely prayed ; and by and by it was certified that Spaine had reuolted to Vitellius. Aquitania likewise, though hauing receiued the oth to Otho tendered by Iulius Cordus, remained not long in obedience : fidelity or loue bare no where sway : by feare and force they changed to and fro. The same feare brought to Vitellius the Prouince of Narbon, a gentle passage, and easily made, vnto the nearer and stronger. The Prouinces which were far off, and all the armies seuered by sea, remained at Othoes deuotion, not for loue to the side, but the name of the City, and shew of the Senate did greatlie countenance, and credit the cause : and he had first possessed their mindes, as being the former in speech. In Iury Vespasian sware his Army to Otho, and Mucianus the Legions in Syria : Ægypt likewise and Eastward the Prouinces were all possessed in his name : Africke also in his obedience , they of Carthage being most forward ; not expecting the Proconsull Vipsanius Apronianus authority , Crescens a Freedman of Nero (for he was in those bad times become a part of publike affaires) had feasted the people for ioy of the new Emperor, and the people hastned many things disorderly. The rest of the Citties followed the example of Carthage.

XVI. *Otho bestoweth offices : restoreth the banished : relieueth the Prouinces. and erecteth the images of Poppæa his old loue.*

THE Armies and Prouinces being thus distracted, for Vitellius it was needfull, if he would be Prince , to win it in field. Otho as in time of great peace disposed the affaires of the Empire, some according to the dignity of the State, and most otherwise, hastning and shifting vp as present necessity forced. And first he declareth¹ himselfe and Titianus his brother, Consuls till the Kalends of March : the next two Monthes were assigned to Verginius , to please in some part the German Army : with Verginius he ioyneth Poppæus Vopiscus , vnder the colour of old acquaintance , most thought it was done to honour the Viennenses : the rest of the Consuls , as they were by Nero or Galba appointed, remained vnchanged ; Cælius Sabinus and Flauius Sabinus till Iuly ; Arius Antoninus , and Marius Celsus till September : whose Offices Vitellius also after the victory confirmed vnto them. The Pontificall dignities and Augurs roomes Otho bestowed vpon ancient men, such as had borne already great Office , completly to perfit all points of their honour : and yongue noble-men , lately returned from exile , hee friendly remembered with their Fathers , and Grandfathers places among the Priests. Cadius Rufus , Pedius Bloesus and Seuinus Promptinus , in Claudius and Neroestime condemned for² polling the Prouinces , were restored againe to their places in Senate. It pleased them which granted the pardon to change the true name , and terme that, which indeed was extortion and bribery, crime of³ Maiesty and treason ; an accusation so hatefull, that in respect of it euen good Lawes were not obserued. By

It is indeed somewhat hard to believe that Otho should confer such a benefit upon the Lingones in France (for other I know not) the chiefest fauourers of Vitellius cause his onely concurrant in the matter of the Empire.

the same way of bounty he sought to win the Cities and Prouinces ; granting ⁴ to the Hispalienſes and Emeritenſes a new ſupply of families ; making all the Lingones Citizens of Rome ; vpon the Prouince of Bætica beſtowing in pure gift the Townes of the Moores ; new liberties vpon Cappadocia , and new vpon Africke , more for a ſhew then for to continue. Among theſe things which the neceſſity of the preſent affaires , and cares at hand made paſſable good , Otho euen then not vnmindfull of his old loues , by an order of Senate , cauſed the Images of Poppæa to be erected againe . It was alſo ſuppoſed he had a purpoſe to celebrate the memorie of Nero , in hope to allure the hearts of the Commons : and ſome there were which ſet out the Images of Nero ; yea and certaine daies the people and ſouldier , in their acclamations to Otho , as though they ment to enable and honour him more , cried **T O N E R O O T H O** : he notwithstanding held it in ſuſpenſe , aſhamed to acknowledge , or afraid to forbid it .

Himſelfe and Titianus his brother Conſuls till the Kalends of March] In the free ſtate the two Conſuls entering the firſt of Ianuary remained in office the whole yeare out , vniſſe they chanced to die , or vpon ſpeciall and rare occaſions reſigne . Afterward *cum belli civilis premia ſeſtimari cœperunt* , as Tacitus ſpeaketh , when many moe for their good ſeruiſe to the ſide had deſerued to be pleaſured then there were places to pleaſure them in , a ſhift was found to abridge the time , and ſo to ſpeed many in one yeare . The author of this diſorder was C. Cæſar , *Ann. vrbis condita 709* when as being Conſul *ſine collega* he reſigned to Fabius and Trebonius . Dio libr. 43. *ἄρχοντος μὲν δὴ πρὶς τὸ τοῦ ᾧ καθεστὸς ἐγένετο, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν χρόνον ἔσται τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμεινύου (ὑπατοῦ) τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντα πῶς αὐτὶς, καὶ μὴ ἀναγκαζέμεντα, μὴτε ἐκ πατρῶων μὴτε ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς πῶς ἐκρίναι, καὶ ἕτερον αὐτὸν ἀντικατεſτῆναι. ἐν δ' ἔν τῷ χρόνῳ τότε ἡκάστῳ οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς τῶ ἔτους, ἢ πλὴν ὀλίγων πάλιν, ἀπέτευσαν. ἀλλ' ὥς περ καὶ ἔτυχον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πλείους, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐλαττοῖς, οἱ μὲν μῆνας, οἱ δὲ ἡμέρας. Τῆς αὖτε, Then firſt of all contrary to the ancient cuſtome a precedent was giuen , that a man ſhould beare the office of Conſulſhip neither for the terme of a whole yeare , nor for the remainder of the yeare , if happily vpon another mans death or reſignation he was choſen to the place , but that one during his life time , not compelled by law , in whoſe creation no error was committed in matter of Auspicia ſhould reſigne the place and cauſe another man to be choſen in his roome , and from this time forward very few enioyed the Conſulſhip a complet yeare , but as it chanced ſome more ſome fewer either monthes or daies . In the yeere *ab vrbis condita 715* . it altered from a voluntary reſignation to a matter of neceſſity , and order . Dio libr. 48. *ἡ ἀρχὴ δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου ἔτερος, ὡς περ ἡ δὴ, ἀλλὰ πλείους τότε ἀρχόντων ἐκδοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰλοντο. καὶ ἀρχὴν γὰρ (τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὸν 709. yeare) μὴ ἑτέρους πῶς, μὴτ' ἀποδαίνοντας, μὴτ' ἐπ' ἀτιμίᾳ, μὴτε ἄλλως πῶς παύειντος ἤρξαν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι μὲν ὥς περ τοῖς ἐς ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν χειροτονηθεῖσιν ἔδοξε, κατέſτῆσαν, τότε δὲ ἐνιαυτοῦ μὲν ἕως ἡμέρας, ὡς περ δὲ τὸ τῶ χρόνῳ μέρη, ἀλλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτὸν εἰσέχθησαν. That is, They choſe not two Conſuls for the whole yeare according to the ancient cuſtome , but euen at that time of election they nominated more , for ſix yeares before this ſome had ſucceeded others in the ſame yeare , though the former neither by death , nor miſdemour , nor other cauſes were deprived . Howbeit then they were made as it pleaſed them who were choſen for the whole yeare : but now euen at the firſt creation no man was nominated for the whole yeare , but ſome for one part of the yeare , and ſome for another . In Auguſtus time , ſpecially toward the later end , as it may appeare by the Capitolin tables , foure Conſuls were yearely created , two to beare office from the Kalends of Ianuary to the Kalends of Iuly , and two more , *ex Kalend. Iulij* to the end of the yeare . After his daies , although I cannot preciſely define when it began , the ordinary time was no more but two monthes , and the ordinarie number of Conſuls twelue . In our preſent yeare .**

• Tac. 1. Hiſt.

Ex Kalend. Ianuar. ^b

{ Seruius Galba. 2.
Titus Vinius.

} which two being ſlaine in their office M. Otho , and L. Titianus ſupplied their roomes in Kal. Mar.

• Tac. 1. Hiſt.

Ex Kalend. Martij. ^c

{ L. Verginius Rufus.
Poppæus Vopifcus.

Ex Kalend. Maij.

{ Cœlius Sabinus.
Flavius Sabinus.

Ex Kalend. Iulij.

{ Arius Antonius.
Marius Cæſius.
Fabius Valens.

• Tac. 2. Hiſt.

Ex Kalend. Septembris. ^d

{ Alienus Cæcina, adiudged enemy of the ſtate, in his place for one day that remained
Rofcius Regulus. Tac. 3. Hiſt.

• Tac. 3. Hiſt.
Xiphil.

Ex Kalend. Nouembrii. ^e

{ Cn. Cœcilius Simplex.
C. Quintius Articus.

This number & this time continued euen to Diones age *ἐπεὶ γὰρ* (ſaith he) *ἐξ ἐκείνου ἔτι ἐνιαυτὸν, ἢ δὲ εἰς πλείους δὲ μῆνας χρόνον ὡς πάλαι τῶ ἑτέρῳ πῶς ὑπατεύει. That is, For in our time no man beareth the Office for a whole yeare , nor moſt comonly for more then two monthes. libr. 43. Now of theſe Conſuls the two which entered the firſt of Ianuary were *ἐπὶ πρῶτοι* , named the yeere , and were called ordinary : the reſt *minores* , as being obſcure and not heard of abroad,*

abroad, so that with great reason a man might demand in whose Consulships they were Consuls: otherwise in authority &c. not differing any thing the one from the other. Dio. lib. 48. καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῶν ὑπατεῖας διὰ παντὸς τῆς ἐτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν γίνεταί, ἔσθ' οὐκ. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρας αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ τε λοιπῇ ἰταλίᾳ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὠνομάζοντο; οἱ δὲ νῦν ποιεῖται. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἢ πῶς αὐτῶν ἢ ἐξ ἑνὸς ἡδέοντο, καὶ διὰ τὸ το σμικροτέρους οὐκ αὐτῶν ὑπεκάλον. That is, They which were first to enter had the name of Consuls (as even yet it is vsd) during the whole yeere, as for the rest they which lived in Rome and other parts of Italy called them so during the time of their Office. But all that lived abroad either knew none or but few of them, whereupon they were called Consules minores. and againe lib. 3. τοὶ μὲν ἄλλα ἔσθ' διαφύγουσιν (nos Consules, lest we might have beene ignorant of his pre-erment) ἀνῆλθον. πῶς δὲ ἐξ ἀεὶ μόνον τῶν ἐπὶ οἱ καὶ τῶν ὑπατεῶν αὐτῶν ὑπατεύοντες καρπύνονται. That is, In all o-
ther things there is no oddes betweene vs Consuls, onely they which enter first enjoy the prerogative of giving the name to the yeere. notwithstanding this minor Consulship served well enough to make vp a number. Example in Vespasian who bearing the office of Consul in Claudius time & per duos nouissimos anni menses, of ordinary neuer before. Ann. 823. is stiled *Vespasianus iterum*. Tac. 4. Hist.

² For polling the Prouinces: *Repetundarum criminibus*] The action of *Repetunda* lay against the Gouvernours of Prouinces for mony vnduly extorted, or cruelly exercised in their iurisdiction, so called of the more principal part, because by that action, *pecunias iniuste ablatas, vel si quid aliud ablatum, captum, conciliatum, auersumue fiet, Prouinciabus repetere ius fuisse*: and not onely the summe extorted, but an arbitrary mulct was imposed beside, double, or treble nomine pœne. This law was induced by L. Calpurnius Piso, Anno primo tertij belli Punici: and afterward renewed by other with many new clauses and straight sanctions. Tac. 14. Ann. *Magistratuum auaritia Calpurnia scita pepertit*. And yet notwithstanding all the good lawes in that case enacted the Proconsuls and Proprætors, both before and vnder the Emperors, ceased not to racke and poll the poore Countries. Nay the more lawes there were and greater penalties established, the more they robbed and spoiled the Prouinces to make good great extortion abroad with great bribery at home, according to the Greeke senarie, ὁ πολλὰ κλέψας, ὀλίγα δὲ ἐκπλάζεται. That is, He that hath stolne much with giuing a small matter shall escape well enough. And therefore Tully telleth vs (in iest, or in earnest) that the Prouinces would surely preferre supplication to the Senat, that the Law de repetundis made in their behalfe, at their request might be repealed. His words be these, *proœmio prioris actionis in verrem. Placuit facere multis testibus possum, C. Verrem in Ciliâ multis audientibus sepe dixisse, se habere hominem potentem cuius fiducia Prouinciâ spoliaret: neque sibi solum pecuniam querere, sed ita triennium illud præturæ Siciliensis distribu- tum habere, ut secum pulchre agi diceret, si vnius anni quæstum in rem suam conuerteret: alterum patronis & defensoribus suis traderet; tertium illum vberissimum, quæstuosissimumque annum totum iudiciis referuaret. Ex quo mihi venit in mentem illud dicere, quod apud M. Glabronem nuper cum in reijciendis iudiciis commemorassem, intellexi vehementer Populum Ro- manum commoueri, me arbitrari fore, uti nationes externa legatos ad Populum Romanum mitterent, ut lex de pecunijs repetun- dis iudicium quo tolleretur, si enim iudicia nulla sint, tantum vnumquemque ablatum putant, quantum sibi, ac liberis suis satis esse arbitrentur. nunc quòd eiusmodi iudicia sint, tantum vnumquemque auferre, quantum sibi, patronis, advocatis, prætoribus, iudicibus satis futurum sit. Hoc profectò infinitum esse. Se auarissimi hominis cupiditati satisfacere possi, nocentissima victoriæ non posse.* Vnder the Empire the law was vnderstood, as it may seeme by Pliny lib. 2. epist. 11. against extor- tion onely.

³ Crime of Maiestie and treason] *Lex Maiestatis* in the ancient free Common-wealth comprehended onely points of greatest importance in State: *si quis proditiōe exercitum, aut plebem seditionibus denique malè gesta Republi- ca maiestatem Populi Romani minuisse.* Augustus put it in vre against libellers, whereas before facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant, or at least not punished with the penalties lese Maiestatis. In Tiberius, Caius, Claudius and Neroes time it was vnicum crimen eorum, qui crimine vacabant, as Pliny speakerth. ¹ One was accused to Tiberius, and all was maiesty, quòd venditis hortu statuam Augusti simul mancipasset: ² another quòd violasset periurio nomen Augusti. ³ a third beside some vndutiful speeches, that he had set vp his owne image higher than those of the Princes, and that in another image he had cut off the head of Augustus, and clapped in place one of Tiberius for sauing of cost. ⁴ Another for making an Epitaph for the Princes sonne, before he was dead, arraigned and condemned. ⁵ another, quòd effigiem principis promiscuum ad vsum argenti vertisset. ⁶ another, for that he had done greater seruice for the Prince, than that he was able any other way to requite it. ⁷ another, for that in his story he had commen- ded Cassius and Brutus enemies of the Monarchy, and dead aboue threecore yeeres before. ⁸ others because they were descended of those which in their time had beene of neere acquaintance with Pompey. ⁹ another, be- cause hee had beene a follower of Germanicus, of whom Tiberius without iust caule had euer beene ieaious. ¹⁰ another for making a Tragedy wherein certain verses were of doubtfull vnderstanding. In Claudius time ¹¹ one was arraigned, and condemned of maiesty for dreaming a dreame, another for ¹² being dreamed of. In Neroes time one ¹³ Cassius, quòd inter imagines maiorum etiam C. Cassij effigiem coluisset ita inscriptam DVCI PARTIVM. And infinite moe for such trifles as these. Seeing therefore that *lex maiestatis* had beene so late so odiously executed, it pleased the pardoners to tearme that which indeed was extortion, crime of maiesty, the memory whereof was so hatefull, that in respect of it euen other good lawes were neglected.

⁴ To the Hispalientes and Emeritensis a new supply of families] in deducing of Colonies a certaine number of families were assigned, which if tract of time, or any mitchance had diminished, or adulterated, to haue them supplied a fresh, or increased, was esteemed of the rest, as a speciall great benefite. Liuius lib. 31. C. *Attilius tribunus plebis tulit, ut quinque colonie in oram maritimam deducerentur. Tricena familiae in singulas colonias iubeantur mitti, eodem libro. Narniensium legatis querentibus ad numerum sibi colonos non esse, & immistos quosdam non sui generis pro colonis se ge- rere, earum rerum causa triumphos creare L. Cornelius consul iussus, creati P. & Sex. Aelij (Petri fuit ambobus cognomen) & C. Cornelius Lentulus. Quod Narniensibus datum erat ut colonorum numerus augeretur, id Cossani petentes non impetra- uerunt.* And another place, postulantibus à senatu Aquileiensium legatis, ut numerum colonorum augeret, M. & D. fa- milie ex S. C. scriptæ. Tacit. 13. Annal. Caterum colonie Capua atque Nuceria, additis veterani firmatae sunt. Now that Hispalis was a Colony of the Romans, Pliny affirmeth lib. 3. cap. 2. *Alicia Hispalis colonia, cognomine Remulensis:* That Emerita Dio. lib. 53. παλαιὸν δὲ τῆς πόλεως τῆς οὗ Αὐγῆς τοῦ μὲν ἀντικειμένου τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφ᾽ ἡκεί, καὶ πάλιν αὐτῆς ἐν λυσιστασίᾳ πῶς αὐγῆται ἐμείκται καλεῖται κτιστὴν εἶναι. That is, This was being ended

Augustus dismissed the souldiers which were past yeeres of service, and gave them licence to build a City in Portugall called *Augusta Emerita*. The reason of the name is apparent *Emerita*, quod emeriti milites ἐπὶ νηξέσσι ἐξ ἐὸν deducerantur. For militar Colonies (to leaue the other kind which in the free state were deriued abroad by the Senates appointment, for so *Velleius* seemes to diuide them) they were deuised for a recompence of old souldiers, who hauing spent the floure of their age in the seruice of their Country, small reason it were to turne them a begging when they were aged. Wherefore *Sylla*, *Cæsar* and the Emperours following, at the end of their seruice rewarded the old souldiers with an honourable maintenance of land of inheritance. In this kind of Colonies at the beginning

7 lib. 1.

2 Tac. lib. 15. Annal.

3 Tacit. 4.

2 *vniversa legiones ducebantur cum tribunis, centurionibus, & sui cuiusque ordinis militibus, ut consensu & caritate remp. efficerent.* *Mela. lib. 2. cap. 5.* nameth some speciall Legions, and where they were placed. *Secundanorum Arausio, Sexcanorum Arelate, Septimanorum Bliterra, Decumanorum colonia Marcius Narbo.* In proesse of time this good order decaying, *2* *non ut olim vniversæ legiones, sed ignoti inter se ducebantur, diuersis manipulis, sine rectore, sine affectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium repente in vnum collecti, numerus magis quam colonia:* and the prooffe thereof was according, the souldiers slipping away in *provincias, in quibus stipendia meruerant,* and leauing the colonies desolate. Whether vpon this or whatsoeuer occasion, apparent it is that *Hispalis* and *Emerita* were both decayed, and therefore with new families here by grace from *Otho* stocked againe.

XVII. *The Rhozolani a people of Sarmatia vanquished, and slaine by the souldiers of Mœsia.*

MENs mindes being set vpon ciuill warres, externall matters were lightly regarded: by reason wherof the Rhozolani a people of Sarmatia, hauing the winter before slaine to Cohortes, ventured more boldly to inuade Mœsia. Their former exploit, and conceit of themselves had assembled nine thousand horse, more minding the spoile, than prouided to fight: whereupon the * third Legion with the Aydes assailed them suddenly as they were straggled and carelesse. The Romans had all things fitted for fight: the Sarmatians being scattered, or through greedinesse of spoile heauily charged, their horses being tired by reason of their burdens and slippery waies, as if their hands had beene tied behind them, were hewed in peeces. It is wonder to see how all the Sarmatians valour is as it were out of themselves: to fight a foote no nation so cowardly, on horse-backe by troupes they are hardly resisted: but then the weather being wet, and the frost somewhat thawed, neither their staues, nor long two-handed swords serued in stead, through the sliding of their horses, and great waight of their cataphracts; a kind of harnessse, that Princes and Noble-men vse, composed of iron plates or stiffe bend-leather, which as against blowes is sure and of prooffe, so if one be borne downe by the force of the enemy it maketh him vnable to rise vp againe: beside they sunke into the snow being deepe, and not able to beare: contrarily the Roman souldier in his easie * corselet nimble and light, a far off with a * dart, or with launce charging vpon them, and with a light sword neare at hand, the case so requiring, gored so long the vnarmed Sarmatian (for it is not their maner to warde with their buckler) till at length a few which remained fled to the Marishes: in the one place the mortallnesse, in the other the misery of their wounds wasted them all. When this was by certaine aduice vnderstood at Rome, Marcus Aponius Lieutenant generall of Mœsia was honored with a¹ triumphall image, Fuluius Aurelius, ^a Titus Iulianus, and Numisius Lupus Lieutenants of the Legions with Consular ornaments; *Otho* reioycing, and drawing the glorie to himselfe, as if he also were fortunate in war, and had by his Leaders and armies enlarged the Empire.

* *tertia legio*: per-
adventure it was
written by *Tac. 1.*
tres legiones: for
so many Legions
were at this pre-
sent in Mœsia, and
the Lieutenants
of all the three
Legions were ho-
nored with Con-
sular ornaments,
and therefore
present in the
action, and in all
likelihood with
the Legions
vnder their
charge.

* *lorica.*

* *missila pilo.*

^a In the 2. and 4.
booke he is still
named *T. Iulius*
Julianus.

¹ Honoured with a triumphall image: *Triumphali statua* Tac. 4. Ann. *Imque tres erant laureate in vrbe statua* &c. and the sentence before of the same matter. *Priores duces impetrando sibi triumphalium insigni sufficere res suas crediderant.* againe 15. Ann. *Triumphale decus,* and *Triumphales in foro imagines* of the same. So that we may reasonably gather *Triumphalem statuam* to be either the same with *Triumphalia insignia*, or else parcell of them, and yet inducing the whole. This title of honour, *τῶν ἀπὸ νηξέσσι ἐξ ἐὸν deducerantur*, vnknown in the free Common-wealth, was first conferred, as some do suppose, by Augustus vpon Tiberius Anno vr. conditæ 742. Sueton. ^a *Tiberio. Quas ob res & ouans & curru urbem ingressus est* (Tiberius) *primus (ut quidam putant) triumphalibus ornamentis honoratus, nouo, nec antea cuiquam tributo genere honoris.* But ^b *Dio* writeth that it was to Agrippa two yeeres before first granted: *ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγρίππης ἐξ ἐὸν deducerantur, & μὲν τοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ νηξέσσι ἐξ ἐὸν deducerant. ἔτι δὲ ἐγχαίρειν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸν δέειν*

^a *cap. 9.*

^b *lib. 4.*

συνέδριον ὡς ἂν ἀποχρήντων ἔδειν. ἀφ' ἧ δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ὁμοίᾳ νόμῳ πινε τῶ ἐκείνῳ πρὸς τὴν χάριν
 τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῶ κοινῷ ἐπ' ἐπέλλον, ἔτε τὴν πύμψιν δὲ νικηθείων ἐδέξαντο, ἀν' ἡ μόναις τῶς ὀπινκίοις π-
 μαῖς ἐχοῦντο. That is, Sacrifices were made to the gods in the name of Agrippa, yet was there no triumph decreed unto
 him. For he did not at the first certify the Senate concerning the successe of his actions. Whereupon in succeeding ages men of his
 place following his example as a rule neither wrote to the Senate, neither accepted the grant of triumph, but contented them-
 selves with triumphal ornaments alone, and so consequently to Tiberius. The cause as I iudge of the innouation was;
 that to Augustus who of the old state left nothing standing but names, and hardly that, the pompe triumphall
 seemed a thing too full of maiesty for any subiect, and therefore seeking euery way to cut the sinewes of liberty,
 and yet to retaine a shadow of ancienty, he cunningly conuerted the solemnity of a triumph into Triumphalia in-
 signia. Onely the Princes themselves or their children, as Germanicus in Tiberius time, solemnely triumphed.
 Next to Triumphalia in lower degree of honour were Consularia insignia, or ornamenta, τ.μαῖ ὑπατικαί, and Prætorie
 likewise, τ.μαῖ πραιτωρικαί, vnder them, obtained by those, I suppose, whom Dio in sundry places termeth τὸς γε
 δοκῶντας ὑπατὸς κέναι, ἢ πραιτωρῶν κέναι, and lastly Quæstoria ornamenta, to make them as Consuls, Prætors, Quæ-
 stors fellowes. Tacit. 4. Hist. Multo cum honore verborum Mutianus triumphalia de bello civili data set in Sarmatias expe-
 ditio fingebar, adduntur Antonio Primo consularia, Cornelio Fusco, & Arrio Caro prætorie insignia, Annal. 11. Decretis
 Narcisso quæstoria insignia, &c.

XVIII. A mutinee of the Gard souldiers.

A BOUT the same time vpon a small sparkle a flame of sedition arose, from
 whence no danger was feared, to the destruction almost of the Citie. Otho
 had commanded the seuenteenth Cohort to be called from Ostia to Rome,
 and charge was committed to Varius Crispinus, one of the Prætorian Tribunes, to
 furnish it with Armour. Which that he might doe at more ease, and without inter-
 ruption, the camp being quiet, at the shutting of the euening he opened the Armory,
 and commanded the Cartes of the Cohorts to be laden. The time wrought sus-
 pition, the cause bred a crime; the affecting of quietnesse proued to a tumult; and
 weapons seene among drunken persons stirred vp a desire in them to be doing. The
 souldiers mutin and charge the Centurions and Tribunes with treason, affirming
 they purposed to put in armes the Senate, and Senators men against Otho; some
 vpon ignorance, and ouercome with drinke, the worst seeking occasion to spoile, the
 common sort (as it is commonly seene) desirous of nouelty howsoeuer: and as for
 the better and sounder part, the darknesse did not permit them to shew their obedi-
 ence. And first they murder Crispinus the Tribune, and the ^b seuerest of the Cen-
 turions repugning to their seditious attempts: then taking armes, and drawing their
 swords, on horse-backe they make ^c toward the towne, and the Palace. Otho that
 night had the ^d principall men and women of the City at banquet: who standing a-
 mazed and misdoubting what it might be, a casuall rage of the souldiers, or a pra-
 ctise of the Emperor; whether were more danger to stay and be taken or to flee and
 disperse; sometime make shew of stoutnesse, sometime bewraied their feare, still
 casting an eye vpon Othoes countenance, who, as it fals out where mindes yeeld to
 suspicion, did feare, and was feared. And fearing no lesse for the Senators sakes
 than for his owne person, he both sent by and by the Captaines of the Guard to ap-
 pease in some sort the souldiers anger, and ^e willed his Guestes to get them away
 in all possible speed. Then might one haue seene magistrates, euery where cast down
 the marks of their office, eschewing the multitude of followers and seruants, old men
 and women in darke without torch creep this way and that, few to their owne hou-
 ses, most to their friends, and meanest Clients where they least would be lookt for.
 The souldiers furiously breake open the gates of the Palace, and thrust into the ban-
 quetting place, rudely requiring a sight of Otho, hauing wounded a Tribune Iulius
 Martialis, and Vitellius Saturninus ^{*} Lieutenant of a Legion, as they endeououred to
 withstand their violence. On euery side armes and threates, sometime against the
 Centurions, and Tribunes, sometime against the whole Senate, franticke vpon a
 blind

^a Odyss. τ. Μήτιος
 οὐκ ὀφείλεις ἔχειν
 σῆσαντες ἐν οὐμῶν
 Ἀλλήλους τροχίσσ-
 τε, καὶ παροχρήσασ-
 θαι δόματα,
 καὶ μὴ σὺν αὐτοῖς
 γὰρ ἐφίλειται αἰ-
 δεῖσθαι σίδερος.

^b Εὐκλειδὸς ἀρχαῖος
 δὲ οὐ. Plus.
^c Suet. Othone, c.
 8. cum arma in
 castris sub noctem
 promouerentur, insi-
 dias quidam suspi-
 cationum uuluum
 excitauerunt, ac
 repente omnes
 nullo certo duce
 in palatium eu-
 claruerunt, cædentes
 senatus flagitan-
 tes, repulsiq; mi-
 norum, qui in-
 hibere tentabant,
 nonnullis, & occi-
 dit, sicut erant
 euentu ubinam
 Imperator esset
 requirentes perire
 perunt in triclini-
 um usque, nec nisi
 uiso destiterunt.
^d O. γδοκῶντας
 οὐκ ἄλλοις κέναι.
 Plus.
^e Καθ' ἑτέρας θέ-
 ρας ἀπὸ τοῦ Plus.
^{*} Præfectus legio-
 nis: a kind of
 speech which I
 doe not remem-
 ber in Tacitus
 elsewhere.

blinde feare, and because they could not name any one to the slaughter, demanding licence indifferently against all the Senate; till such time as Otho standing vpon his dining bed, contrary to the maiesty of an Emperor, with teares and humble requests, at last, though hardly, refrained their rage: and so they returned to the Campe vnwilling, though after so much harme done. The next day, as if the Towne had been taken, the houses were shut, small stirring in streetes, the people all sad, the souldiers hanging their heads, with many heavy lookes and little repentance. Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus the Captaines dealt with the souldiers by bands, in gentle or rough sort, each after his nature: the conclusion was this, that they should receiue

^{f That is, 39. lb.}
^{1. 2. 3. d.} five thousand sesterces a man. Then Otho boldly entered the campe: the Centurions and Tribunes come round about him, and² casting away the markes of their degrees, desire dimission from so vn safe a seruice. The souldiers perceiued the meaning and framing themselves to obedience, require vnbidden the authors of the sedition to death. Otho, although things were in such a confusion, and the souldier so diuersly minded (the best requiring a remedy for the present disorder; the common sort, and more part, who liked seditions, and corrupt gouernment being more easily brought by troubles and spoiling to make ciuill war) and withall remembring that a state gotten by leaud meanes cannot be retained at first with suddaine modesty, and ancient grauity; neuerthelesse carefully considering the danger of the City and Senate, at last he spake in this wise. My fellow souldiers, I am not come hither to incite you to loue me, and lesse to exhort you to vertue and valour; for of both you haue great store and too much: but I come to request a moderation of your valour, and a meane in your loue toward mee. No hatred it was, no desire to haue (which things haue set many Armies at discord) no danger you feared and meant to auoide, but a tender care, and excessiue affection it was toward me, more zealous than considerate, which bred and excited the yeaesternighrs trouble: for oft the causes of things being good, yet where iudgement is wanting, pernicious ends doe often ensue. We are going to war, what? Is it expedient that all messengers haue open audience, that all matters be handled in presence of all? The nature of warring will not endure it, the swift sliding away of occasions permitteth it not. I tell you it is as be-
hoouefull that the souldiers should be ignorant of some things, as know other some. The authority of Captaines, the rigor of discipline is of that nature, that many things must be onely commanded and simply bidden by the Centurions and Tribunes. If when things are bidden euery one may demand, and question the matter, obedience failing, gouernment withall will fall to the ground: or shall there at midnight likewise the alarme be giuen? shall a lost and drunken companion or two (for I cannot beleue they were moe which madded in the last vprore) shall they dare to embrue their hands in a Tribunes and Centurions blood? rush into their Emperours pavilion? you did indeed the same for my sake: but yet in the darke, in such a confusion, occasion might also haue serued against me. If Vitellius and his adherents had choise to dispose our mindes as they listed, what else would they wish but sedition and discord? that the souldier should not obey his Centurion, the Centurion his Tribune, foote-men and horse confusedly should run to their ruine. Surely fellow-souldiers by duely obeying, not curiously scanning the Captaines commands, is all good souldiery and militare matters maintained: and that army in danger is alwaies most valiantly, which before the danger is most quiet of all. Be you onely well armed, and valiant minded, to aduise and direct your valour leaue that to me. The fault was offew: the punishment shal be only of two: contend you the rest, to abolish and raze out of memory that dismall nights worke: such bloody wordes

words against the Senate, * let neuer any Army once dare for to speake. The head, * *audas.*
of the Empire, the ornament of all Prouinces, no not the very Germans themselues,
whom Vitellius specially raiseth against vs, durst euer haue demanded to death;
and shall the children of Italy then, and the true Roman race require to murder that
honourable order, through whose glorious brightnesse we dimme and disgrace the
obscure basenesse of Vitellius faction? Vitellius hath indeed some Countries at
commandement, he hath a certaine counterfaite of an Army: but the Senate is of
our side; and therefore the State is of our side, Traytours of theirs. What? doe
you thinke this goodly faire City consisteth in houses and stones put together? these
are dumbe and dead things, they may decay, they may be repayred againe, as it
chanceth: the eternity of the State, the peace of the world, your welldoing and
mine, is founded vpon the safety of the Senate. The father and builder of our Ci-
tie did * first by 3 the God approbation ordeine and institute this worthy assembly; * *auspicato.*
from the Kings to the Princes neuer discontinued: then as we haue taken it from
our progenitours, so let vs deliuer it to our successours. The Senate is the seminary
of Princes, and you of the Senate. The Oration thus framed to bite and to please
the souldiers mindes, and the moderate seuerity vsed withall (for onely on two iu-
stice was done) were gratefully accepted; and they for the present composed,
which hardly could haue beene duely corrected. Yet was not the Citie thorowly
quiet: weapons clashed, and to shew it seemed a season of war; the souldiers in
common ceasing to trouble, but dispersed in houses in disguised apparell, maligning
all those whom nobility or wealth, or some other speciall excellency had made the
matter of talke.

* The cause bred a crime: *Causa in crimen euasit*. If these rimes haue in them any reason, the meaning may
be, that which the Tribune did to the end to execute the Princes commandement, that the souldiers drew to a
sinister sense, as done not for the service of the Prince, but rather *seruitorum in imperatorem armandorum gratia*.
Plutarch. *οἱ δεσπότες πάντες ἐβόων, ἔδιν ὅμως τὸν Κεραυνὸν ἦκεν διαρούμενον, ἀλλὰ πῶς σὺ κλητὸν ὄντι χεῖρεν*
ἀεγόμεσι νεωτέροις, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ Καίσαρος ἔκαστοι ἀποκομίζεσθαι. That is, the boldest of them cried out with
one voice that Crispinus had no good meaning, that the Senate intended inuocation, and that those armes were caried out against
the Prince, not in his fauour.

* Casting away the markes: *Abiectis militie insignibus*. *Tribunatus insigne*, the badge or marke of his office was
ἄκωνιον, a dagger. Martialis lib. 14. of a Genturion *Vitis*, a vine-rod to correct the trewanting souldier. Iuue-
nal. of Marius, Satyra octaua.

Arpinas alius Volsorum in monte solebat.

Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro.

Nodosam post hæc frangebant vertice vitem

Silentius pigra muniret castra dolabra.

Hic tamen &c.

Tacitus 1. Annal. Centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militibus faceret vocabulum, Cedò alteram, indiderant; quia fracta
vite in tergo militis, alteram clara voce, ac rursus aliam poscebat, of the Captaine-ship of the Pretorium *ξίφος*, a sword.
Xiphilius speaking of Licinius Sura made Captaine of the Guard by Tratan. *ὅτε αὐτὸν τὸ μέλλοντι τῷ δευ-
τέρῳ ἐπάρξεν τὸ ξίφος, ὃ παραδόντι αὐτὸν ἔχον, ὥρξεν, ἐρύκνωσέ τε αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνατείνας ἐξῆλθε. ἄλλοι τὸ τοῦ
ξίφους, ἵνα αὐτὸν καλῶς ἀρχῶν, ὡς ἐμὲ, αὐτὸν δὲ καλῶς, κατ' ἐμὲ αὐτὸν χεῖρεν.* That is, when as first he reached to
him whom he intended to make Captaine of the Garde the sword wherewith he was to be girt, he drew it forth, and holding it vp
said; Take this sword, that if I gouerne well thou maiest vse it for me; if ill, against me, and Nymphidius in Plutarch de-
priving his fellow Tigellinus of his office, *προσέταξεν ἀποδίδου τὸ ξίφος.* That is, Commanded him to put off his
sword. To this priuiledge of wearing a sword was annexed perpetually power of life and death ouer the souldi-
ers. Dio l. 53. *ἄλλω γὰρ ἐδυνάμην, ἔτε ἀνδραπάτω, ἔτε ἀντιπαύω, ἔτε ὁπτιέπω ξινηφορεῖν δέδοται, ὃ μὴ καὶ ἐπα-
πρότῳ πνα ἀποκτείνειν ἐξέσθαι νόμισται, ἔτε γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς βασιλεύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν, οἷς τὸ δ' ὡς ἐρχεται, συγ-
καχάρηται.* That is, No man had authority (were he Proconsul, or Proprator, or Procrator) to cary a sword, but only he that
had power to put a souldier to death. For to such it was lawfull whether he were Senator or Eques. *Gladius ξίφος* or *pugio*
(for so they seeme to be taken for one) was also one of the markes of soueraigne authority, as it is at this day
Vitellius resigning the Empire, *τὸ ξίφος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεύσιν ὡρεχον, ὡς καὶ
πῶς αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴν δὲ αὐτῷ ἀποτεταμένον.* That is, Vitellius in open assembly reached his sword to the Consuls, and
the rest of the Senate, as thereby resigning all imperiall authority, and Tacitus of the same matter 3. Hist. *Postremo sesto
præpediente assistenti consuli exsoluendum à latere pugionem velut ini necis vitæque ciuium reddebat.* Suetonius Vitellio ca. 15.
*Solutum à latere pugionem consuli primum, dein illo recusante magistratibus, ac mox senatoribus singulis porrigens: nullo reci-
piente, quasi in ade Concordiæ positurus abscessit.*

^a Livi lib. 1.
^b in his verses re-
 ported by Tully
 1. de divinatione.
^c Dionys. Halic.
 carn. lib. 2.
^d lib. 1.

^a By the Gods approbation: *Auspiciatō* That is, *addicencibus anibus*. For although neither Livi nor Dionysius make any mention of any such ceremony obserued in the choise of the Senate, yet seeing we finde that *equitum centurie* were by Romulus. ^a *auguratō scripta*, that the Citty was founded and named *capiti ad inaugurandum templis*, the Auentin by Remus, the Palatin by Romulus (Livi lib. 1. although ^b Ennius placeth them other wise) seeing that Romulus *ἐν ἑδρῇ κατεστήσατο πῆς μετ' αὐτὸν ἅπασι, μήτε βασιλείας, μήτε ἀρχὰς λαμβάνειν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸ δειμνόντων αὐτοῖς (δὲ δαιμονίων) θεοσίνη.* That is, Brought up this custome for all posterity that they should not take upon them neither the Kingdome, nor any other office, except first the gods per auspicia gaue their approbation, ^c we may probably coniecture that it was not omitted in a case of so great importance, as was the choise of a councill of State. Surely after that Artius Navius had cut with a razor a whetstone in Tarquinius Priscus time, ^d Livi writeth that the Augurall discipline grew daily in reputation.

XIX. Rome full of ielousies: the difficulty that was to cary a mans selfe euenly in the Citie and Senate.

IT was also supposed by many that some of Vitellius men were come to the Citie to spie out and learne how the sides were affected: whereupon all grew full of ielousies, and scarce were the secret Closets free from feare: and abroad worst of all, where according to the occurrents which came, they turned, and shaped courage and countenance, fearing to seeme, when matters went doubtfull, distrustfull; or when they went well, not enough to reioyce: specially in Senate, there was the hardnesse indeed to beare a mans selfe euenly in so nice and ticklish a case: silence would be construed for contumacy; free speech had quickly in ielousie; and flattering Otho would soone smell out, hauing passed from priuate estate, and vsed the trade so lately himselfe. Wherefore they were forced to tosse and turne in and out their sentences, to wrest them this way and that, calling Vitellius parricide and traitour; the wiser sort spending vpon him some few ordinary rayling termes, some touching him neerer with viler matters, and matters of truth; but then aboue all times, when for the great noise they least could be heard, or when otherwise the most spake at once, or else by tumultuous heaping of words confounding their owne disorderly tale.

^a Plutarch. καὶ τὸ ἀπειλὴν τὸν θυμὸν ἐν δὲ συμμίχρῳ σὺν μὲν ἰσχυρῶς οὐκ ἀποδοῦναι μὲν οὐκ ἀποδοῦναι. Plinius lib. 3. c. 5. Quinimo vates, intelligitur (Tiberinus amnis) potius ac monitor, actus semper religiosus veritas, quam seculus.

^b Which penury grew by reason of the rising of the river. Plutarch πλεῖστον δὲ κατὰ κλυομένην αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἀποδοῦναι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἀποδοῦναι. Plinius lib. 3. c. 5. Quinimo vates, intelligitur (Tiberinus amnis) potius ac monitor, actus semper religiosus veritas, quam seculus.

^c Insula dicuntur proprii, quae non iunguntur communibus parietibus cum vicinis; circuitu publico aut primario cinguntur; a similitudine vitae earum terrarum, quae fluminibus a mari eminent, suntque in saepe positae. Festus

^d Primo egressus inundationibus. Tiberis retardatus (Otho) ad vicefinitum etiam lapideis ruinis aedificiorum praecipuum viam offendit. Suetonius Othone. cap. 8.

XX. Certaine prodigious things which happened in Italie and Rome before the warre.

MOREOVER diuerse myracles vouchd by sundry persons terrified the minds of men. In the entry of the Capitoll the raines of the Coch whereon the image of Victory stoode were let flippe: out of Iuno's cell started vp a ghost taller than any man: the image of Iulius of sacred memory in the Iland of Tiber turned it selfe from the West to the East in a day which was cleare and without any earth-quake: in Tuscany an Oxe spake: ougly monsters were borne of beasts, and many other like prodigious things were reported by the old world obserued euen in peace, but now not talkt on, but in times of danger. But the principall terror for the time to come ioyned with present damage was ^a the sudden swelling of Tiber, which waxing hugely, brake downe the Sublician bridge, and by the ruines of it being dammed, reculing againe, ouerflowed not onely the low and plaine places of Rome, but those also which seemed safe from such casualties. Many were carried away as they walkt in the streetes, moe intercepted in shops and lodgings: ^b dearth of vittailles, and no waies of winning, bred a famine among the poore people, the foundations of the ^c Iles, which the water by washing against them had weakened, after the Riuer returned, became ruinous: and as soone as that perill was ouerpast, the ^d stopping by casuall, or naturall causes, Of Campus Martius and the Fami-

Flaminian way, by which the Army should passe, at that time when Otho prepared to march, was construed for an ominous signe of calamities to ensue.

XXI. *The prouision of Otho for the warre.*

OTHO hauing ^a hallowed the Citie, consulting how to manage the war, and seeing the Penine and Cottian Alpes, and the other passages of France stopt by Vitellius Armies, determined to inuade Gallia Norbonensis with a strong Nauie and ^b sure to his side : for he had enrolled for Legionary souldiers the remnant of those which were slaine at the Miluian bridge, whom Galba had cruelly ^c laied in prison ; and the ^d rest of their fellowes conceiued thereby good hope of honourabler seruice hereafter. Which the Nauie he shipped City-cohorts, and many Guard-souldiers, for a strength and support to the army, and for a counsell and guard to the Generalles. The general charge of this voiage was committed to Antonius Nouellius, and Suedius Clemens (* which had beene chiefe Centurions) and Æmilius Pacensis, to whom Otho had restored his Tribune-ship, which Galba had taken away : Oseus his freed-man was Admiral of the voiage, being willed to watch how loyally honest men behaued themselues. Of the Foot-men and Horse ^e Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus were appointed Gouvernors : but his speciall affiance ^f was in Licinius Proculus Captaine of the Guard, who being a man seruiceable enough in Citie souldiery, but raw in the field, caulling and carping at the graue authority of Paullinus, the couragious quicknesse of Celsus, the considerate discrettesse of Gallus, as ech was in vertue, by lewdnesse and craft (a matter not vneasy) bare it away from good men, and modest. About the same time ^g Cornelius Dolabella was confined to Aquinum, without either strait or close keeping, for no matter of crime, but only as an eie-sore for his ancient house and kindred with Galba. Then Otho commanded many of the Magistrates, and a great part of those which had been Consuls, to be in a readinesse for the voiage, not as to employ them in any charge in the war, but to accompany him onely : among other Lucius Vitellius also in like sort with the rest, neither as brother of an Emperour, nor as brother of an enemy. Hereupon the cares of the Citie reuiued : no state was voide of feare or of danger : the chiefe of the Senat weake for age, and with long rest vnlusty ; the Nobility slothfull, and hauing forgotten the warres ; the Gentlemen ignorant in seruice : the more they all sought to couer and hide it, the more they in sight bewraied their feare. On the other side some vpon a foolish vaine glory bought them braue armour and goodly great horses ; some riotous prouision for banquets and ^h allurements of lustes, as instruments of warre. The wiser sort were woe to see the quietnesse of the Weale-publicke perturbed : the witleffe, and not able to see into sequels, were puffed vp with vaine hope : and many a good man, bankrupt in peace, now in the troubles shewed most gallant, then being safest, when the state was vn-safest. The common people, who for their huge greatnesse taketh no care of publick affaires, began now to feeble by little and little the smartes of the war, perceiuing the money was turned all to the souldiers vse, and vittailles to grow more deare in the market ; which euils in Vindex commotion had nothing worne the Commons so bare : the citie was then out of danger, and the warre in the Prouince, which being fought betweene the Legions and them of France might seeme in a sort externall and forraine. For since the time that D. Augustus ordered the Empire, the people of Rome fought a farre off ; the care and the credit belonged to one : vnder Tiberius and Caius men feared alone the miseries of peace : ⁱ Scribonianus attempts

^a *lustrata urbe.*
^b *partibus fida,*
^c *not because the*
^d *new made Legionaries went with the Nauy*
^e *(for surely the most remained with Otho) but rather for that the other classis which were kept still in the Gallies, conceiued good hope of preferment by the fauour which Otho bestowed on their fellowes.*
^f *Yet were they loose at his death to doe him a mischief, and made a Legion, as appeareth before, so that the benefit of enrolling them was not Otho's, as it might seeme by this place, but Galba's.*
^g *Scilicet, they that remained still at sea seruice.*
^h *Primipilaribus, qui primos pilos duxissent : as Consularis, qui Consul exstisset.*
ⁱ *Otho's Captaines in this warre were six or seuen : Paulinus, Celsus, Gallus, Proculus named hereby Tacitus, Spurinna, & Macer in the story, and Tiberius his brother sent for afterward.*
^j *Profecto Brixia, eorum Othone, honor imperij penes Titianum fratrem, cui ac potestas penes Proculum profectum, Celsus & Paullinus cum prudentia eorum non oporteret, inani nomine ductum aliena culpa preterebantur.*
^k *Tac. 2. Hist.*
^l *Slaine afterward by Vitellius.*
^m *comman-*
ⁿ *dement.*
^o *2 Hist.*
^p *Licutenant of Dalmatia.*
^q *Dio. lib. 66.*

1 Tac. 2. Histor.
Quod singula
velut scilicet
transacta sunt
lella, ignavia
principum sa-
ctum est.

* ut in familijs.
i. inter servitus;
in opposition
to plebs ingenua.
4. Ann.
k Otho departed
from Rome, saith
Suetonius, die quo
cultores desum
matris lavantari
et plangere inci-
piunt, that is,
the seven and
twentieth of
March according
to Marcellinus.

tempts against Claudius were begun and dasht in a moment : Nero was rather by newes, and by rumours, than by force of armes cast out of state : but now the Legions, the Nauies, and that which seldome else hath beene seene, the Guard and City-souldier were brought to the field ; the East, and the West, and whatsoeuer was on both sides behinde ; matter for a long war, ¹ if other Captaines had warred. Some perswaded Otho, as he was now ready to march, to stay yet a while, making a scruple that the ² holy shields called Ancilia were as yet not laied vp againe : but he could not abide to heare of delaies, which had beene, he said, Neroes destruction ; and Cæcina hauing already passed the Alpes called him forward. The fourteenth of March recommending the Common-wealth to the Lords in Senate, he granted to the persons restored from exile the residue of Neroes confiscations, such as were not as yet come to his Coffers: a gift most reasonable and in shew very great, but in effect fruitlesse by reason of the hasty exaction. By and by assembling the people he magnifieth the maiesty of the Citie, the consent of the Senate and people of Rome in fauour of his side, modestly touching the contrary faction, and blaming the Legions rather for ignorance, than rashnesse, without any mention at all of Vitellius ; whether it was of his owne temperatnesse, or that else he which penned the Oration fearing the worst, did of purpose forbear to reuile : for as in military matters he followed the aduice of Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus, so in ciuill he was thought to vse Galerius Trachalus wisdome : and some there were, which would seeme to know the manner of phrase, notorious by reason of his often pleading, large and sounding, and framed to fill the eares of the people. The Commons after their flattering fashion receiued the speech with cries and acclamations without either measure or trueth, contending to passe one another in applause and wishes, as if it had beene to Cæsar the Dictator, or the Emperour Augustus ; neither for feare nor for loue, but onely vpon a delight in seruility (* as in priuate families) euery man prouoked by some priuate cause, no man regarding the publicke dishonour. ^k Otho departing away, commended the quiet estate of the Citie, and cares of the Empire to Saluius Titianus his brother.

¹ Allurements of lust, &c.] Iuuenal Satyrâ secundâ writeth, that Otho himselfe *inter instrumenta belli* caried a certaine looking-glasse.

*Res memoranda nouis annalibus, atque recenti
Historiâ, speculum ciuiliu sarcina belli.*

Contrary to that testimony which Tacitus giueth him. 2. Hist. *Nec Othoni segne, aut corruptum luxu iter ; sed lorica ferrea usum, & ante signa pedester, horridus, incomptus, fameque, dissimilis.*

² That the holy shieldes called Ancilia] *Ancilia, clypei* ² *Martis, ab ancisu sic dicta, quod ea arma ab utraque parte, ut pelus Thracum, incisa.* Varro lib. 6. de ling. Lat. Ouidius Fastorum. 3.

*Atque Ancile vocat, quod ab omni parte recisum est,
Quæque notes oculis, angulus omnis abest.*

* Although Liuy
in the Oration of
Camillus seemeth
to attribute them to
Romulus also
for kindred sake.
Quid de Ancili-
bus vestris Mars
Gradus, et uique
Quirine pater,
lib 5.

Dionysius Halicarn li. 2. expressing *Ancile* in Greeke turneth it *πλάττω δεξαλιν*, in figure much like, saith he, *παρὰ δεξιῇ τοῦ περὶ σενωτέρους ἔχοντι τοῦ λαγύνας*. That is, a Thracian shield, resembling a lozinge figure Target whose angles be rebated. Liuy lib. 1. and lib. 5. termeth them *caelestia arma*, and *caelo demissa* : where the story at large is in Ouid, in the place aboue alleaged: *Dum loquitur totum, &c.* and in Dionysius although with some little difference of circumstance. *ἐν δὲ τοῖς πλάταις πολλαῖς πάνυ ἔτις μίαν εἶναι λέγουσι διοπέτην. εὐρεθῆναι δ' αὐτῷ φασιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τῷ ἱομαῷ, μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων εἰσενέγκαντα, καὶ ἐγνωσμένον περὶ τὸν ἱομαῷ πηλᾶσαι τε αὐτὸ φερόμενον ὑπὸ τῷ κορπίων νέων ἐν ἱερῇς ἡμέραις ἐπὶ τῷ πύλιν, καὶ θυσιῶν ἐπετείων τυχεῖν, δεδοκότα δὲ ἐπιβελᾶς τὸς ἀπ' ἐξωτῶν καὶ ἀρανισμὸν αὐτῷ κλοπιῶν, ὅπλα λέγουσι πολλὰ κατεσκάδασθαι τῷ διοπέτῃ ὅρμησις, μαμορῆς τινὸς τὸ ἔργον διημ-ργῶ ἀναδεξαμένη, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμέδα καὶ δυσδιάρωσιν τοῖς μελλουσιν ὀπιβελᾶς. ὃν τὴν τῷ διοπέτῃ φύσιν, διὰ τὴν ἀπαργίλακτον τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἔργων ὁμοιότητα* That is, Among these shields which are very many, one they say there is which fell downe from heauen, and that it was found in Numas Pallace not brought thither by any mans hand, no not so much as the fashion being knowne in Italie before that time. Vpon which two reasons the Romans were induced to thinke that the piece was sent from the Gods. So when Numa had determined to haue it caried thow the City on high daies, by some of the most honourable younge men, and to institute yearly sacrifice in memory thereof ; fearing lest the enemy should priuily steale it away, as the report goeth he tooke this course. He caused many other to be made like

into this which fell from above (one Numa Pompilius undertaking the worke) that whosoever sought to steale it, for the heav'n's sake and taken sake of the rest wrought by mans hands might not be able to discern the form of it: which came from the gods. Lami-
pridius Heliogabalo. *Marrus iugum, & Vesta ignem, & Palladium, & Ancilia, & omnia Romani veneranda &c.* Now
as concerning the *motus Ancilium* I finde of it two severall circumstances recorded. Servius vpon this place of
Virgil 8. *Æneid*: ----- *viq; impulsit arma*, writeth thus: *Is qui belli suscepit curam* (meaning, as I thinke, the Con-
sul) *sacratiam Martis ingressus primo Ancilia commouit*; *post hastam simulacri ipsius dei, dicens, Mars vigila.* After
which ceremonie performed by the Consul, the *Salij*, as I gesse, immediately they and their seruants carried the
Ancilia about in procession: Which pompe and solemnity is described by Dionysius. *ἑρπὴ δ' αὐτῶν ὄρεται τὰ*
παναθήνια, τῶν καλεμένων μαρτίῳ μνηρί, δι' μοτελίας ἐπιπλάας ἡμέρας ἀρριμένη, ἐν αἷς δ' αὖτ' πόλεως ἀ' ἐστὶ τὰς
χόρας εἰς τε πύλ' ἀγορῶν, καὶ τὴν καπιτώλιον, καὶ πολλὰς ἀλλὰς ἰδίους τε καὶ δημοσίας τόπους, ἡτῶνας περικύβας καὶ κίτας μί-
στρας κατεξωσμενοί, καὶ τὴν εἶναι ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τοὺς ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν καλεμένων ἀπικας ὀπικει-
μένοι τῶν κεφαλῶν. παρέξεται δ' ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἑφ' ὅ, καὶ τὴν μὴ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ λόγχην ῥάβδον, ἢ πικρὸν ἔτερον
κρατεῖ. τὴν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ κατεχει πέλτῃ θρακίαν, καὶ ὄνται δὲ ὡς αὐτὸν ἐν ῥυθμῷ τῶν ἀνοπίας κινήσεις, τότε μὲν
ὄν, τότε δὲ παραλλάξ, καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πνέοντες ἀδ' ὁπλίσματα ταῖς χερσίν. That is, The *Salij* celebrate a solemn feast
about the time of the Athenian Panathenæa in the moneth of March, continuing many daies, in which they passe thorough the
city solemnly dancing into the Forum, the Capitoll, and many other both publique and private places, wearing party coloured
coats girt to them with copper girdles. Over these they cast their gowns garded with girdes of purple, in their owne language
called *Trabeæ*, which they fasten with a button, lastly wearing on their heads a certaine attire which they call *Apices*. Beside
this every man is girt with a sword, and in his right hand holdeth a speare or rod, or some such other things, and in his left a Thra-
cian shield. They daunce in certaine multar measures to the noise of the pipe, sometimes all at once, sometimes by turnes; & with-
all sing old songs deliuered to them by tradition from their fathers. *Liuius lib. 1. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradino legit,*
tunicæq; pictæ insigne dedit, & super tunicam æneum pectori regimen, cælestiaq; arma, quæ Ancilia appellantur ferre ac per-
trabere canentes carmina cum tripudij, solemnique saltatus institit. This feast as Dionysius writeth, was celebrated *μαρτίῳ*
μνηρί, begun, as it may appeare by Ouid, the very Calends of March. Carisius seemeth to place it in the *Quingua-*
trius, which began the 19. of March. *Quinquatrus*, saith he, *ἀ' quinquando, illustrando, quod eo die arma Ancilia lustrari*
sine solita. which etymologie no doubt is erroneous, for *Quinquatrus* without question is deriued of *quinq;* Ouidi-
us.
Nominaq; à iunctis quinque diebus habent. Varro lib. 5. de ling. Lat. deriuech *Quinquatrus*

Nomina q; à iunctis quinque diebus habent.

Varro lib. 5. de ling. Lat. deriueth *Quinquaginta*

quo leraſt paſt diem quintum Eſtus. Then Quinquatrus were holy daies to Minerva, not Mars, to whom the Ancilia properly belonged. So taking his beginning at the Calends of March, the feaſt continued ἐν μηνὶ ἡμέρας, & by this very place of Tacitus it is cleere they were not laid vp againe before the 14. of the ſame month, when as Otho tooke his ſolemn ſeave of the Senate and people. Polybius fragm. extendeth the whole ſolemnity ἐν μηνὶ αἰώνος ἡμέρας. That is, To thirty daies. but motus Ancilium began certaine daies after the beginning of the feaſt, as it may appeare by Polybius in that place, and Liuy lib. 37. ſpeaking of the ſame matter: during which time no expedition was uſually vndertaken. Suetonius Othone cap. 8. agreeing with Tacitus, and expounding this place; Expeditionem impigrit̃ atque etiam præpropere inchoauit (Otho) nullâ uē religionum quidem curâ; ſed & motus nec dum conditis Ancilibus, quod antiquitus infaſtum habebatur. Liu lib. 37. Statina ad Helleſpontum aliquandiu habuere; quia dies forſe, quibus Ancilia mouentur, religioſi ad iter inciderant.

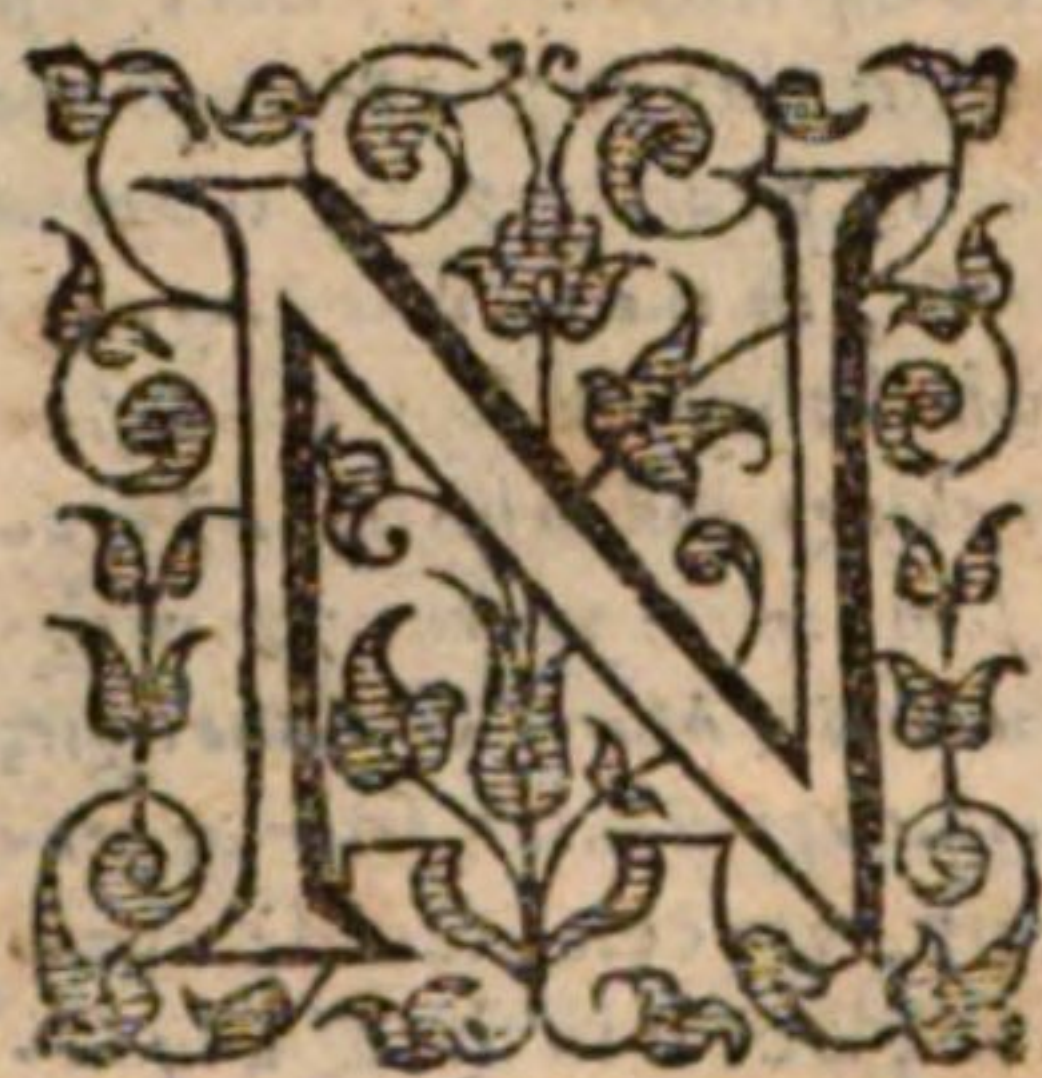
b Varro, from
whom Dionysius
in matter of an-
tiquity seldom
swarveth, & c.
meth to follow
another opinion.
Lib. 5. de ling. Lat.

с Дионисом.

The

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *Titus Vespasianus sailing toward Rome, hearing of Galbaes death at Corinth, returneth into Syria. The disposition of the Easterne armies.*



OW fortune in a contrary coast of the world prepared cause, and laied the foundation for a new ^a Empire: * which put vp in fundrie regions, and according to the different gouernment, became ^b acceptable or hatefull to the state, and to the Princes themselues prosperous, or pernicious. Titus Vespasianus being sent by his father from Iewry, before Galba was slaine, gaue foorth, as ^c cause of his voyage the doing of duty to the new Prince, and suing for office, whereunto he was now by his

yeeres enabled and ripe; but the common sort, ready to make and deuise, had cast abroad, that hee was sent for to be ^d declared successour. The age of Galba and lacke of issue, and that intemperate humour of the city, to name many till one bee appointed, gaue occasion and ministred matter to the speech: the towardlinesse of Titus increast the report, as being a person capable of any dignitie were it neuer so great: the comelinesse also of his countenance with a certaine maiesty, the prosperous proceedings of his father in Iewry, prophecies and oracles; and lastly, when as the minds of men were once inclined to beleue, euen common accidents were reputed * ominous, and helped to further the same. At Corinth a city of Achaia he receiued certain aduertisement, that Galba was slaine, and some also were there who assured that Vitellius was in armes, and doubtlesse would proceed to make warre. Whereupon being perplexed in minde, calling some few of his friends, hee weigheth the reason on both sides in counsell: if hee should proceed in his iourney to Rome it were but a thanklesse office, being first vndertaken to honor another; & beside he should remaine as an hostage to Vitellius or Otho: if returne backe againe, the winner without question would be offended, but yet in some tolerable sort, seing the victory as yet rested vncertaine, and the father afterward applying himselfe to the side, the sonne would find an easie excuse: or if his father tooke vpon him the state, then care not to offend were to be forgotten, where open hostility must bee proclaimed. With these and the like discourses was Titus distracted betweene feare and hope, till hope at the length preuailed. Some men supposed the vehement loue he bare to Berenice the Queen did alter his course: and in truth his youthly affections were settled somewhat that way, notwithstanding in no such degree, that it was any hinderance to his honourable actions: his youthfull years he passed in pleasures licentiously, of better behauiour Emperour then ^e Emperours sonne. So coasting along by Achaia & Asia thorow the seas * on the left hand, he sailed to Rhodes and Cypres, and thence ^f by the maine sea into Syria. Touching at Cypres he had a desire to go visite the temple of Venus at Paphos, so much spoken of both there and abroad. It shall not be long summarily to set downe the beginning of that deuotion, ^g the site of the temple, and shape of the goddesse: for she is not elsewhere purtraiued so. The ancient tradition is, that the temple was founded by ^h King Aerias, which

^a For the Empire of the Flavian family.
^b Or, which diuersly accord.
^c Acceptable and prosperous in the persons of Vespasian and Titus: hatefull & pernicious in the person of Domitian.

^d Iosephus lib. 2. cap. 29. addeth further, that Titus was sent to vnderstand Galbaes pleasure concerning the Iewish matters ἀποκριματικῶς καὶ ἀποκριτικῶς τῶν ἰουδαίων ἐρωτημάτων.

^e Suet. Tito. c. 5. Galba mox tenente remp. missos ad gratulandum (Titus) quaque ite conuenit homines quasi adoptionis gratia accipere. ^f loco omnium aetiam fortuna.

^g Suet. Tito. c. 1. Primus atq; citius (sub patre) principis, ut ovis quidem medium usurpatione publica caruit.

^h Leua maris, for leuas maris parces, or leua maris littora; those parts or coasts of the Mediterranean sea which are on the left hand in sailing from Corinth to Syria.

ⁱ This opinion Tacitus himselfe seemeth to follow 3. Ann. Exin. Cyprii ritum delibru (ius) Asyli perhibant quorum vetustissimum Paphia Veneris aetor Aeria possidet.

8 Father to Cy-
 rus of whom
 some say the
 Island tooke de-
 nomination.
Eustachium
 1 *Dionys.* τῆς
 δε φασκίως
 κληθῆναι αὐτῆς
 ἀπὸ Κέρκυ-
 ρης.
 5 h Of the Cilici-
 ans skill that way
 read *Tully de Di-*
uinatione, and
 others.

1 Eustarchus in
 2 Olyff speaking
 3 of the Altar of
 4 Venus in Paphos
 5 ὁ δὲ παῖς βα-
 6 ρυς ἀνέβη καὶ
 7 ἔκλυτο, ὅτε εὐκός,
 8 καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος
 9 παρὰ τὴν πεντή-
 10 ρονταίαν πόλιν
 11 φανταζόμενος

h The like is reported by Polybius lib. 16. and beleev'd by others : κατὰ τὴν ἑμὴν δὲ γνώμην οὕτως περὶ τῆς βασιλευσσίας, δίδωται τῆς κοινοῦ ἀρτίμεδος ἀγαθῆς καὶ ἀποδοτέας ἐν τῇ πρυτανείᾳ, ὥστε βρῆχθαι * or spare ration.
I remaining then in *Cæsarea* the head towne of *Iudea*. *Ioseph. 4. αἰλαιο. cap. 29.*

sideration of their common vtility: the Tribunes, Centurions, and common souldier, by labour or licence, by vertues or pleasures, according to their seuerall inclinations, were drawn to the party. Before Titus comming both the Armies had sworne allegiance to Otho, the newes of his being in State, as the custome is in such great matters, being brought in great post, and ciuill wars ripening by leasure, into which the East, that had a long time beene quiet and peaceable, the first of all began for to enter. For in time past the most mighty and puissant ciuill wars, beginning in Italy and Gallia, were vndertaken with the power and strength of the West; and they which maintained them in the East, as Pompey, Cassius, Brutus, Antonius, ended alwaies vnfortunately, and Syria and Iewry more often heard tell of, then saw any Cæsars: the Legions had neuer mutined, onely sometimes were led out to braue the Parthian, speeding not alwaies alike: and during the last ciuill war, when the world was shaken elsewhere, among them was assured tranquillity; then faith toward Galba. But after it was publickely knowen, that Otho and Vitellius went about with impious armes to pray vpon the Roman estate, the souldiers began to storme, that others receiued the fauours of Princes, and they serued continually as slaues. From thence they grew to consideration of their owne forces: seuen Legions they saw at hand, and two Prouinces, Syria, and Iewry, with a huge multitude of Aide-souldiers: then Ægypt adioyning with two Legions, and on the other side Cappadocia and Pontus, and the strength which lay encamped against the Armenians: Asia and the rest of the Prouinces, plentifull of mony, and of men not vnfurnished: all the Ilands of that sea, and the sea it selfe^m shut vp and yeelding security in the meane season to prepare for the war. The forwardnesse of the souldiers was not vnknownen to the Generals: neuerthelesse it was thought expedient to attend the issue of the other war then being on foot, sith doubtlesse mutuall ielousies, between the conquering and conquered party, would neuer suffer any sound and perfect intelligence betweene them: neither mattered it much whom fortune should fauour, Vitellius or Otho: euen singular commanders by prosperity would grow insolent, much lesse might good prooffe be expected of these, whom discord, sluggishnesse and riot would ruine; whereof the war would ouerthrow the one, and the victory the other, both of them through their owne vices and faults. So till occasion should serue, the open taking of armes was differred by Vespasian and Mucianus, hauing entred but lately into these communications, whereas the rest had conferred thereof long before; the better sort vpon loue to the common wealth, the rest, some allured with the sweetnesse of spoile, some pricked thereto by reason of their doubtful and decayed estate at home: so the good and the bad, vpon causes vnlike, with like affection ardently all desired the war.

^m Or lying out of the way from Vitellius & Othoes strength. *secusum.*

^a By the maine sea, *Audentioribus spatijs* i. per altum, in opposition to *litus* & *oram legere*, seu *præterueni*. So that the meaning of the place is, that Titus from Corinth to Cypres went along by the coast, and from Cypres into Syria by the maine sea.

^a The Temple of Venus at Paphos] *Strabo lib. 14. εἴτα πάλαι παρ' ὅσον ἐν δεκά σταδίαις ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἰδρυμένη, ὑπορμον ἔχουσα καὶ ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς παφίας ἀφροδίτης.* That is, Next is old Paphos situate about eleven stadia from the sea, there is an harborow for ships, and an ancient temple of Venus, surnamed of the place Paphia. *Homerus Odyss. 8.*

*Ἡ δὲ ἄρα Κύπρον ἱκατο φιλομένης Ἀφροδίτης
Εἰς Πάφον, ἐνθα δὲ οἱ τέμνει βωμός τε θυήεις.*

Dionysius After calleth the whole Iland *ἐπὶ ὅλην αὖτις Διωνείας Ἀφροδίτης.*

^a The fire of the Temple] A point proposed, but forgotten to be handled, vnlesse we will take those wordes *quæquam in aperto*, as a sufficient discharge thereof, which were somewhat hard, being spoken particularly of the altars, whereas Homer maketh distinct and expresse mention, both of *τέμνει* and *βωμός*. That is, The Temple and Altar.

^a Praiers and pure fire] If it were an vnbloudy sacrifice, as by these words it should seeme, it may reasonably be

be doubted wherefore mention is made before of the choise of beasts, of the fibres of Kids, and anon Casis compuribus bovis. But perhaps there might be bloody sacrifices before the Altar, although vpon it none but vnbloody.

A figure rising continually round] The figure which Tacitus describeth is a *Comus*. Maximus Tirus termeth it *πυραμίδα*, which is a somewhat different thing in strictnesse of termes. His words be these, *διαλέξει. λη. Κέλ- τοι σέβει μὲν δὲ ἀγάλμα δὲ Διὸς Κεληκῶν, ὑψηλὸν δὲ ὄν. Ἄρξιοι σέβει μὲν, ὅντινα δὲ ἐκ οἰδα. τὸ δὲ ἀγάλμα δὲ εἶδον, λίθον ἢ τετραγώνον, Παζιὺς ἢ μὲν Ἀρεσθίτη τὴν πῦρ ἐχει, τὸ δὲ ἀγάλμα ἐκ αὐτοῦ εἰκότας ἄλλω τῷ ἢ πυραμίδι λεγέται. That is, In his 38. discourse. The Latine worship Iupiter : this Image with them is nothing but an high Oake. The Arabians adore, but whom I know not ; the image which I saw amongst them is a square stone. In Paphos Venus hath the chiefest honour, howbeit her Image you can liken to nothing so well as to a white Pyramis, or rather a triangular Pyramis, or peraduenture it was written *πυραμίδι Δακῇ*, that is, *τεγωνικῇ*.*

Received the fauours of Princes] He seemeth to haue exprest the very words of Iosephus 4. *ἀλώσεως. α. 36. συλλογίζονται δὲ οἱ τε ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερῇ ἡδὴ μεταβελήν ἐβουλόμην, καὶ διαπραγματεύ- τετες ἐβίον οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ στρατιῶται τευφάοντες, καὶ κατὰ ἀρέσιν πολέμου φήμην ἐπομύοντες διαχειροπύ- σιν οἱς βέλονται τῷ ἡγεμονίᾳ, καὶ πρὸς ἐπὶ δα λημμάτων ἐποδεικνύουσιν αὐτοῖς κέρη. αὐτὰ δὲ διὰ πούτων καχωρικότες πύων καὶ γηράοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς κρήνεσιν ἐτέροις χαρίζονται τῷ ἐξουσίᾳ, καὶ τὰ τὰ τὸν ἀϊώτερον ἀρ- χεῖν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. That is, The Leaders and Souldiers banded themselves together, and openly sought to make a change, furiously crying ; These Souldiers which live in Rome at their ease, which neuer could abide to heare so much as the ru- mour of warre ; chuse whom they list to the Empire, and vpon hope of gaine pronounce Princes. Whereas they who had passed thorow so many paines, and were now waxen old vnder their Helmets, must yeeld that authority to other, and that hauing in their owne Campe a man fittest of all other for gouernment, & paulo post : *χορηγῆσαι δὲ ἑ μόνον αὐτοῖς τὴν πύω ἰχ. α. τῆς ἀποδεικνύουσιν, ὅτε τὰ τὰ γὰρ, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῇ λασιλέον συμμαχίᾳ, ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνερῆσαι τὰ τε πρὸς τὸ πύω, καὶ τῆς Ευρώπης ὅσα τῇ ἀπὸ Οὐσιτελίας φέρον καὶ χόρεται. That is, That not onely they would employ their forces to the establishing of such as should be agreed vpon there, hauing presently with them three Legions and Auxiliary forces from the Kings ; but that the whole East would conspire, and so much of Europe as stood out of feare of Vitellius.**

II. A counterfaite Nero oppressed in the Ile of Cythnus.

ABOUT the same time a false alarme was giuen to Achaia and Asia, as if Nero were approching : for the report going diuersly concerning his death, many gaue out vnruly that he was aliue, and many beleued it. The aduentures and attempts of the rest of those counterfaits we shall hereafter declare, in the pro- cesse of this worke. Now at that time a bond-man of Pontus, or as others haue writ- ten, a * libertine of Italy, skilfull in instrument and voice, and thereupon, beside some resemblance in countenance, being more fit to deceiue, adioyning vnto him certaine fugitiue and beggerly vagabond persons induced by great promises, taketh the Sea : and being by violence of weather driuen into the Ile of Cythnus, he asso- ciated to him certaine souldiers which passed that way out of the East, comman- ding the rest to be slaine which refused ; and spoiling the Marchants armed those of the slaues which seemed most puissant of body. Moreouer he assayed by sundry deuises to practise the Centurion Sisenna, who carried in the name of the Syrian Army to the souldiers of the Guard, Right-Hands in token of concord : vntill such time as Sisenna for feare, and suspecting violence, left the lland and fled secretly away. Thereupon the terrour was dispersed abroad, and the matter growing fa- mous, many lent their eares willingly thereto, vpon desire of change, and dislike of the present. Thus reputation daily growing to the cause, it was by a matter of meere chance wholly ouerthrowne. Galba had granted the gouernment of the Prouinces of Galatia and Pamphylia to Calpurnius Asprenas : to waft him were allotted two Gallies out of the Nauy at Misenum, with the which he arriued at the Ile of Cyth- nus. Vpon his arriuall the Masters of the Gallies were summoned to come vnto Nero : who at their comming composing himselfe to heauinesse, and requiring, as their late master at his souldiers hands, their faithfull assistance and seruice, praied them to set him a land in Syria or Ægypt. The Masters, partly perswaded, or else fraudulently, answered that first they would talke with the souldiers, and so hauing prepared their mindes would returne : but the whole was truely reported to Aspre- nas, by whose perswasion his ship was forced and taken, and he, whatsoeuer he were, flaine.

slaine. His body was carried into Asia, and thence brought to Rome, wondered at for the eies, and haire, and sternnesse of countenance.

III. *Annius Faustus, after much adoe and some sturre in the Senate, condemned of promoting.*

IN a dissentionous state, and through the often changings of Princes, waiving betweene licence and liberty, euen small matters were not shut vp, without great adoe. Vibius Crispus, a man for mony, might, and wit, accounted rather among the great men than the good, called to his answer in Senat Annus Faustus a Gentleman, who had made profession in Neroes time of accusing: for immediately vpon the election of Galba the Senatours had ordered, that the causes of the accusers should be heard and examined; an order diuersly construed and drawen, and as against a weake defendant in force, so against a mighty too weake. Beside Crispus employed the terrour of his greatnesse, and the vttermost of his might, particularly to ouerthrow him, as the accuser of his brother, and had drawen a great part of the Senat into that opinion, to require him to be executed, being neither defended nor heard: contrarily others fauouring the defendant, so much the more because the plaintife seemed too mighty, were of opinion, that a time should be granted, the crimes specified, and the man, though culpable and odious, should notwithstanding not be excluded from common right of being heard in his iustifications. Which opinion preuailed at the first, and so the hearing of the matter was some few daies put ouer: but in the end Faustus was condemned, albeit not with that generall assent of all partes that his leaude conditions deserued: some men disliking, not that the crime was so punished, but that it was done at his suite,^a whom they well remembered to haue exercised himselfe the same profession with gaine.

IIII. *The power of Otho by land.*

THIS beginning of the war was prosperous on Othoes side. For at his commandement the Legions marched^a out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, being in number fower, out of which two thousand men were sent before, the Legions followed after with competent iournies; the seuenth lately gathered by Galba, the rest ancient, the eleuenth and thirteenth, and the fourteenth greatly renowned for their seruice in repressing^b the Britrish rebellion; and Nero had encreased their glory,^c chusing them out as the most speciall men: whereupon they remained long faithfull to Nero, and were great fauourers of Othoes proceedings. But these Legions the more strength and forces they caried with them, the more confident they were, and consequently the slower in comming forward: the^d Auxiliary Cohorts and Wings came before, the corps of the Legions followed after. Moreouer the City it selfe furnished good store of souldiers: fise Prætorian cohorts, and certain Cornettes of horsemen, the first Legion, and beside two thousand^e Fencers;^f a base supply, but in^g ciuill wars vsed euen by seuerer commanders. Annus Gallus with^h Vestricius Spurinna were appointed to lead this power, and sent before hand to put themselves in possession of theⁱ bankes of the Po: because their first determination had failed, seeing Cæcina had already passed the Alpes, whom they hoped might haue beene kept within Gallia. Vpon Othoes person a choice company of^j Spearemen attended, accompanied with the rest of the Prætorian Cohorts, and the old souldiers of the Guard, beside an excessiue number of those which

^a Tac. 4. Hist. in oratione Curtij Montani, and immediately following, where you shall finde him sorted with Eprui Marcellus. ^a and so out of Mæcia likewise the Legions marched, but came no further then Aquæia. Tacit.

^b The story is at large in Tacitus 14. Ann. and in the life of Agricola.

^c For his intended expedition ad portas Cassias, as I thinke, and vpon the reuolt of Vindex, retaining them still in Italy.

^d Perchance meaning of the two thousand mentioned before, perchance and rather of other beside.

^e Gladiatores.

^f Pompey in the ciuill warre against Caesar intended the like but being aduised by his frindes vsed them not.

Caesar de bello

ciuili. lib 3. ca. 4.

^g Of Vestricius

Spurinna see

Pliny lib. 4. ep. 1.

et 10. et 2. ep. 7.

^h Howsoeuer it

was in the deter-

mination, in the

execution we

finde none gar-

ding the river,

but the gladi-

atores.

ⁱ Spiculatores.

which had serued at Sea : His voyage was with diligence and speed as appertained, not wastfully spent in riot and pleasure : himselfe with his iron brigandine, marching before the ensignes on foot, not decked, not trimmed, but souldier-like, and vnlike the name that went of him.

* The beginning of the war) in declaring of this great and important action betweene Vitellius and Otho, I finde Tacitus, at least in my conceit, much inferior to himselfe otherwhere ; omitting many necessary circumstances, confounding things together, affirming contrarieties in apparence, and generally leauing his Reader not so fully satisfied, as in a History is to be looked for. As first in the circumstances of Otho the principall person, whose paces and foote-steps would haue beene numbred, Tacitus bringeth him out of the City accompanied in a maner with all the Senat, toward the later end of March, and as we found by collection out of ^a other ^a *Suetonius and Marcellinus.* Writers vpon the seauen and twentieth day. Then heere shewing his souldier-like maner of marching before his souldiers on foote, in the end he bestoweth him and his company no where : whereas indeed the Senat was left at Mutina, and himselfe marched toward the enemy, as far as Brixellum a City vpon the Po, and there sending out his Captaines staied behinde, as it appeareth in Plutarch, and Tacit. elsewhere ; circumstances, in mine opinion, not so lightly to haue beene passed ouer. From Brixellum, saith Plutarch, were dispatched away Celsus, Paullinus, Gallus and Spurianna. Tacitus seemeth to say, that Gallus and Spurianna were dispatched at Rome, and sent before hand ^b *ad occupandas Padi ripas.* Which if it were ment to gard the South-side of the Po, and so to ^b *Perchence the meaning of these words ad occupandas Padi ripas is to put themselves in possession of the townes vpon the riuers.* stay the Vitellianists at least from passing the riuer, since they could not stop them in the Mountaines, a few being able to keepe such a passage against a great Army, it hath good reason. But Gallus did not so obserue it. If to put himselfe in possession of both sides of the Po, and so to haue the whole riuer at commandment, how could he with a few with^d and Cæcinaes whole army, hauing no aduantage of the place ? Now to the leading of Gallus and Spurianna sent before, from what place soener, *ad occupandas Padi ripas*, Tacitus assigneth fise Prætorian Cohorts, *equitum vexilla*, *legio prima Adiutrix*, and two thousand *gladiatores* : in the processe of the worke, assigning the *gladiatores* to the gouernment onely of Martius Macer a third man, and after him to Flavius Sabinus, and setting the other two far enough a sunder, Spurianna at Placentia with three Prætorian Cohorts, one thousand *Vexillarij* not named before in the suruey of their whole power, and a few horse, and Callus with *Prima adiutrix*, I cannot tell where, nor when, and vpon what occasion they diuided themselves ; but wheresoeuer he was, taking Bebriacum in his way to Placentia, he was in all reason of the North side of the Po. Then for his other three Captaines Paulinus, Celsus, and Proculus, whereof mention is made in the preparation of the war, heere in the setting out they haue no charge at all assigned them (and to say the truth, I cannot see any great masse of men they could haue, leauing Otho sufficiently garded) nay they are not so much as once named. By way of probable coniecture we may suppose, that Proculus, as being Captaine of the Guard, staied at Brixellum, and attended vpon Othoes person. But Celsus and Paulinus are not named before in the battell *ad Castoris*. Where suddenly within twelue miles of Cremona they appeare, and not far from Bebriacum (where Gallus was left) neuer mentioned before, besides many other with *prima legio* vnder their leading, being the peculiar charge of Gallus. So that to roue at that which was our Authors fault not to set downe plainly, we may imagine, that Paulinus and Celsus were sent afterward from Brixellum to the campe at Bebriacum, either to take ioynt-charge with Gallus, or else charge in his place, as it is more likely, and that thereupon Gallus with-drew himselfe, perchance to recover his fall mentioned 2. Hist. seeing there is no mention of him in the action *ad Castoris* ; and in an action which passed at Bebriacum, we shal finde him by and by away, where notwithstanding Tacit. last left him. Now whereas Tacitus vpon not prosecuting a little skirmish of the *gladiatores* against the Vitellianists, maketh Otho to send for his brother Titianus, whom he had left at Rome, to make him Lieutenant general, Plutarch with grearer reason and probability, saith it was done after the battell *ad Castoris*, vpon dislike of Paulinus slow proceedings ; and that Proculus captain of the Guard was sent withal ; but when they came to Bebriacum I cannot determin. Now if Otho were at Brixellum, Paulinus & Celsus at Bebriacum, where shal we say the great consultation was holden, where Otho, Titianus, Proculus, Paulinus and Celsus were present, and Gallus absent ? Heere Tacitus faileth vs againe, & Plutarch releueth vs shewing that Otho remooued from Brixellum to Bebriacum to consult with his Captaines of the maner of proceeding in the war. Thus much of Otho and his Captaines, it followeth of their power, which was of two sorts, brought from Rome and sent for from abroad. From Rome of six sorts. *Quinq; Prætorie cohortes* : *Equitum vexilla* : *legio prima Adiutrix* : *Gladiatores* : *Cætera Prætorie cohortes* : and *Classici*. with Gallus and Spurianna *Quinq; prætorie cohortes* : whereof three were with Spurianna in Placentia, the other two belike with Gallus. *Equitum vexilla* without number ; *legio prima Adiutrix Classica ex reliquis castrorum à Galbâ ad pontem Miluium* : *two thousand gladiatores* : in the siege of Placentia we finde mention of a thousand *vexillarij* : whether differing from all these, or portion of any, I know not. Then in Othoes traine *Spiculatorum lecta corpora* as I thinke *Prætorianis*, *Cætera prætorie cohortes*, beside the fise sent with Gallus : and yet many Prætorian souldiers were sent with the Nauy into Narbonensis, so that surely all the rest were not heere. *Classici* from whence soeuer they came, haue ministred vs, and will minister many men. seuen thousand were slaine by Galba *ad pontem Miluium*, & the rest decimated, *reliquis prima legio Adiutrix* was composed. In the Fleet to Narbon there serued also many as souldiers, heere we haue *classicorum ingens numerus* : with Otho a thousand *Classici inter Placentiam & Ticinum intercepti*, which by all circumstances were none of this company. And Turullius Cerealis had many *Classici* : but whence he had them, and how he became their Captaine is not set downe. and beside all these we haue in the third booke another whole Legion *Classici* differing from *prima Adiutrix*, which then was in Spaine. The power sent for by Otho from abroad was out of Illyricum onely, where at that present were seauen Legions, to wit, two in Dalmatia, Vndecima Claudiana & quattadecima Gemina ; two in Pannonia ; septima Galbiana, and tertia decima Gemina : in Mœsia three, tertia Gallica, septima Claudiana, and octaua Augusta, as it is declared elsewhere. Now all these being sent for by Otho, there marched at Othoes commandement, saith Tacitus, the

Legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which is manifestly defectiue, for the Mœsian Legions marched also, and came foreward as far as Aquileia in fauour of Otho: the same Tacit. So that all the seauen legions vpon Othoes commandement marched, and came on: but who were come before the great battel at Bebriacum, and who not, is in my opinion a question inexplicable, Tacitus words receiuing so many oppositions, and implying so many contradictions, and no other story to purpose being extant of this matter. And first to begin with the most certaine, the three Legions of Mœsia, absolutely were absent in all militar actions of this war. Tacit. lib. 3. *Mœsici exercitus vires integrae*, present absolutely were two thousand souldiers sent before out of the fower Legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia, as Tacitus saith. But Suetonius ^c Vespasiano seemeth to say they came out of Mœsia. *Mœsici exercitus bina e tribus legionibus millia missa auxilia Othoni*, and Tacitus himselfe, *Premissi Mœsia*: either meaning the same that he maketh heere to come out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, or talking there of men in the action which we finde not heere in his generall view, and lib. 3. *Dua tunc Pannonica ac Mœsica ala perrupere hostem*, talking of the skirmish of Horse-men at the beginning of the battell at Bebriacum. Now before the foure Legions of Dalmatia, and Pannonia, *ala cohortesque praeueniebant*: which words seeme to be ment onely of these *bina millia praemissa*: although it may be that some other ^d Auxiliares were sent after the *bina millia*, and before the Legions themselves, of whose coming and presence is the greatest and most difficult question. In the skirmish *ad Castris* we haue *tertia decima legionis vexillum* being one of the Pannonians, in the shooke at the great battell at Bebriacum *tertia decima legio* it selfe is expressely mentioned by Tacitus, and Vedius Aquila Lieutenant of the same. ^e Likewise in the very conflict at Bebriacum expresse mention is made, of the *Quartadecimani*, one of the Dalmatian Legions, and lib. 3. *Quartadecimani campu Bebriacensis fusi stratique*. Now that Septima Galbiana, and vndecima Claudiana were before the battell at Bebriacum vnited with their fellowes, albeit they are not in the battell expressely named, it may appeere where they are counted *inter victas legiones* as well as quartadecima and tertiadecima, and by Vitellius commandement *suis hibernis redditae*, and in Pannonia *tertiadecima legio ac septima Galbiana dolorem iramque Bebriacensis pugna retinentes*. Moreouer the Prætorian souldiers at Bebriacum after the field lost comfort themselves with no other ^f supply, but onely of the Mœsian Legions: and at Brixellum, in comforting Otho likewise mention is made onely of them, *praemissi Mœsia eandem obstinationem aduentanti exercitus legiones Aquileiam ingressas nuntiabant*, *ut nemo dubitet potuisse renouari*, &c. So that by these places, and some other like, we may probably conclude, that all the fower Legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia were come, and ioyned, but when they came and how, where they ioyned, and all other circumstances necessary in a point of that importance, we are smally beholding to Tacitus diligence for omitting. Of the contrary side, to prooue first that quartadecima was not come, we haue Tacitus words in the consultation at Bebriacum, which was not above two or three daies before the battell, *paucis diebus quartadecimam legionem, magna ipsam fama, cum Mœsici copijs affore*, whereby it may reasonably be collected, that all the other three were come, but not quartadecima, *e victis legionibus quartadecima prima, tertiadecima, septima, vndecima, soli quartadecimani se victos abnuebant*, so that the rest belike were there. Now betwixt the time of consultation and the battell, there is no mention at all made of their coming: a thing in reason if there had beene any such, not to haue beene omitted, and which ^g Titianus and Proculus would, no doubt, haue alleadged, in iustification of their purpose, against Paulinus and Celsus, or if this be but coniecturall, what can be said to the place of Tacitus, *Cænis atroci mendacio vniuersos perculit, affirmans superuentu quartadecima legionis versum partium fortunam*, as being a knowen matter, that quartadecima was not come, at the time of the battell at Bebriacum, and againe, speaking of the quartadecima legio, *Bebriacensi acie vexillarijs tantum pulsus vires legionis non affuisse*. Furthermore the Pannonian Legion, as it appeereth by Plutarch were absent at the time of the consultation at Bebriacum. *Ὅθωνι δὲ τῆς ἐπιστάτης ἐκ ἐλάττωνα ποσοδία μὲν εἶναι δύναμιν ἐκ μωρίας καὶ παννώνιας*. That is, That Othoes forces expected out of Mœsia and Pannonia were no lesse then those which he had then present, and Tacitus lib. 3. *Pannonica legiones decepta magis quam victa resurgere in vltionem properant*, and generally ^h if the foure Legions of Pannonia and Dalmatia were in the action at Bebriacum, why haue we no mention set downe of their maner of yeelding to Vitellius: being without all question the greater, and better part of Othoes army? and yet certaine it is, that immediately after the battell all the fower Legions in question at least were in Italy, and disposed of by Vitellius, as appeareth by Tac. but when they entred Italie, whether they euer ioyned with the rest, and when, how and by what meanes they yeelded themselves to Vitellius disposing, Tac. to the eternall note of imperfection of this most excellent story otherwise, hath left vs vterly ignorant. Of Vitellius side all is cleere out of question. In the Germanes, *Kal. Ianua. Galba iterum & Vinio Coss.* at the time of Vitellius reuolt, were seauen Legions, as is declared elsewhere; namely in low Germany quinta, and quintadecima, whose standing campe was at Vetera: prima, who lodged at Nouesium, and sextadecima at Bonna. In high Germany quarta Macedonica, and decimoctaua aliàs duoetuecesima encamped at Magontiacum, and vnaetuecesima Rapax lodged, as I thinke, at Vindonissa. Whereof Cæcina tooke away with him vnaetuecesima Rapax, wholly and pulled well the other two at Magontiacum, to make vp thirty thousand men: and in Italy associated vnto him Ala Syllana. Valens tooke with him *aquilam quintae*, with cohorts and wings out of the other three to make vp forty thousand, and by the way associated to him *legio Italica, & octo cohortes Batavorum*. Tac. 1. Hist. Neither do we finde in all this action, before Vitellius coming, any Legion named but Rapax, and quintani. Now by *Aquila quinte* we are to vnderstand some good portion, not the whole Legion intirely, which portion albeit it beareth somewhat the name of quinta, yet we are to vnderstand, that so many were left in Vetera thereof, as bare also as the name of quinta at the same time. Vitellius at his coming away brought with him, saith Tac. the rest of the strength of Germany, leauing the same Legions in number and names which were before (Rapax only excepted, which was wholly gone away) but most slenderly ^k furnished of men, & of souldiers very few or none. so that vnder Hordeonius charge, in y fourth book of Tac. we find in Germany quinta & quintadecima at Vetera, sextadecima at Nouesium, prima at Bonna, quarta & octauadecima aliàs duoetuecesima at Magontiacum, and the very same time with Vitellius in Italy was another quinta, another quintadecima, another sextadecima, and so of prima, quarta, octauadecima aliàs duoetuecesima, being indeed not two Legions, but two members of one legion, Rapax onely excepted, as before I haue said, which Cæcina tooke wholly away, not leauing any in Germany to cary the name of Rapax, til the selfsame legion returned thither after ward with Cerealis

^a cap. 5

^d quatuor auxiliorum cohortes in praeco ad Castris.

^e Vedius Aquilam tertiæ decimæ legionis legatum.

^f venire Mœsias legiones.

^g Titianus ac Proculus ubi consilijs vincerentur, ad ius imperij transibant.

^h Suetonius c. 9. writeth that Otho slew himselfe residuis integrisque etiam nunc copijs, quas secum ad secundos casus detinuerat, & superuentibus alijs e Dalmatia Pannoniaque & Mœsia.

ⁱ lib. 2.

^k As two Legions left at Vetera had but five thousand men. Tacit. lib. 4.

* A base supply being bond slaves of the worst sort, and besides the dishonourableness of the thing Tacitus noteth their unfitness to service, *neque ea constantia gladiatorum ad praelia quam militibus*, &c. and yet we finde, that Spartacus with a few of his companions breaking out of their Schoole put Prætors and Consuls to flight, and troubled the whole Roman state in the greatest height. And P. Rutilius being Consul, as Valerius Maximus reporteth in his second booke, sent for certaine Masters of fence out of the schoole of C. Aurelius Scaurus, and so setting them to teach his souldiers, *vitandi atque inferendi iclus subtiliorem rationem legionibus ingeneravit*. Vnlesse peradventure it be true, that such men haue better cunning then valour.

V. The actions of Othoes Fleet.

N Ovv fortune seemed to smile vpon Otho and fauour his proceedings; for the greater part of Italy, by reason of his Nauy at sea, was possessed in his name, euen to the entry of the * sea-Alpes. To the taking in whereof and inuading ** Alis maritimis* the Prouince of Narbon, Suedius Clemens, Antonius Nouellus, and Æmylius Pacensis were appointed Captaines by Otho: but Pacensis was ouerweake to gouerne the licentious souldiers; Antonius Nouellus had no reputation; Suedius Clemens in gouernment too popular and plausible, both corrupting the rigour of discipline, and yet greatly desirous to fight. It seemed they entred not into Italy, their owne native Country and soile: as if it had beene forraine coasts, and Cities of enemies, they burned, wasted and spoiled, with so much the more outrage and harme, because no such inuasion was feared, and therefore nothing provided against it: the fields lay full of commodities; the houses wide open; the Masters meeting them with their Wiues and their Children, thorow the security of peace, were overtaken with the misery of war. Marius Maturus the Procuratour was President of the sea-Alpes at that time, who mustering the Country, which yeelded store of seruiceable men, purposed to with-hold the Othonians from entring into his gouernment: but at the first push these Mountaine-people were slaine, and dispersed, as being assembled at aduentures, without knowledge of Campe or of Captaine, and therefore reposing no honour in the victory, nor shame in the flight. The Souldiers of Otho being exasperated with that battell, wreaked their anger vpon the free towne of Albium Intemelium; for in the late conflict they had gotten no booty: the Pezants were beggerly, their Armour not worth the taking vp; and beside, being swift of foot, and skilfull in the Country, they could not be taken: but the sacke of the poore innocent towne paid the reckoning, and contented the couetous souldier. The odiousnesse of which fact was greatly encreased by a notable example, which happened there of a Ligurian woman: who hauing hid her sonne, the souldiers supposing she had hid her money withall, and thereupon by torture examining hir, where she had hid him, shewing her belly answered that there he was hid: neither could she by any maner of torment afterward, or death at the length, be induced to change that worthy answer.

VI. Certaine skirmishes betweene the Othonians and Vitellianists in Gallia Narbonensis.

N Ovv word was brought in hast and great feare to Fabius Valens, that the fleet of Otho lay houering and ready to assaile the Prouince of Narbon, which had sided it selfe and sworne to Vitellius; and the Colonies sent their Embassadour to him, desiring helpe and assistance. Whereupon he dispatched away to that seruice two cohorts of Tungrians, sower * troupes of horsemen, and the whole ** turma.* a wing of the Treueri with Iulius Classicus their captaine: part of which power was retained

** turma.*
* Ala, a wing, as we haue determined elsewhere containeth 8 troupes, or troupes: so that 4. troupes & a wing yeeld 14. troupes of horsemen, whereof 12 were sent against the enemy, the rest remained to gaine Forum Iulij.

retained for defence of the Colony of Forum Iulij, lest if all were imployed in the Land-seruice, the Fleet finding free passage by sea should suddenly surprize the City: twelue troupes of Horse-men, and the choise of the Cohorts, went against the enemy, beside a Cohort of Ligurians being the Aide anciently belonging to that place, and five hundreth Pannonians, which were not as yet marshalled in Companies. Neither was it long ere they met together, ¹ the battell on both sides standing thus. Part of the Mariners with Pezants among were placed aboue in the hils, which were not far off from the Sea: the euen ground, betweene the hils and the Sea, was filled by the Guard-souldiers: fast by them in the sea it selfe stood the Fleet prepared to fight, turning against the enemy a terrible and threatening front. The Vitellianists, whose strength consisted in horse rather then foot, placed their Horse-men against the Guard-souldier, and behinde the horse the Cohorts in thicke and close ranckes, marshalling the Pannonians in the hils adioyning. The troupe, of the Treueri charged vnaduisedly, which charge the old souldier receiued with courage: and withall the Pezants in flankes galled them with stones, men fit inough for that kind of seruice, and such as being mingled with souldiers, though otherwise dastards, yet now in the victory dared as farre as the best. As the Vitellianists were thus distressed, a greater discomfort was added by the Fleet, which in the meane season fetching about assailed their backes as they fought: so being inclosed on euery side they had all beene doubtlesse destroied, had not the darkenesse of the night fauoured their flight, with-holding the winners from following the chase. The Vitellianists, albeit they had lost a battell, would not so be contented: but sending for new supply gaue a fresh assault vpon the enemy, which by reason of the former successe was growen secure and lesse vigilant, slew the watch, entred the trenches, and gaue the alarme to the ships; till such time as the feare, which at first is most terrible, settling by little and little, the Othonians drew themselues in safety to a hill there adioyning, and then charged couragiously vpon them. Much bloud was there shed, and the Captaines of the Tungrian Cohorts, hauing long maintained the skirmish, were forced at length to yeeld vp their liues: euen to Othoes men the victory cost bloud, of whom diuers vnaduisedly following were intercepted by the horse-men turning vpon them. And so, as if a mutuall suspension of armes had beene concluded vpon, with couenant on the one side that the Fleet, on the other that the horse-men should not attempt any sudden inuasion, the Vitellianists retired to Antipolis a free-towne of Gallia Narbonensis, the Othonians to Albingaunum a Colony of Liguria interior.

¹ The battell on both sides] In this conflict we haue of Othoes side mention distinctly of Claſſici, Pagani, Prætoriani, and the Nauy. For Vitellius of twelue Turmæ of Horse-men, a cohort of Ligurians the choise of the two Tungrian Cohorts, five hundreth Pannonians, and a little afterward Alpini beside: vnlesse peraduenture it should be red Alpini in both places, and ment perchance of the Ligures: for what Pannonians should do heere I cannot imagine, or if it were true, yet being strange, at the least Tacitus should haue done well to haue told vs how they came thither.

VII. *The estate of Corsica and Sardinia, and the rest of the Ilands there about.*

THE reputation of Othoes Victorious Fleet easily held Corsica, Sardinia, and the rest of the Ilands thereabout in Othoes obedience. But Corsica almost was ruined by the rashnesse of Decimus Pacarius the Procurator; who entred into an action, which in so great a preparation for war, could nothing auaille to effecting the principall purpose, and yet serued well inough to worke his destruction.

For

For vpon hatred against Otho, he determined with the strength of the Iland, to aide Vitellius; an aide vaine and to no purpose euen if it had succeeded. Whereupon calling the principall men of the Iland, he declareth his meaning, and commandeth Claudius Phirrhicus master of the Gallies there, and Quinctius Certus a Gentleman of Rome, to be slaine, who opposed themselues against his proceedings: by the death of whom the rest that were present being terrified sware, allegiance to Vitellius, and consequently the inferiour sort partly vpon ignorance, and partly to beare them company which did it for feare. But when as Pacarius began to take muster, to tire those rude people in training and other military duties, they waxing weary of that vnwonted labour fell to recount their owne weaknesse: that it was but an Iland, which they inhabited: that Germany and the Legionary power was farre off: and that euen they were wasted and spoiled by the Fleete, whom both Cohorts and Wings did protect. Whereupon their mindes suddenly fell away, and so they conspired against him, not by way of open rebellion, but by priuy attempt against his person. For which purpose chusing out a fit oppertunity, as he was in the Bath naked and without helpe, the multitude that followed him being departed away, they slew him and his company, caried the heads of them, as of Traitors, to Otho: by whom notwithstanding they were not rewarded, as also not punished by Vitellius, in so great confusion and disorder of the state, passing among greater crimes; and shadowed with other more hainous offences.

^a 1. Hist. *Quia presidio ale unius latissima pars Italiae defendi nequibat, promisse Gallorum, Lusitanorum, Britannorumque cohortes & Germanorum vexilla.*

VIII. *Certaine small actions of the Syllan wing in Italy before Cæcinaes entrie.*

NOW the Syllan wing, as before we haue shewed, had opened the passage into Italie, and drawen the war ouer the Mountaines, the Country fauouring not Otho, neither yet vpon any speciall fancy to Vitellius; but as men whom long peace had broken to all kind of slavery, they were easily possessed by the first commander, and not curious to side with the better. The whole Country and Cities lying betweene the Po and the Alpes, the most flourishing part of all Italie, was held by Vitellius souldiers: for the ^a Cohorts which Cæcina had sent before him were now already come in. At Cremona a cohort of Pannonians was taken, and betweene Placentia and Ticinum an hundreth horse intercepted, and a thousand sea-souldiers: by which successe Vitellius men being animated could now not be stopped by bancke nor by riuer. Moreouer the inhabitants of Batauia and beyond the Rhene were enflamed the more euen by the very ^b sight of the Po; which they passed ouer against Placentia, and taking some of the enemies spies so terrified the rest, that being afraid they falsely reported Cæcina was come with his whole Army. Spurrinna, who then was within Placentia, certainly knew that Cæcina was not yet come, and if hee did come, was certainly resolved to keepe his men within their defences, and not to hazard three Prætorian cohorts, and a thousand Vexillaries, with a few horse, against an Army of old and approoued warriors: but ^c the vnruely souldiers, and vnskillfull of seruice snatching vp their Enseignes and Banners, rushed forward, and as the Captaine endeouored to stay them they bent their weapons vpon him, not respecting their Centurions and Tribunes, who commended the Captaines circumspectnesse, but the souldiers cried FOR OTHO, and stucke not moreouer to affirme, that Cæcina was sent for vnder-hand. Spurrinna yeelded to follow their folly, by force at the first, afterward making shew as if he were willing that his counsels might carrie more credit, if it happened hereafter the sedition to

^b Disclaining that the Po should stay them who were accustomed to swimme horse and man, ouer the great riuer of Rheine, and others at home in their Country. Tac. 4. Hist.

^c *Bataui precipuam nandi studio arma equosque reuoluentes integris turmis Rhenum pertransire.*

^e Plutarch writeth, that the souldiers had almost slaine Spurrinna: but spared no manner of railing and contumelious speech, calling him Traytour, and a manifest marker of his Princes affaires. Some also being drunke went in the night to his Pauillion, demanding to furnish them with money for their iourney, which they ment to undertake to the Prince at Brixellum to preferre accusation against him for his trayterous dealing.

coole.

coole. When they were in the sight of the Po, and the night approched, order was giuen, that the Campe should be entrenched and staked. That labour strange and vnusual to the City-souldier, abated their fiercenesse. Then they of the elder sort began to see their owne error, and corrected their credulity; to lay open the feare, and the danger, if in those champion Countreys Cæcina should with his Army enuiron them being as it were but an handfull: and now they began thorowout all the whole Campe to vse modest and dutifull speeches, and by meanes of the Centurions and Tribunes, who insinuated themselues, into their companies, to commend the wisdome of the Captaine, in that he had chosen out, for the strength and seate of the war, a Colony of that power and that wealth; and lastly Spurrinna himselfe, not by vntimely exprobrating their fault, but by reason conuincing it, wan them to his opinion, and leauing some behind for scouts brought backe the rest into Placentia lesse mutinous than before, and more at commandement. The walles were made stronger, the number of Bulwarkes and Towers encreased, and prouision made not onely of Armour, but of subiection and loue of obeying; the onely point which lacked in that side, when as otherwise they had of valour sufficient.

* Lying between the Po and the Alpes] of Milan, Nouara, Eporedia and Vercellæ we haue mention before lib. 1. of the rest being many and great townes, how they were at this time come to Vitellius side, nothing is set downe in Tacitus: matters in my opinion not to haue been omitted, especially concerning Cremona. Plutarch seemeth to make Cremona, being one of the townes between the Alpes and the Po, to haue been kept and possessed a great while by the Othonians. And Tacitus here writeth, *capta Pannoniorum cohortes apud Cremonam* by the Vitellianists, which cohort of Pannonians, whatsoever they were, and from whence soeuer they came thither (for Tacitus leaueth vs to our gesses) may seeme to haue beene put in the towne by Otho for a Garrison, and heere taken by the Vitellianists with the towne, although the circumstances in Plutarch do not fully agree with it by reason of the time there.

IX. *Cæcina commeth into Italy, and lyeth before Placentia in vaine.*

BVt Cæcina, as if he had left on the other side of the Mountaines cruelty and licentiousnesse behinde him, marched thorow Italy withall modesty, he and his Companies. His kind of attire the free Cities and Colonies construed as a signe of pride, because he gaue audience to men which came gowned, himselfe being in his short souldiers coate of changeable colour, and wearing withall breeches after the French barbarous fashion: and as though they had beene interessed thereby, they were grieued also to see his wife Salonina riding ypon a goodly Palfray with a rich furniture of purple, albeit no man were wronged therein: such is the nature of man, and so deeply is the quality rooted in vs, straitly to looke into the late prosperity of others with an enuious eye, and to require a moderation of fortune, no where so much, as in those we haue seene in an equall degree with our selues. Cæcina hauing passed the Po, and assaied by parlees, and promises to weaken the loyaltie of Othoes men, being quit with the like on their part, seeing that the plausible names of peace and concord had often beene spent betweene them in vaine, conuerted his counsailes and cares to the besieging of Placentia in most terrible manner; knowing right well, that as the beginning of the warre should succede, so for the rest reputation would follow. But the first daies worke was conducted rather by fury, than according to skill meete for men of so long experience in seruice: without couer or defence they ventured rashly vnder the walles, their bodies surcharged with meate and wine. In that assault the Amphitheatre, a piece of most curious workmanship standing without the walles, was burned, set on fire either by the Besiegers as they hurled brandes and balles of Wilde-fire against the besieged:

besieged : or by the besieged as they hurled againe. The townesmen being ielous, and prone to suspicions, beleueed that matter was ministred to the fire vpon malice, by certaine neighbour Colonies, vpon emulation and enuy, because no piece of worke in all Italy was of that capacity beside : by what chance soeuer it happened; whilest further danger was feared, it passed not greatly regarded; when all perill was past, as if no greater misfortune could haue befallen, then it was much sorrowed for and lamented : but in the end Cæcina was repulsed with losse of many of his men, and the night following was spent on both sides in new preparations. The Vitellianists make prouision of ^a plutei, crates, and vineæ, instruments to vndermine the walles, and protect those which were to giue the assault : the Othonians of timber logges and great waights of stones, and lead, and brasse, to breake thorow the workes and ouerwhelme the aduersaries. Both parties were pricked ^a with shame, and with glory, and seuerall encouragements were vsed; the one side exalting the Legions and strength of the German Army, the other magnifying the honour of the City seruice, and of the Prætorian Cohorts : the one reuiling the souldier within as sluggish, and resty, and effeminated in the Race and Theatres, and the other rebuking the enemy without as a forrainer and stranger : assuming withal into part of the praise and dispraise the persons of Otho and Vitellius, affoording indeed more plentifully matter of reproch then of iust commendation. The day was scarcely yet sprung, when as the walles were replenished with men at defence, the fields did glister with armour and souldiers; the Legionary ^{*} with their thicke and close ranckes, the Auxiliary loose and dispersed, they attempt with arrowes and stones a farre off to disfigure the highest parts of the walles, if any place were neglected or decayed by age, thither they make nearer approches : Othoes men from aboue, with more peyze and certainty, hurle dartes vpon the German Cohorts, which rashly came vnder a hideous note, and according to their Country manner, with bodies naked, shaking their Targets ouer their shoulders. The Legionary Souldier, couered with plutei and crates, vndermineth the walles, raiseth vp Mountes, and endeoureth to wrest open the gates : of the contrary side the Prætorian souldiers hauing millstones of huge waight placed for the purpose, with fearefull noise rowle them downe vpon the enemy : part which came vnder were ouerwhelmed, part wounded with darts, and slaine or mangled : and so as in a confusion and feare, the slaughter encreasing below, and consequently their fiercenesse aboue, the Vitellianists retired with decay of reputation to the side; and Cæcina vpon the infamy and shame of this siege so rashly attempted, lest he should seeme to sit still in the same ground skorned and to no purpose, passeth the Po, backe againe with purpose to go to Cremona. As he departed away Turullius ^b Cerealis with many of the mariners reuolted vnto him, and Iulius Briganticus with a few horse: Iulius was by birth a Batavian and captaine of a wing, the other, hauing serued as a principall Centurion in Germanie, was easily wonne to Cæcinaes side. Spurrinna, vpon knowledge had what way the enemy tooke, certifieth Arnius Gallus by letters, that Placentia was defended, what had passed, and what Cæcina intended to doe. Gallus, mistrusting lest those few cohorts within could not endure a long siege, and the force of the German Army, was bringing the first Legion to succour the towne: but when he receiued aduise, that Cæcina was repulsed, and going to Cremona, he staieth the Legion ^c at Bebriacum being hardly withholden from mutining, because he would not leade them to fight. ^d Bebriacum is a village betweene Verona and Cremona, ^e notorious and infortunate for two Roman calamities.

^a With shame to be overcome and glory of overcoming.

^{*} densum legionum agmen, and yet Cæcina had but one Legion, namely vnder the name of the Rapax, as I take it.

^b For the fuller satisfaction of the reader, it had bene convenient to haue declared whether they fled from Spurrinna, or Gallus, or some other, and by what occasion they were then in that place.

^c Perhaps to receiue the Legions coming out of Dalmatia, and Pannonia, which if any where at all came and ioyned themselves with Gallus, concluded perchance by Paulinus and Celsus.

^d Bebriacum (saith the schollar) is vpon the Iussual, for so he writeth it) vnder the name of Cremona vicissim lap. de.

^e Plutei,

¹ Plutei, crates and vineæ] *Pluteus*, saith Vegetius lib. 4. cap. 15. is a certaine moueable engine contented with the similitudinem absidis, & cilijs vel corijs tecta, quam obsidentes applicant muris, eiusque munitione protecti sagittis sine fundis vel missilibus defensores de propugnaculis exturbant, ut scalis ascendendi facilius praestetur occasio. Vineæ according to Vegetius in the same place, and Lucan lib. 3. was a frame of wood, or hurdles, covered with earth, sub quo subsidentes tui ad subruenda murorum penetrant fundamenta. Crates the same with the one or the other of them, or at least to the same purpose.

² Notorius and infortunate] the two calamities heere meant are the two great battels; the first betweene the Othionians and Vitellianists described in this booke: the other betweene the Vitellianists and Flavianists set downe in the next, more commonly knowen by the name of *prelium Cremonense*, and with greater reason, being fought vnder the wals of Cremona, and twenty miles from Bebricum, albeit then the first skirmish indeed began not about eight miles from Bebricum, 3. Hilt. and this former battell also was fought a great way from Bebricum, *immensum id spatium*, saith Tacitus, and by all probability, many miles, as shall be declared elsewhere.

X. *Macer skirmisheth with the Vitellianists. Otho, suspecting the rest of his Captaines, committeth the conduct of the war to Titianus his brother.*

ABOUT the same time, not farre from Cremona, Martius Macer had a lucky day against the Vitellianists. For Macer being a man of courage and forward, put the "fencers in Boates and landed them suddenly on the other side of the Po. There the Auxiliaries of the Vitellianists were distressed, and the rest fleeing to Cremona, those which remained behinde slaine: but the winners were not permitted further to follow the chace, lest the enemies strengthened with new supply should turne head against them, and alter the fortune of the battell. That fact bred ielousie in Othoes men misinterpreting all that was done howloever sinisterly, who egerly as ech was in courage most dastard, most lauish in tongue, so sought they by diuers misconstruing criminations to put in disgrace Annius Gallus, and Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celsus, for them also had Otho made Commanders. The principall fire-brands of sedition and discord were the murderers of Galba, who being transported by feare, and the guiltinesse of their owne conscience, disturbed and troubled all good course of proceeding; somtimes breaking openly out into mutinous speeches, and sometimes by secret aduertisements to Otho: who giuing credit lightly to euery base person, and standing in feare of the good, trembled and quaked, a man in prosperity vncertainely carried, and gouerning himselfe in aduersitie better. So he sent for Titianus his brother, and made him his Lieutenant generall in the war.

So he sent for Titianus] This change of Captaines Plutarch with more reason puiteth after the battell at *Castoris*; *τὴν νίκην* (speaking of the victory at *Castoris*) *ἢ ἐπὶ πᾶσι πολεμικοῖς κακίαις τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν, ἢ περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν*, *ἢ περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν*, *ἢ περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν*. This is, The victory being not fully prosecuted through the leaders fault, Otho sent to the Army Titianus, and Proculus Captaine of the Guard, and indeed the alteration is too great to be induced vpon the slacknesse of a pettie companion, especially seeing we finde Macer, who committed the fault, still retained in his charge, and Paulinus and Celsus, two of the greatest men in the State, in a maner disgraced for the fault of another, according to Tacitus. Now vpon this fault whensoever committed, to send from Brixellum for Titianus at Rome so many miles distant (for there we left him in the last words of the first booke) and bring him to Bebricum to the consultation, may perchance seeme strange to him that considereth how that from Othoes going out of Rome with his Army till his death were not about twenty fower daies in all, and perchance not so much.

XI. *Paulinus and Celsus giue Cæcina an overthrow.*

IN the meane season vnder the conduct of Paullinus and Celsus a notable overthrow was giuen. Cæcinaes attempts all falling to nothing, and the reputation of his Army now wanting, much greeued his minde; he had beene repulsed from Placentia; his Auxiliaries lately slaine; and when as the discoverers met one another,

ther, in those ordinary bickerings rather then materiall he commonly went to the worse: wherupon when Fabius Valens approched, lest the whole honour of the war should fall vpon him, he hastned with greater speed then good counsell, to recouer his glory. About ¹ twelue miles from Cremona, at a place called Castores, he placeth secretly in the woods, ioyning vpon the high-way, of his best Auxiliary souldiers, commanding the horse-men to go out further, and so hauing begun the skirmish to giue backe and retire, drawing on the enemy to follow in the heat of the chase, vntill the ambush should rise: that purpose was bewraied to Othoes Commanders. Paullinus was generall of the foote, and Celsus of the horse. The Vexillaries of the thirteenth Legion, fower Auxiliary Cohorts, and five hundreth horse were placed in the left battell; in the middle ² three Prætorian Cohorts, rancked straightly together, kept their standing vpon the high-way: in the right battell the first Legion marched, accompanied with two Vexillary Cohorts, and five hundreth horse: and out of the Prætorian and auxiliaries were led a thousand horse, for an ouer measure if fortune hapned to goe on their side, or otherwise a supply, if they should be distressed. Before the ioyning the Vitellianists turned their backes, and Celsus, vnderstanding the fraud, repressed his men. The ambush rising vp rashly, as Celsus gaue ground, followed so farre till they were circumuented themselues, for on the sides were the Cohorts, and the Legion to meete them in face, and the horse-men suddenly ranging out had enclosed their backes. Suetonius Paullinus at the first delayed some time to giue to his foot-men the signe of the battell: for being a person naturally slow, and one who liked much better wary courses with reason, then happy by chance, he commanded the ditches first to be filled, the field to be made open and easie of passage, the battalions to be displaid, supposing it seasonable enough to beginne then to ouercome others, when as order was taken they could not be ouercome themselues. By meanes of that delay space was giuen to Vitellius men to flee into the vines, where, by reason of the branches wrapped and knit one in another, it was troublesome to follow: and a little wood adioyned which couered them; out of which they issued elssoones and slew the formost of the Prætorian horse-men, there ³ King Epiphanes, fighting valiantly on Othoes side, was wounded. By that time Othoes foot-men pressed forward and bare downe by maine force the enemies host, turning to flight euen those also which came for to succour. For Cæcina sent not for his Cohorts together, but one after another: which thing in the fight augmented the terrour: for the feare of them that fled carried away the succours, which came disperledly, and neuer so many at once, as to restore the battell. In the campe also a mutinee arose, because they were fetched so scatteringly, and Iulius Gratus the Camp-master was put in prison, as though in fauour of his brother, who serued vnder Otho, he intended some treason; where as the Othonians had, on the other side, committed to ward Iulius Fronto his brother, a Tribune, vpon colour of the same crime. But in truth euery where the feare was so great, in those which fled, in those which met them, in the field and at the Campe, that vnlesse Suetonius Paullinus had sounded the retrain, not suffering his men to follow the victory, it was commonly talked on both sides, that Cæcina might haue been destroyed with his whole Army. Paullinus pretended that he was afeard, least, beside so much trauell and so great a iourney, the Vitellian souldier should haue issued forth of their Campe fresh against his men being tired, no supply remaining behind, if it fortuneth them to haue beene defeated. Some few approued that reason of the General, but most men condemned the fact, and blamed him for it.

³ King of what country? and how came he thither? and what became of him afterward? great persons in a story require, in my opinion, a more exact and particular description.

^a Twelue miles from Cremona at a place called Castor.] This place *ad Castoris* is twelue miles (saith our Author) from Cremona, where the maine Campe, I thinke, of Cæcina lay, and eight miles at the least from Bebricum, where Paullinus and Celsus were encamped, howsoever they are heere met in the middle way. Gallus, as it should seeme, was retired to cure himselfe of his fall, or at least, seeing heere is no mention of him in the field, left to garde the Campe: as it seemeth also he was the time of the great maine battell described in the sixteenth Chapter.

^b Three Prætorian Cohorts] Fiue Prætorian Cohorts were vnder the charge of Gallus and Spurrinna. Tacitus, whereof three were at this time in Placentia with Spurrinna, and three more we haue heere now in Gallus camp, one too many: but Otho, we must say, was not far off to supply it out of the rest of the Prætorian Cohorts.

XII. *The description of a mutinee which happened in Valens Campe.*
Valens commeth into Italie and ioyneth his power
with Cæcinaes.

THIS ouerthrow did not so much daunt the Vitellianists, as it reduced them to a more modest behauiour, not only in Cæcinaes campe, who cast the fault on the souldier more ready to mutine then fight; but the Army of Fabius Valens also (for now he was come to Ticinum) laying aside contempt of the enemy, & desirous to recouer their glory, began to shew to their General a more reuerent and orderly obedience. For before a great and hoate mutinee had happened out, which I will now set downe from the beginning, albeit not in his proper time, because it was not conuenient to interrupt the course of Cæcinaes actions. The Cohorts of Batauians, which in the warre of Nero were departed from the fourteenth Legion, and in their returne toward Britannie, hearing of Vitellius attempt in the country of Lingones, had ioyned themselues, ^a as before we haue shewed, to Fabius Valens, began to wax proud and insolent, vinting and brauing as they came to the tentes of any of the Legions, that they were the men which had ouerruled the fourteenth Legion, bereaued Nero of Italy: that in their hands alone lay all the fortune and whole successe of this warre. That seemed contumelious to the souldier, and highly displeased the Generall, the discipline being by their wranglings and brawlings corrupted. At the last Valens, by their insolent behauiour suspecting perfidiousnesse also, receiuing aduice, that the wing of the Treueri and Tungrians were beaten by Othoes Fleete, and that the Prouince of Narbon was in some danger of inuasion, partly vpon a care to defend his friendes, and allies, and partly vpon military pollicie to disperse these Batauians so mutinously affected, and of so great strength if they remained together, commanded part of the Cohorts to go and relieue them. which thing when it was heard and noised abroad, the Auxiliaries mourned, the ^b Legions stomacked, lamenting they should be deprived in such a time of so maine an assistance of such valient men: what? should those so experienced, and conquerours in so many warres, when as the enemies were within view, be sent away, as it were, out of the field? if the Prouince were a matter of more consequence then the Citie of Rome and safety of the State, why did they not all follow thither? but if the accomplishment of the victory, the strength and stay of the cause consisted in Italy, what reason then to breake off, as it were, the soundest and strongest limmes from the body? Vpon these and the like presumptuous speeches, when as Valens by sending his Sergeants among them, went about to correct their seditious behauiour, they offered violence to himselfe, threw stones, and forcing him to flee, followed after; and crying, that the spoile of France, the gold of Vienna, and the price of their labours was by him embezeled, and hid, they spoiled his cariage, they pearced and searched his pauillions, and the very ground it selfe with their lances and dartes: for Valens himselfe in a Bond-mans apparel lay vnknownen in the Tent of an Vnder-captaine

^a 1. Hist.

^b It seemeth strange, that the Legions should be displeased with the departure of those, whose insolent and contumelious behauiour they could not abide, if Tacitus say true not past sixe lines before.

raine of horse-men. Then Alphenus Varus the Camp-master, perceiuing the heat of the mutinee past, and the souldiers by little and little to grow colder, adioyneth a pollicy thereunto: ¹ forbidding the Centurions to meddle with searching and perusing the watch, and omitting to sound the Trumpet, by which the souldier is called to his charge. Whereupon they stood all amazed, looking one on another, astonished and dismayed to see themselves thus without head, or direction: and so with silence and patience, and lastly with teares and intreaty besought pardon of their offence. But when as Valens came foorth aboue all expectation a liue, weeping and badly attired, then was there ioy and compassion, and a generall fauouring of the man: and changing their former affections into gladnesse, as the common sort is in both without measure, they carried him in the midst of the Standerds and ensignes, with praises and gratulations, to the Tribunal. Valens vsing a profitable and discreet moderation, required not any one to be executed for this transgression; only in words reprooued some few, lest if he dissembled the whole, he should be suspected the more: knowing right well that in ciuill warres the souldiers haue a vantage ouer the Generall, and are more bould to commit disorders, then the Generall may be to correct them. As they were entrenching at Ticinum, word was brought of Cæcinaes ouerthrow, and the sedition was almost renewed againe, as though by fraud and delaies of Valens they had beene kept backe, and come short of the battell. Whereupon refusing to rest any longer, without staying for their Generall they march forward, running before their ensignes, and hastning the enseigne-bearers: and so in all speed ioyne with Cæcina. Valens was also disliked and generally blamed in the Army of Cæcina: who pretended themselves to be agreeued, that they were left, being so far inferiour in number as a pray to the whole power of the enemies; highly extolling with all the strength of the other Army, partly to excuse themselves, and partly to flatter their fellowes, lest as conquered and cowardly persons they should be despised of them: and albeit Valens had more forces, almost double number of Legions and Aides to the other, yet were the good wils of the souldiers more inclining to Cæcina, beside curtesie, wherein he excelled the other, by reason also of his flourishing age, and talnesse of stature, and vpon a cettaine vaine fauour of men. Hereupon there grew emulation betweene the two Generals. Cæcina contemned the other, as a lewde person of life and criminally noted: Valens scoffed at him as being proud and vaine glorious: but reseruing their hatred in secret they ioyned openly both in the common cause, by many letters, without respect of pardon, objecting to Otho his infamous life; whereas the Generals of Othoes side, notwithstanding the argument yeelded that way most plentiful matter, abstained from all reuiling speeches against Vitellius: and in truth before their ends which on Othoes side was most commendable, of Vitellius most ignominious, the drowsie pleasures of Vitellius were feared lesse, then the hot burning lustes of Otho: and beside, the death of Galba had made Otho more terrible, and more odious: contrarily no man charged Vitellius with beginning the war. Vitellius in excesse and belly-cheere was an enemy to himselfe: Otho in riot, cruelty, audaciousnesse, reputed more dangerous to the State.

¹ Forbidding the Centurions] *Vetitis vigilias obire centurionibus.* The Centurions charge was not *obire vigilias*, but *sonare*, *tuba inflatu vigilias distinguere.* Whereupon they whose charge it was (in Polybius, some of the horse-men, in Vegetius, Circitores) went about. So that the Centurions not sounding, the Round was not gone.

XIII. *Otho determineth to commit the matter to the hazard of a battell, and retireth himselfe to Brixellum.*

TH^E forces of Cæcina and Valens being ioyned together, the Vitellianists refused not any longer to end the cause in a maine battell. Otho proposed the matter in counsell, whether way were more expedient, to prolong the war, or else to put it by and by to the fortune of a field. Then Suetonius Paullinus, esteemed the most expert man of that age in military affaires, supposing it agreeable to his fame and renowne, to discourse of the whole maner of proceeding in this war, stood vp, and declared his opinion to be; that making of haste was profitable for the enemy, and delaying for them, that all the host of Vitellius was come, certaine small forces remaining behind, which could not conueniently be remoued from the banke of the Rhene, for feare of inuasion of those fierce nations: especially France standing also in some tearmes of rebellion: the souldier in Britanny had his hands full of the enemy there, and was also stopped by the sea: that Spaine had no great store of souldiers: the Prouince of Narbon was frightened, by reason of the late inuasion by sea, and the ouerthrow which they receiued; and that portion of Italy beyond the Po, now in the possession of the enemy, was wasted with the passage of their Army, and hauing no helpe by sea, and by land shut in with the Alpes, could not be relieued from abroad: so that they could no where haue come for their men, and an host without prouision could not be entertained. Now the Germans, which of all the enemies were most terrible, hauing foggy and waterish bodies, would not, if the warre were prolonged to the sommer, be able to endure the change of the soile, and the aire, that many Armies whose fury at the first rush could not be resisted, by delaies and wearing out were brought vnto nothing. Contrariwise they had all things themselues, well stored and well assured vnto them: Pannonia, Mœsia, Dalmatia, the East, with their Armies, whole and vntouched; Italie, and Rome the queene of the world, the Senate and people, titles neuer darkened, though sometimes ouer-shadowed: wealth priuate and publicke, and infinite masses of money, which in ciuill dissensions is of greater force then the sword: the bodies of their souldiers were accustomed to Italy or to other hoat Countries: the riuer of Polay^a before them as a defence: their Cities were safely manned and walled: and by the holding out of Placentia it was cleere to be seene, that none through distresse or despaire would yeeld to the enemy: and therefore in his opinion hee was to protract the warre. That within few daies the fourteenth Legion would become, a Legion of great reputation, with the forces of Mœsia: then might hee deliberate againe, and if it were liked to hazard the battell, fight with more power and greater aduantage. Marius Celsus approued this opinion of Paullinus, and certaine which were sent to Annius Gallus (who was hurt with a fall off his horse a few daies before) to demand his aduise, brought word that he also was of the same iudgement. But Otho was willing to bring it to a battell: his brother Titianus and Proculus Captaine of the Guard, hastening vpon ignorance and lacke of skill, protested that Fortune and all the gods, with the god-head of Otho, fauoured the Counsailes, and would without question prosper the enterprise: descending to this grosse kinde of flattery, lest any should dare to crosse their opinion. After they had concluded to fight, a new doubt arose, whether it were better, that the Emperour should with-draw himselfe, or else be present in the field in person: the selfe-same men taking also heerein a wrong course, without any more opposition of Paullinus

^a Not at *Bebria-cum*, where the consultation was holden, but he meaneth if they should, as he wished, retire with their power in *Cispadanum*, and there stand vpon their defence.

Paulinus and Celsus, lest they should seeme to hazard their Prince too venturously, perswaded him to retire to Brixellum; and so being exempt from the doubtfull euent of the field, to reserue himselfe for the maine chance of the state. That daie was the beginning of ruine of Othoes side. For with him a valiant company of Prætorian cohorts, of "Spearemen and horse departed away; and the rest which remained behind were quite out of heart, as hauing no confidence in their Generals: and Otho, whom onely the souldiers trusted, because he trusted none else: but the souldiers had not perfectly settled the Generals in their charges, but left their authorities at large and vncertaine.

XIIII. *A skirmish betweene the Vitellianists and Macer with his Fencers vpon the Po.*

AL that was said or done was caried by and by to the Vitellian side, fugitiues swarming as in ciuill warres, and the spies, vpon desire to searck out and discover other mens counsels, disclosing their owne. Cæcina and Valens laie still, quietly attending while the enemy should by his owne rashnesse miscary, meaning in lieu of wildome to vse the vantage of other mens folly. And so beginning a bridge, lest their souldiers should be made worse with too much idlenesse and ease, as if they had ment to haue passed the Po, and forced a band of "Fencers encamped on the other side, they commanded boats to be placed crosse the Riuer, with their heads vp the streame, in equall and conuenient distances, and ioyned them strongly together with planckes, casting anckers also to make the bridge steady and firme: but the Cable-ropes were not tied short, but plaid at length, that when the riuer should rise, the whole frame likewise might rise without hurting. Vpon the end of the bridge a tower was planted, reaching to the vttermost boate, that out of it they might with their engines and shot displace, and driue away the enemies: the Otho-nians also vpon the bancke had builded a Tower, and did hurle stones and fire. In the middle of the riuer there was an lland, into possession whereof the Fencers sought to put themselues by boate, but the Germans by swimming preuented them; and when Macer saw a competent number of them arriued there, embarking of his best Fencers, he putteth ouer to assaile them: but neither were the Fencers of the like courage in fight to the souldiers, neither could they, tottering out of their boates, aime so certaine a blow, as the other steadily standing did from the land: and when as through sundry steppings aside vpon feare the rowers and souldiers which stood at defence, were confusedly mingled together and put in disorder, the German souldiers leaping couragiously into the shallow, and hanging at the tailes of the boats, either clambered vp to the hatches, or by maine strength ouerturned the boats into the water. All which things passing after this sort in the view of both the Armies, as they were matter of great ioy to the Vitellianists, so to the contrary side they gaue occasion to hate and detest him, who was author and cause of the losse. And the skirmish was ended indeed by flight and the breaking away of the boates which remained: but Macer was required to the slaughter: and when they had wounded him with a dart a farre off, they ranne in with their swords drawne to dispatch him, had not the Tribunes and Centurions come in to protect him. A little afterward Vestricius Spurrinna by Othoes commandement, leauing a small garrison at Placencia, with his cohorts come to succour them: and anon Otho sent Flavius Sabinus Consull elect to command Macers Companies, the Souldiers being glad at

a The one lay at Brixellum, and the other by all coniecture at Cremona, twenty miles asunder.

the change of Captaines, and the Captaines, by reason of so many mutinees, vnwilling to enter into so dangerous a seruice.

XV. *That it is nothing probable, that in so corrupt an age, the souldiers would of their owne accord haue surceased from ciuill warre, and by common consent, and aduise of the Senat, deposing these two bad, haue chosen a third good Prince.*

IN some writers I finde it recorded, that the armies, either hauing in horreur the war, or loathing both Princes, whose shames and dishonours were daily diuulged more notoriously abroad, consulted among themselues to surcease the contention, and that either they by common consent should chuse a new Prince, or refer it ouer to the Senats appointment: and that therefore the Generals of Othoes side, ^a namely Paullinus, had counsailed to delay and protract, hoping it would fall vpon him, as being the most ancient Consulare, a famous commander, and one that in the warres of Britanny had won great glory and name. For my part, although I could be induced to grant that some few peraduenture secretly wished quietnesse in steed of discord, and for two most lewd and wicked, one good and innocent Prince; so I cannot be brought to beleue, that Paullinus being so wise a man would euer hope in a most corrupt age for such moderation in the common sort, that when as for desire of war they had troubled the peace of the State, now for loue of peace they would abandon the war: or that armies in tongue and conditions so different, could condescend to so great an agreement: or that the Lieutenants and Generals, which for the most part were persons drowned in riot, beggerly and guilty of most hainous crimes, would euer haue suffered any Prince but one polluted with the like vices, and of their owne creation, and therefore wholly obnoxious to them. That ancient desire of dominion and rule ingrafted now long ago in mens hearts, grew vp and shot out with greatnesse of the Empire. For whilest our dominions were strait, an equality was easily maintained: but after we had subdued the world, destroied all Cities, or Kings which stood in our light, or might worke our annoyance; when as we had leysure to seeke after wealth voide of perill, there arose first hot contentions betweene the Nobility and Commons: sometimes factions Tribunes carried it away: sometimes the Consuls held a hard hand and preuailed: and in the City and place of assembly, some little skirmishes, and commencements as it were of ciuill warres, were attempted. Anone after Caius Marius one of the meanest of the Commualty, and Lucius Sulla the cruellest of all the Nobility, by force of armes ouerthrowing the free estate, induced an absolut government. After whom Cneius Pompeius succeeded, somewhat ^b secrete, but nothing better: and after that time neuer was other question debated by armes, but who should be soueraigne Prince of the State. The Legions in Pharsalia and Philippi, consisting of Citizens, were not so moderately minded: much lesse may we thinke the armies of Otho and Vitellius would, of their owne accord, haue laide downe their weapons. The gods were no lesse incensed against vs: men were no lesse mad and furiously minded: the same vices raiging amongst vs haue induced the like dissensions and discords. That the wars were decided, and ended as it were ech at one stroke, we are to attribute it to the cowardlinesse and faint-hartednesse of the Princes, and not to the peaceablenesse of the armies. But the recoüting of the dispositions and maners, of present and ancient times, hath caried me out of the way. Now I return to the order of the story.

XVI. *The*

^a Plutarch attributeth it to Celsus not so probably.

^b Salustius apud Suetonium lib. de claris Grammaticis, Pompeius oris probi, ac amicis inuicem.

XVI. The great battell at Bebriacum: wherein Othoes
side was ouerthrowen.

When Otho was gone to Brixellum, Titianus his brother caried the coun-
tenance and title of Generall; Proculus Captaine of the Guard the power
and authority: Paullinus and Celsus, when as no man employed their wis-
dome and skill, were Captaines onely for name sake, and to be entituled to other
mens faults: the Tribunes and Centurions, seeing the better contemned, and the
worst sort in credit, were doubtfull of the euent: the souldiers notwithstanding was
full of courage and heart, yet such as had rather construe then execute his Generals
commandements. It was resolved, that the Campe should remooue forward, and
sit downe in a place fower miles off from Bebriacum, so without reason and skill, that
although it was spring time of the yeere, and so many Riuers about them, yet were
they distressed for water. There it was disputed whether the battell were to be gi-
uen or not. For Otho by letters required to hasten the matter: the souldiers desi-
red their Princes presence in field: many were of opinion to send for the Companies
which lay on the other side of the Po. Neither can it so easily be discerned what had
beene best to haue done, as that it was the worst which they did: vndertaking to
go to the confluence of the riuers of Po and Olius, full sixtene miles from that place
(a competent iourney for an Army to march, and much too great for them which
went to a battell) directly against the aduise of Paullinus and Celsus; who held it
vn safe to hazard the souldier, tired with the iourney, and heavy laden with cariage,
against an enemy, that would not faile, being lightly appointed, and hauing come
scarce fower miles to charge vpon them either as they marched in disarry, or else at
the sitting downe as they dispersed themselves to fortifie the Campe. But Titianus
and Proculus, when they were ouercome by reason fled to authority, by vertue of
their Office commanding the contrary: and indeede there was come a Numi-
dian Horse-man in post from Otho with a sharpe message, in the which, as one
that could not abide delaies, and impatient to linger in hope, hee checked the
Generals for their slacknesse, commanding them forthwith to put it to a field.
The same day as Cæcina was busily occupied about making the Bridge, two Tri-
bunes of Prætorian Cohorts came thither, demanding to speake with him: and
being vpon the point to giue audience, and make answer vnto them, the skowres
came running in haste, signifying the enemy was at hand: whereupon the parlee
brake off, and so it remained vncertaine what they intended, whether to lay a traine
for Cæcina, or to betray their owne fellowes, or else some other honest deuise.
Cæcina hauing dismissed the Tribunes, riding backe to the Campe, found the
signe of the battell already giuen by Valens commandement, and the souldiers in
armes. Whilest the Legions cast lottes concerning their order in marching to the
field, the Horse-men issuing out charged, and were beaten backe very strangely,
by Othoes men being feawer in number, euen into the Trenches, had not the Ita-
lian Legion manfully drawne their swords, and by feare forced them to returne and
make head vpon the enemy againe. The Vitellian Legions were ordered and put
in array without tumult or feare: for the bushes and thickets tooke away the sight
of the enemy, albeit he were neere. Contrarily in Othoes Army the Generals with
feare were put out of their skill; the souldiers neither loued nor trusted their Gene-
rals; the Wagons and idle followers of the Campe troubled the workes of the
souldiers, being confusedly mingled amongst them; and the Hie-way deeply
ditched

Great person-
ages in those
daies had vsu-
ally certaine
African or Nu-
midian horse-
men to lead their
traine, or for
other sudden
dispatches. Se-
meca epist. 124.
Omnes iam sic
peregrinamus.
ut illos Numida-
rum præcurrat
equitatus, ut
agmen cursorum
anteceat, turpe
est nullos esse qui
occurrerent via
deiciant, qui ho-
nem iun hominem
venire magno
pulvere ostendat.
Item epist. 88.
Martial. lib. 2.
Epigram. 24.
Non vector Ly-
bici niger caballi
succinctus
neq. cursor ante-
cedit.

ditched on both sides was too narrow for an Army, though marching without feare of the enemy : some stood about , some fought their ensignes , on euery side there was a confused noise of men running and crying : and as ech was guided by boldnesse or feare, so pressed he forward into the first rancks, or retired into the last. Their mindes being in this sort stricken with a sudden terrour , a falsely surmised ioy abated their fiercenesse : for some there were which vntruely gaue out, that the army was reuolted from Vitellius. That rumour whether it was dispersed abroad by Vitellius spies , or rose otherwise among Othoes men , whether by fraud or chance, it is not certainly knowen : but howsoeuer, thereupon the Othonians laying aside all edge to fight, in steed thereof profered after a friendly sort to salute them, but were with vnfriendly murmure intertained againe : which salutation gaue cause to many of their owne side, that were ignorant of the rumour , to feare treason. Then the host of the enemies in good array, superiour both in number and strength, charged vpon them : the Othonians, although in disarray fewer and werie, yet valiantly receiued the charge. And as in places troubled with Trees and Vines the fight was not euery where after one maner : but heere neere at hand , and there a farre off : sometime in Squadron, sometime in Triangle-figure : vpon the height of the way ioyning foot to foot, and bearing downe with body to body , and buckler to buckler : omitting the vse of the dart , and with swords and hatchets vn buckeling and breaking helmets and corcelets : and the parties knowing one another , and being seene of their companions , ech contended to shew vertue and valour, as if vpon their manhood had depended the euent of the whole warre. It fortunied , that in open field betweene the Po and the high way, two Legions met and fought together ; for Vitellius the one and twentieth, surnamed Rapax, a Legion anciently renowned , of Othoes part the first called Adiutrix, one neuer before brought to the battell, but presuming greatly of hirselle, and greedy, as in hir first seruice, of honor. They of the first Legion, beating to ground the * ensignes of the one and twentieth, tooke away the standerd by force : whereupon the Legion incensed with grieve both put them of the first in braule slaying Orphidius Benignus the Lieutenant, and also tooke many ensignes and banners from them. On the other side the thirteenth Legion was forced by them of the fifth : and certaine of the fourteenth hemmed in with multitudes of enemies that came in vpon them. And whereas the Generals of Othoes side had left the field and were fled already away , Cæcina and Valens yet strengthened their side with fresh supply : and beside a new succour came in of ^b Alphenus Varus with his Batauians, after he had discomfited the band of the Fencers, who passing the water by boates, were slaine by the aduersary Cohorts in the very riuer it selfe. So being victorious they inuaded the flanke of the enemies : and when once the middle battell was forced, the Othonians brake and fled ^c toward Bebriacum. The way was long and almost stopped vp with dead carcases , the slaughter being the greater for that in ciuill warres there is no profit to be made of the prisoners. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus tooke sundry waies and shunned the campe : Veditius Aquila Lieutenant of the thirteenth Legion , supposing all other waies vn safe, through vnaduised feare put hirselle into the danger of the furious souldier. For entring into the Campe a ^d great while before it was night, he was exclaimed vpon and railed at on euery side, with clamors of the most seditious and cowardly persons : who forbearing to vse neither tongues nor hands , reuiled him as a fugitiue and traitour, not vpon any specialty they could charge him withall, but after the maner of the common sort , ech man laying his owne shames vpon others. Titianus and Celsus returned not before night, which serued them to good purpose.

for

* *strata una cuius-
cesimanorum prin-
cipis. Plus in this
place taketh
principia for the
foreward. *πρῶτος*
*ἰπὸν τὸν ἀρχι-
μῆχον* demetel
vante.*

^b Camp master
in Valens host, and
now vpon Cæci-
naes calling away
left to keepe play
with the gladi-
ators of Othoes
side, as it seem-
eth.

^c Being twenty
miles or by our
reckning, or ac-
cording to *Plus*.
150 stadia, which
is about 19. miles.

^d It is very que-
stionable how in
one day an armie
could goe 16.
miles, to the bat-
tell, breake, and
fleeing away 20.
miles off could
come thither a
great while be-
fore night about
mid Aprill.

for the watch was now set, and the souldiers fury appeased by the helpe of ² Annius Gallus : who partly by intreaty and aduise, partly by his credit and authority, perswaded them not to heape misery vpon misery, and beside the losse of the battell to seeke the spoile one of another : that whether the warre were now at an end, or else it would please them to resume it, the onely meanes to releue the conquered side consisted in their agreeing together. And indeed the rest were out of courage and comfort : onely the Guard-souldiers stormed, affirming they were ouercome not by manhood but treason : and that the Vitellian side had bought the victory dearly with their bloud, their horse-men being repulsed, and the stander of a Legion taken away, that there yet remained in store many souldies beyond the Po attending on Otho : the Legions of Mœsia were comming at hand, and that a great part of the army had staid behind at Bebriacum, and neuer presented themselues to the battell : that surely these at the least had not been ouercome : and if so needs it must be, they should with more honour die in the field. Vpon these and the like cogitations sometimes growing desperate, and sometimes yeelding to feare, through consideration of their owne forlorne citate, they were incited more often to rage then to relent. The Vitellian Army lodged fīue miles from Bebriacum, the Generals not daring that day to attempt the enemies campe : and beside a voluntary yeelding was hoped for : where albeit they could not entrench, as men that went out lightly appointed and onely to fight, yet their weapons in hand, and the victory they lately obtained, was a sufficient defence. The day following those of Othoes men which had made shew of most courage, repenting and yeelding, the whole Army with one accord sent an Embassage to the Vitellianists. The Vitellian Generals without any question granted them peace : onely the Embassadors were staid there for a season, which bred a scruple in the mindes of the other, not knowing whether they had obtained as yet or not their request : but anon the Embassage returning, the Camp was set open. Then both the conquered and conquerers, breaking out into weeping, with a wotull ioyfulness, detested the misery of ciuill dissensions : and meeting in the same Tentes, some comforted their brethren, some their friendes which were wounded. Hopes and rewards were doubtfull and in expectation alone : burials and mournings were certaine and sure before hand : neither was there any so voide of mischance, that had not to mourne for some bodies death. The body of Orphidius the Lieutenant was sought out, and buried with accustomed solemnity, and some few beside by their friendes : the rest of the common sort were left on the ground.

* When Otho was gone to Brixellum] In the description of this great battell, in my conceit, are many great imperfections. And first to settle the reading, where in some printed copies it is by correction *confluens Padus & Addua fluminum petebant*, whereas *Padus & Agle* was found in old written copies, is a mistaking of the Corrector. Padus and Addua meet about Cremona : Bebriacum standeth twenty miles below ; So that the Othonians, removing from Bebriacum, with intention to fight with the Vitellianists being about Cremona, had no reason to go to the confluence of Padus and Addua. Then the distance cannot agree ; For the straight way, between Bebriacum and the confluence of Addua, must be more then here is limited. So that we must finde a Riuer meeting with the Po, some ² four miles or there about beneath Cremona : Ollius perchance, or some other, whose confluence the Othonians went to, and whereabout the battell began. Now where the Vitellianists were encamped, Tacitus very strangely omitteith to set downe. Macer with his Gladiatores, was *interdum procul Cremona*, against whom Cæcina made a bridge, which bridge, as it appeareth by the circumstances was not far from their maine campe. Then the Vitellianists which fled away, fle to Cremona, as to their strength, and place of retraite. Lastly Tacit. himselfe, 3. Hist. talking of Cremona, *eadem rursus belli sedes* ; and in the same booke, *Othonianis bello Germanicus miles manibus Cremonensium castra sua, castrum vallum circumuexit* : a notable particularity, and more agreeable to haue beene declared here. But by all these places, we may, I suppose, safely presume, that at Cremona, howsoeuer they came by it (for of that also may be a question, as is touched before) was alwaies afterward the Vitellianists maine campe. Now the Othonians saith Tac. removed 4. miles forward, leaving notwithstanding at Bebriacum the Campe standing and furnished with many men for the defence ; So that this Campe 4. miles from Bebriacum was but onely for a nights lodging : for to Bebriacum only did the Othonian souldiers retire when they

*Vitellianis vix
quatuor millia
passuum pro-
gressu.*

of my death as being voluntary and not by constraint. Fortune and I haue had good experience the one of the other: and nothing the lesse for that my time hath beene short. I tel you, it is harder to moderate a mans selfe in felicity, the which he looketh not long to enioy. The ciuill warre began on Vitellius party, and thence grew the first occasion to contend with armes for the Empire: but to contend no oftner but once, I for my part am purposed to giue the example. And hereby let the posterity iudge and esteeme of Otho. Through my benefit Vitellius shall enioy his brother, his wife, and his children: I seeke no reuenge, I haue no need of such comforts. Others haue kept longer the Empire, but let it be said, that none hath euer so valiantly left it. Shall I suffer so much Roman bloud againe to be spilt, and the Common wealth deprived of so worthy Armies? Let this minde accompany me to my graue, and so surely it shall, that you for your parts would haue died for my sake: but tarry you and liue, and let not me be any longer a hinderance to your obtaining of pardon, nor you to my determination and purpose. To speake more of dying, or to vse many words in that argument, I take to proceed of a cowardly courage. This take for a principall prooffe of my resolutenesse, that I complaine not of any. For to blame gods or men is their property that gladly would liue. After these words and the like, in courteous language, according to their age or degree, he required the yongue men, and desired the old to get them quickly away and goe to the winner; lest by slacking the time they prouoked his further displeasure: rebuking estoones the vnseasonable weepings of those about him, without any shew of alteration in countenance, or signe of feare in his speech. Then he commanded those which departed to be furnished of wagons and barges; burned all bookes and letters containing any matter notably in fauour of himselfe or disfauour of Vitellius, and distributed money sparingly, and not as one that should die. Then he called vnto him Saluius Cocceianus his brothers sonne, being in the prime of his youth, and seeing him sore afraid and weeping, he comforted him, notwithstanding the case touched nearer himselfe, commending his kindnesse and naturall affection, and reprehending his timorousnesse. What? were it possible, that Vitellius should be so hard harted, and cruelly minded, as not to doe him that one pleasure, whereas he had preferued for him his whole house without harme? that at least by this hasty dispatch of himselfe he deserued that some courtesie should be shewed his kinred: especially hauing forborne, for the loue of his country, to seeke his last and vttermost remedy; not vpon extreme despaire, but then when as his army with instance demanded to bring it to a battell againe. But, he said, for his part he had gotten renowne enough for himselfe, and nobility for his posterity, after the Iulian, Cladian, and Seruian families, hauing first of all men brought into a house of no great continuance the honour of hauing an Emperour: and therefore he willed him with good courage to liue and goe on, neither forgetting at any time that Otho was his Vnckle, nor yet to much remembring the same. After these things he willed all to depart and giue place, and gaue himselfe a while to his rest: but a sudden tumult interrupted the course of his last cares, word being brought in of the disordered and outragious behauiour of the souldiers: who threatned to kill all those which went away, but were most egerly bent against Verginius, whose house being shut they beset round about. Whereupon Otho went out, and hauing rebuked the principall mutins, returning againe spent the time in talking and comforting them which departed, vntill they were all safely conueied away. When it grew toward night, he quenched his thirst with a cup of cold water: then two Rapires were brought in: and after he had tried their points he put the one vnder his pillow: and
hauing

XVIII. *The perill wherein the Senatours stood which were left at Mutina, vpon the newes of the ouerthrow at Bebriacum.*

WHEN the warre was euery where at an end, a great part of the Senate, which accompanied Otho from Rome, and afterward staid by order at Mutina, incurred extreme danger. For when word was brought thither of the ouerthrow, the souldiers reiected the newes as false: and supposing the Senat to be enemy to Otho, they obserued their speeches, interpreting their countenances, and externall behauour to the worst; not abstaining at the last from reuiling, and contumelious termes, and apparently seeking an occasion to begin a massacre: whereas the Senatours had beside to stand in feare another way, lest they should seeme not forward enough to like of Vitellius victory, with whom now all the world was gone. Thus trembling, and betweene both being doubtfull how to cary themselves, they meete together, none daring to follow any priuate direction, but associating himselfe with the multitude presuming thereby of greater security. As they were in this perplexity, the ^a councell of Mutina increased their cares, offering them armour and mony, and stiling them at euery word, very vnseasonably, Lords of the Senate. In that assembly arose a hoat contention. Licinius Cæcina inueyed against Epirus Marcellus, for that he seemed to speake ambiguously concerning the present estate, whereas in truth neither did the other Senatours plainly open their minds: but Cæcina picked out Marcellus among the rest, as a man exposed to enuy, and odious for his late trade of accusing, to the end that himselfe being lately risen, and newly come into the Senate, might become renowned and knowen, by entering into enmity with great persons. But by the moderation of the better sort interposing themselves the matter was pacified: and so they went all backe to Bononia, there to deliberate anew, hoping withall in the meane season to receiue more aduertisements. At Bononia they set in seuerall waies seuerall persons to enquire newes of the passengers which lateliest came from those quarters: by whom a Freed-man of Othoes being demanded the cause of his comming away, he answered, that he had brought with him his masters ^b last charge: that indeed he had left him aliue, but without any care, saue onely of posterity, and hauing renounced all delights of this present life: hereupon they grew into admiration of him, and were ashamed to aske any further: and now all wholly declared themselves for Vitellius. His brother L. Vitellius was present at their consultations, and already offered himselfe to be fawned vpon, when suddenly Cenus, a Freed-man of Neroes, with a lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that vpon the arriuall of the fourteenth Legion, the forces which were at Brixellum being ioyned thereto, the fortune of the sides was changed, and the conquerers were ouerthrowne. The cause of deuising the rumour was, that ^{*} the commissions of Otho for posts, which began not to be regarded, might through so gladsome a message be reuiued againe. And so Cenus passed indeed in post to the Citie, but within few daies after by Vitellius commandement was executed, but the perill of the Senatours was augmented thereby, for Othoes souldiers beleeued the newes to be true: and that which made their cause worse was, that they were departed from Mutina, and so the side seemed discountenanced and forsaken, as it were, by the Councell of state. Neither did they after that time consult any more in common: euery man sought to prouide for himselfe, vntill such time as letters sent from Fabius Valens, and

^a Ordo Mutinensium, i. Decuriones Mutinensium, as it were the common councell of the towne.

^b After he had dismissed all the Senatours, (saith Suetonius c. 10) secreto capto binos co-dicillos ex aranis ad sororem consolatorios: sed & ad Messalinam Neronis, quam matrimonio destituerat, commendans reliquias suas & memoriam: and some thing to Vitellium also saith Zonaras in fauour of his friends.

^{*} Or, false ports of Otho.

the death of Otho the more praise worthy the sooner heard of, put them out of feare.

XIX. *The estate of affaires at Rome: and the insolencies committed by the Vitellian souldiers after the victory.*

a Cerealia began the 12 of April, and ended the 19, so that after the death of Otho at Brixellum heard of at Rome Cereales ludis ex more spectabantur, the day of his death, albeit the newes came in post, could hardly be so late as the 18. of April, and not possibly so late as the 19.

BVt at Rome all was quiet, without any trouble or feare, the ^a plaies of Ceres were solemnely kept according to the custome: and when certaine word was brought into the Theatre that Otho was dead, and that Flavius Sabinus Prouoost of the City had sworne all the souldiers in the City to Vitellius, in signe of ioy the people clapped their hands and gaue applause vnto Vitellius. Then they caried the images of Galba with boughes of Lawrel and flowers about the Temples, heaping vp together in maner of a tombe garlands and Coronets about Lacus Curtius, which place Galba at his death had embrued with his bloud. In the Senat all titles and honours vsually conferred vpon other Princes by occasions, and after they had reigned many yeares, were straight-waies decreed to Vitellius: and withall praises concluded vpon for the German armies, with solemne thanks for their good seruice; and an Embassage sent to congratulate. Letters also were read; written by Fabius Valens to the Consuls, in a stile humble inough: yet Cæcinaes modesty was better accepted in that he wrote not at all. But Italy was now more grievously vexed, and cruelly handled then during the war. The Vitellian souldiers dispersed in the free-townes and Colonies pilld and spoiled, polluted and rauished without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane, but only following their rauinous and insolent humour, or else by mony bought out to forbear: and some there were that counterfaiting themselves to be souldiers slew their particular enemies. The souldiers also themselves were skilled in the Country, and designed out the well stoared grounds, and well monied masters to pray vpon, or if resistance were made, to destroy them; the Generals being obnoxious and not daring to prohibit it: Cæcina was lesse couetous and more possessed with vaine-glory: Valens was for bribery and polling infamous, and therefore a winker also at other mens faults, so many foote-men and horse, so great violences, dammages and iniuries, especially the state of Italy being already greatly empouerished before, were hardly abidden.

XX. *Vitellius voiage from Germany to Lions, and his actions there.*

a Primo imperij die, saulh Suetonius. c. 12, contra-re to the circumstances of this place.

IN the meane season Vitellius ignorant of his owne victory, made preparation as for a warre new to begin, and caried with him beside eight thousand souldiers of Britanny, the strength which remained of the German army: few old souldiers were left in the standing Campes, but new men leuied in hast out of France to uphold the names of the Legions remaining behind: and the charge of the militaire affaires there was committed to Hordeonius Flaccus. When Vitellius had marched some few daies iourney, he vnderstood of the good successe at Bebriacum; then that Otho was dead and the war finished: whereupon calling an assembly he highly extolleth the valiantnesse of the souldiers. ^a After the speech, his Army instantly requested him to create Asiaticus his freedman a gentleman of Rome: which shamfull flattery he then rebuked; and soone after vpon a ficklenesse of wit, that which he had openly refused, he priuily bestowed in banquet, and honoured with ringes Asiaticus, a base abject slaue, and one seeking to rise by ill meanes. About the same time

time message was brought that Albinus Procurator of both Mauretaines was slain, and the Countries had sided themselves with Vitellius. Lucceius Albinus was by Nero set ouer Mauretania Cæsariensis, and Galba annexed the administration of Tingitana; so that he had forces of good moment vnder his charge: eightene Cohorts, five wings, and an infinite number of Moores not vnfit for the war, as men that vsually liued of stealing and harrowing their neighbours. When Galba was slaine he followed the party of Otho, and not contenting himselfe with Africke, had a purpose for Spaine, being disioyned from it by a narrow straight. Heereupon Cluuius Rufus was afraid, and commanded the tenth Legion to approach to the shore, as if he meant to haue shipped ouer: sending before certaine Centurions to induce the mindes of the Moores to fauour Vitellius: neither was it hard to effect. For the fame of the German Army was great thorowout all the Prouinces, and beside a report was spred, that Albinus contemning the name of a Procurator, had vsurped a royall diademe, and the name of ^b Iuba. So their mindes being changed, thereupon they went and slew Asinius Pollio Captaine of a Wing, one of Albinus faithfull frindes, and Festus and Scipio two Captaines of Cohorts: Albinus himselfe as he went by sea from Tingitana to Mauretania Cæsariensis was slaine as he landed, and his wife withall, who voluntarily offred hir selfe to the slaughter. These things and all else that was done Vitellius passed ouer without due examination, as his maner was with a short audience to turne ouer matters of greatest importance; a man far vnmeet to wild weighty affaires. When they came to Araris Vitellius willed the Army to march by land, and went himselfe downe by the riuer, without any furniture fit for a Prince, but in his old beggerly array, till Iunius Blaesus Gouvernour of Gallia Lugdunensis, a man of high parentage, of a francke minde and wealth answerable thereto, furnished him of prouision and seruitours, and accompanied him honorably according to his estate: a thanklesse office and displeasing, albeit Vitellius sought by submisse and glozing speeches to couer his hatred. At Lions the Generals met him of both sides, the winning and loosing. Valens and Cæcina he commended in open assembly, and set them about ^c his chaire of estate: then he commanded the whole Army to goe out, and meet his little ^d yoong son. Being brought and clothed in a ^e princely mantell, his father holding him in his armes named him Germanicus, and arraid him with all the imperiall ornaments: this excessiue honour in prosperity, in aduersity serued ^f for a comfort. Then were the brauest and forwardest of Othoes Centurions put to the sword: vpon which occasion grew principally the dislike the Illyrian Armies conceiued of Vitellius, and withall the rest of the Legions, partly by contagion, and partly vpon enuy to the German souldiers, projected warre in their mindes. Suetonius Paullinus and Licinius Proculus could not haue audience, but were detained a great while in sorrow and heauinesse: till at length being admitted they produced matter of excuse, rather such as stood with the present necessity, then such as might stand with their honour: as that in fauour of Vitellius they had betried their owne fellowes; alleaging the length of the iourney before the battell, the wearinesse of Othoes men, the shuffling of Cartes and the souldiers together, and many other matters of chance, as done by them for the purpose: and Vitellius beleeued the treason, and acquitted them of the crime of fidelity. Saluius Titianus Othoes brother was clearely discharged, being holden excused both because he was so nearely tied by nature, and because he was a man of no moment. Marius Celsus had his life and honour saued: for his Consulship was reserued vnto him. It was said and beleeued, and afterward objected to Cæcilius Simplex in the Senate, that he sued to haue bought that Office with mony, seeking with all the

^b The last King of Mauretania, subdued by Cæsar, anno urb. cond. 708.

^c Curuli sed. The Consul also had sella curuli in the Emperours times, belike differing in furniture, in the free state the Prætors had also, and some of the Edils.
^d Of fixe verres old. Sonar.
^e Paludamentum Not very long: for Mucianus caused him to be made away. 4.
^f Hist.

destruction of Celsus : but Vitellius refused the suite, and gaue Simplex afterward a Consulship without either mony or bloud. As for^s Trachalus, Galeria Vitellius wife protected him against his accusers. Among these dangers of honorable persons one Maricus (a shame to be spoken) a base fellow among the Boians, counterfainting new reuelations, dared to thrust himselfe forward and trie his aduenture, and to prouoke the Roman forces against him : who pretending to be the setter of France at freedom, and a god, (for so he intituled himselfe) had drawen already together eight thousand men, and began to wast the frontiers of the Æduans : but that graue and wise City, assembling the choice of their youth with some of Vitellius Cohortes, discomfited that fanaticall multitude. In that encounte Maricus was taken, and being cast to the wilde beastes because he was not deuoured, the sottish people beleued that he could not be hurt, vntill such time, as in the presence of Vitellius afterward he was slaine : neither was there any further cruelty shewed to any of that conspiracy, either in body or goods. The Testaments also of them which died in the field for Otho, remained in their full strength and validity ; or if they died vntestate, the ordinary course of the Law, prouided in that behalfe, was obserued. And generally, if he could haue forborne his riotous liuing, or vsed any moderation therein, couetousnesse was a crime in him not to be feared : but he was shamefully giuen^b to his belly, without all order or measure : for which purpose there were daily brought out of Rome and Italie, all prouocations of gluttony : the high-waies from both the seas founded of nothing else but of Caters and Ripiers : the greatest men in the cities were spent and consumed in prouiding of Cates for the banquets : the cities themselues were wasted : the souldiers grew worse and degenerated from labour and vertue : partly by enuring themselues to pleasures, and partly through the contemptiblenesse of the Commander. Moreouer an edict was sent before hand to Rome, wherein Vitellius declared, that he would not accept of the title of Augustus as yet, nor the name of Cæsar at all, whereas in substance and power he abated nothing thereof : and withall the^c Astrologers were banished out of Italy : and moreouer it was straitly inhibited, that no Roman Gentleman should pollute himselfe with profession of fencing in Schoole or Theatre. Some former Princes had hired them with mony to doe it, and more often compelled them by force : and many Free-townes and Colonies, ech struiuing to excell others induced some^d vnthrifty yongue men to the like dishonour. Now Vitellius vpon the comming of his brother, and certaine Schoole-masters of tyrannie creeping into the Court, waxing prouder and fiercer, commanded Dolabella, whom as before we remembred, Otho had confined to Aquinum, vpon this occasion to be slaine. Dolabella, hearing that Otho was dead, was returned to Rome : whereof Plautius Varus once Prætor, one of Dolabellæs most inward friendes, accused him before Flavius Sabinus the Prouost of the City, as if he had broken prison, to the end to make offer of himselfe for a head to the conquered faction : adding moreouer, that to that purpose he had felt the cohort, which was in garrison at Ostia : but hauing no one prooffe of any of these great crimes, he began to repent of his wicked deede, and sought pardon, but too late, after the fact. As Flavius Sabinus was in doubt how to proceed, in a matter of that weight, Triaria the wife of Lucius Vitellius, fierce and cruell aboue the ordinary of that sex, terrified him ; warning him not to affect the commendation of clemency by the perill of his Prince. Sabinus, a man of his owne nature of a milde disposition, but when he was put in feare easie to be changed, and fearing to make another mans danger his owne lest he should seeme to haue helped him vp, as he was falling pushed him forward. Vitellius, partly vpon feare and partly vpon an old grudge, because

^a Who composed the oration which Otho pronounced to the people before his departure from Rome, 1. Histor.

^b Vide Sueton. Vitell. 13.

^c Seneca, ep. 99. aspice illos iuuenes, quos ex nobilissimis domibus in arenas leuaria proleci.

because Dolabella had taken Petronia to wife straight vpon hir deuorce from him, called him by letters to him : and commanding to auoide the beaten Flaminian way, and carry him by Interamna, he gaue commission to murder him there. That seemed too long to him who had the Commission : and therefore in an Inne by the way, as Dolabella rested himselfe on the ground, he cut his throat, to the great infamy of the new gouernment, whereof this was the first prooffe. This kinde of behaviour of Triaria was the more odious, by setting against it the modesty of hir next neighbour Galeria the Emperours wife, heaping not sorrowes vpon the sorrowfull, and the rare vertue of Sextilia his mother, a woman of the ancient sort : who is also reported to haue said at the reading of hir sonnes first letters, that a Vitellius was borne by her and not a Germanicus : neither did she afterwards through any allurements of fortune, or courting of the City, participate any thing else of hir sonnes estate, saue onely the smartes of hir house when it fell.

The Astrologers were] The substance of the edict was, *ut intra Kal. Octobr. vrbe Italiaeque Mathematici excederent.* The night following the Astrologers set vp, saith * Suetonius, another edict in hac verba *BONVM FACTVM, ut Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem kalendarum diem vsquam ne esset,* which how it was verified in him that liued till the latter end of December following, I would gladly haue the Astrologers themselves to calculate vnto vs: especially being an example whereof all their bookes are full, And to say the truth, Zonaras seemeth to giue some patronage to the error, and Xiphilin also, who saith the edict was published after Vitellius comming to Rome, whereas by Tacitus it should seeme rather to be sent from Lions. His words be these, *ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο πρόμαμα εἴθετο δὲ ἔτι τῶν ἀστρολόγων ἐξήλασε* (being otherwise very superstitiously given himselfe, *φιλομαυπίας ὑπάρχον, καὶ μηδὲ πὶ βεβήχῃ προλαύων ἀντὶ αὐτῶν*, That is, being a follower of Southsayers, and doing neuer so small a matter without their aduise, saith Zonaras) *πρὸς πῶν σέβιν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας (ῥητὴν ἢ τὰς) ἐξ ἀπονοῆς τῆς ἰταλίας χωρήσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ εὐεῖνοι πυκνὸς ἀντιπροσθέντες χεῖματα ἀντιπροσθέντων ἀπαλατῆναι ἐκ τῆς βίης ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἡ ἐτελευτήσε.* That is, Being come to Rome he published an edict wherein he exiled the Astrologers, charging them before such a day (naming the time) to depart out of Italie and he to requit him in the night season set vp their Cartell denouncing to him that he should before such a day depart out of this life, as in truth he did.

XXI. *Vitellius voyage from Lions into Italy by Turin, Pania, Cremona, Bebricum, and so to Banonia, and the actions which happened in the meane way.*

AS Vitellius was departed from Lions, Marcus Cluius Rufus leauing his charge in Spaine ouertaketh him, carying ioy and gratulation in countenance, but heauinesse in his heart, knowing that he had beene shot at, and matter put vp against him. Hilarius the Emperours Freed-man had articulated against him, that hearing of Vitellius and Othoes contention for the Empire, he had endeououred to erect a souerainty of his owne, and assure to himselfe the possession of Spaine : and therefore had named in the beginning of his * Commission no Prince: certaine points also of his Orations he picked out, and construed as tending to the defacing of Vitellius, and making himselfe popular. But the credit of Cluius prevailed so far, that Vitellius contrarily commanded his man to be punished, and assumed Cluius into his traine; suffering him withall to enioy Spaine, which he gouerned still notwithstanding his absence, according to the precedent of * Lucius Arruntius, whom Tiberius Cæsar retained for feare, but Vitellius kept Cluius vpon no such ielousie. Trebellius Maximus had not the like fauour : he fled out of Britany, because the souldiers were incensed against him; and Vectius Volanus was sent in his place.

Of all matter present that vexed Vitellius most, to see the vanquished Legions retain their stomackes vnuanquished: being dispersed thorow Italy together with the winners, in all speech they shewed themselves affected as enemies, and namely the fourteenth Legion; which carried the greatest stomacke of them all, denying that

ever they were overcome : that in the battell at Bebriacum the Vexillaries onely
 were put to flight, the strength of the Legion being not present. Wherefore it was
 thought expedient to send them backe into Britanny, from whence they were cal-
 led by Nero; and in the meane time, that they and the Cohorts of Batauians should
 quarter together, by reason of the ancient iarring betweene them. Neither could
 they, hauing both weapons in hand and hating ech other so deadly, agree long to-
 gether. At Turin as one of the Batauians quarrelled with an Artificer, as hauing
 coufened him, and a Legionary souldier tooke his part, and defended him as being
 his Hoast, their companions sorting themselues each to their fellow, from bitter
 words passed to blowes: and a bloudy battell had beene fought, had not two Præto-
 rian Cohorts taken the Legionaries part, and so much increased their strength, that
 the Batauians were forced for feare to giue ouer. Vpon which accident Vitellius
 commanded to vnite to his traine the Batauians, as well-willers to the cause, and to
 send the Legion away and conduct it ouer the Graian Alpes, by the way that missed
 Vienna; for they of Vienna also were had in a ieaousie. That night the Legion re-
 moued, fires being left here and there negligently vnput out, part of Turin was
 burnt: which dammage, as many other bad effectes of that war, greater calamities
 of other Cities did vtterly blot and put out of remembrance. The Legion hauing
 passed the Alpes, some of the most seditious among them carried their ensignes to-
 ward Vienna: but by the consent of the better sort they were staied; and so the Le-
 gion was transported into Britanny. The next feare that Vitellius had, was of the
^b Prætorian Cohorts. And first they were separated: then in good sort and ^c courte-
 ously cassed, with commandement to deliuer vp their armor to their Tribunes; and
 so they remained vntill such time as the war was begun by Vespasian: then they re-
 sumed armes and were the strength of the Flauian side. Of the other Legions the
 first surnamed Classica was sent into Spaine, that by peace and rest it might wax
 tractable: the eleuenth and seuenth were returned to their standing Campes: the
 thirteenth set ^d a worke to build Amphitheatres: for Cæcina at Cremona, and Va-
 lens at Bononia made preparation to set forth a shew of Fencers; Vitellius being
 neuer so intentiuelly addicted to serious affaires, that he would forget his pastimes
 and pleasures. And thus with good moderation he set them asunder. In the win-
 ning side a mutinee arose vpon a sporting beginning, but that the number of them
 which were slaine made it a matter of earnest, and the whole war more odious.
 Vitellius was in Ticinum at a banquet, and with him Verginius. The Lieutenants
 and Tribunes are frugall ^e or riotous, according to the Princes dispositions: in like
 sort the souldiers seuerer or dissolute: in Vitellius traine all was disorderly and full of
 drunkenesse, more like to ^f Wakes and the feasts of Bacchus, ^g then to a Campe
 where discipline should be. It happened that two souldiers one of the fift Legion,
 another a French Auxiliary, vpon a iolity challenged one another to wrestle: and
 when as the Legionary was throwne, the French-man insulting ouer him, and they
 which look't on diuiding themselues into sides, the Legionary souldiers taking them-
 selues to their weapons made hauocke of the Axiliaries, and slew two Cohortes of
 them. The remedie of this tumult was another tumult: Dust and glistring of Ar-
 mour was seene a farre off: and suddenly it was noised in the Army, that the four-
 teenth Legion was returned with intention to fight: but it was their owne riere-
 ward; which being perceiued, that care was ended. In the meane season, as one of
 Verginius seruants by chance came by, the souldiers charge and accuse him, that he
 was set to kill Vitellius, and rush thereupon into the banqueting place requiring the
 death of Verginius. No man doubted of Verginius innocency, no not Vitellius
 himselfe,

b Suetonius Vi-
 tellio, c. 10. re-
 porteth the same
 and no more:

quicquid Præto-
 riarum cohortium
 fuit, uno exan-
 thorant edicto,
 but by the new
 enrolment de-
 scribed in Tac-
 itus, it may
 seeme that vrba-
 na cohortes were
 also dismissed:

c Missio alia ho-
 nestia, alia igno-
 miniosa, honesta
 ex valitudine,
 ex stipendij con-
 fectu, and in the
 free state, as I
 thinke, pro ha-
 reditate aduenda,
 pro honoribus pe-
 tendis, &c.

d For some short
 time, and so sent
 home againe into
 Pannonia: for
 there we finde
 it againe in the
 beginning of the
 reuolt of Vlyri-
 cum from Vi-
 tellius.

e Tempestiua

committitur dele-
 rantur. conui-
 uia tempestiua

those, which to
 make the worke
 the longer are be-
 gun before the
 ordinary houre.

f Reade Suet.
 Vitellio, c. 10.

himselfe, although otherwise very suspicious and fearefull, and notwithstanding they demanded the death of so honorable a personage, and one which had once beene their Generall, yet were they hardly appeased. Neither was there any man so oft shot at as Verginius in all seditions and mutinous assemblies: the admiration and fame of the man remained amongst them; but they hated him deadly, because he had contemned their offer. The day following Vitellius gaue audience to the Senates Embassage, which he willed there to attend him; and going from thence to the Campe, he spake to the souldiers, commending their dutifull disposition, and tender carefulnesse ouer his person: but the Auxiliaries fretted and fumed to see the Legionaries growen to that height of insolency, and no punishment inflicted vpon them. Whereupon the Cohorts of Batauians, lest they should attempt some desperate act, were sent backe againe into Germany, the course of affaires fatally tending to minister matter, as well ² to a forraine war, as to a ciuill. The French Auxiliaries also were turned home to their Countries; an excessiue number, and straight at the first reuolt assumed by Vitellius into the cause, for an idle complement of the warre. Now to the end that the treasure and reuenues of the Empire, though diminished and wasted, might suffice for his excessiue and prodigall donations, he commandeth to lessen the number of souldiers in the Legions and Aides, forbidding supplies to be made, and offering dismissions indifferently: which action of his proued pernicious to the State, and vnpleasant to the souldiers. For fewer now bare the same burthens; and perils and labours came thicker about; and their strength was wasted with riotous life by reason of such abundance, contrary to the ancient discipline and vsage of our forefathers, vnder whom the Roman estate was gouerned and stood, by vertue better then mony. From thence Vitellius turned to Cremona: and when he had seene Cæcinaes plaies, he was desirous to goe to Bebriacum and view the place with his eies of the late victory. The spectacle was ougly and grisly to behold: within forty daies after the battell, bodies ^h torne a pieces, mangled limmes, figures of horses and men putrified, the ground imbrued with corruption and bloud, the Country miserably wasted, the Trees and Corne troden downe and spoiled: that also was a point of inhumanity that they of Cremona had strowed the way ² with Roses and Bay, erected Altars, and sacrificed thereon ⁱ as the maner is to Kings passing by: which things, albeit they pleased them presently, turned afterwards to their ruine. Cæcina and Valens were by, and shewed the places of the conflict: from this place the Legions went out and charged: from hence the horsemen arose: from thence the Auxiliaries closed about. Now the Tribunes and Captaines extolling ech his owne prowesse, with many a lie mingled some truthes, or made of the truth more then it was. The common souldiers also with clamour and ioy stept out of the way calling to remembrance the ground they had trauersed, behold and wonder at the heapes of armour and bodies: and some there were whom the changeable fortune of humane affaires mooued to pittie and teares. But Vitellius as a man without all compassion turned not away his eies, nor had ^k not in horror to see so many thousands of vnburied Citizens: but contrariwise iocunde, and ignorant of his owne lot which followed so nearely, he maketh a solemne sacrifice ³ to the gods of the place. After these things Fabius Valens at Bononia maketh a shew of Fencers: to the setting out wherof, furniture was fetched from Rome: and the nearer Vitellius came to the City, the more dissolute and corrupt was he and his Company, Stage-players associating themselves to the traine, ^l and droues of Eunuches, and the rest of the Buffons of Neroes Court. For Vitellius was an admirer also of Nero himselfe, and was wont to attend ^m and follow him as he did sing, not by compulsion

² Raised by Cæcina and the Batauians, and continued by the rebellion of the French, Tac. Hist. 4. & 5.

^h Xiphilinus writeth that in the battels about Cremona on both sides 40000 men were slaine. Tacitus following the precept of Salust, neuer or most seldome setteth downe the number.

ⁱ And not new in the Roman Princes, if Suet. deceiue not in Galba c. 18. per omne iter dextra sinistraque oppidum victimæ cedebantur.

^k Suetonius Vitellio. c. 10. addeth further ut campos in quibus pugnatum esset, abhorrentes quosdam cadaverum tabem, deest statili uoce confirmare ausus est, optime oleris occisum hostem, & melius cinem.

^l 3. Hist. of Fabius Valens, multo, ac molli concubinarum spectatione agitante.

^m Read Suet. c. 4.

compulsions as many a good man, but selling his honour to nourish his riot and feed his belly, to which he had wholly enthralled himselfe. Now that Valens and Cæcina might obtaine some voide monthes that yeere to be Consuls in, certaine others * were abridged of their time: M. Macer was passed ouer because he had beene a Captaine of Othoes side: Valerius Marinus whom Galba appointed was put ouer to another time, not vpon any dislike, but because he was of a soft nature, and would gently put vp a wrong. Pedanius Costa was omitted being disliked of the Prince, because he had attempted against Nero, pricked Verginius forward: but Vitellius alledged other causes; and according to the seruile custome of that time great thanks were giuen him beside.

* *Constituti aliorum consularum*, some indeed were stricken out but every one, as it may seeme, accomplished his ordinary time of two monthes. See the annotation vpon the first booke.

¶ Wakes and feasts of Bacchus] *Pernigilia*, wakes and solemnities by night, in honour of some god, during sometimes for many nights together, in which indeed was practised all kind of dissoluteness and insolency. *Com vinum & nox, & missi sœminu mares, atati tenera maioribus discrimen omne pudori extinxissent*, as Liue speaketh. Of which kinde in the Common-weales of Greece were many, and many abuses growing thereof, as may well appeere out of the Comedies of those times, and Plautus Aulularia *Ego me iniuriam fecisse fateor filia tua, Ceresu vigiliu per vinum atque impulsu adolescentia*, and yet those of Ceres seeme of all other to haue beene the most sober, and therefore thought fit to be retained by Tully. 2. *de legibus*. *Nocturna sacrificia mulierum, ne sonto, prater olla qua pro populo ritè sunt, nene quem inuitanto, nisi, ut assolet, Ceresi, Græco sacro*. Vitellius, saith Suet. cap. 10. *In Appennini quidam iugis etiam pernigilium egit*: to which act of his Tacitus peradventure heere alludeth. Now Bacchanalia were, as I thinke, nothing else but *pernigilia* in honour of Bacchus, of all other the most dissolute, corrupt and desperat, of whose beginnings, increase, and destruction in the Roman state, read Liue lib. 38. and Tully lib. 2. *de legibus*.

¶ With Roses and Bay, erected Altars] vpon the comming of Kings and great Personages, the custome was to straw the waies with flowers. Herodianus li. 4. at Caracallæes entry into Alexandria; *ἡ δὲ πόλις τε καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐτίμων τὸν βασιλέα*. That is, They honoured the Emperour with Torches and strawing of flowers, and li. 1. at the comming of Commodus to Rome, *ὡς δὲ πλείον ἐγένετο τῆς ἐαυτοῦ παῖδα τε ἢ εὐκλειῆς, καὶ πανδημεὶ ὅσοι τῆς πόλεως κατὰ κῆν ἀνδρῶν τε, δαφνοφύγοι τε, καὶ πάντα ἐπιφρεσμένοι ἀνθὴ τὸ τε ἀκμάζοντα, ὡς ἕκαστος οἶος τε ἦν πύρρῳ τῆς πόλεως ὕπεντων*. That is, As he approached neere the citie, all the Senate, and generally as many as dwelt in Rome came forth and met him every many as far off from the City as possibly he could, bearing bays and bringing all sorts of flowers then in season. Claudianus Panegyrica. 2. *de Stilicone*.

Spectabant cupida matres, spargentur & omnes.

Flora via—

¶ To the gods of the place] In that religion every wood and field had his locall gods, without whose good favor no humane action could in that place haue any happy success. So Æneas in Virg. l. 7. at his entry into Italy.

— *geniumque loci primamque deorum.*

Tellurem, nymphasque, & adhuc ignota precatur.

Flumina— and Orestes in Sophocles Electra.

ἀλλ' ὃ πατρώα γῆ, θεοὶτ' ἐγχαέωι

δέξασθαι μ' ἐντυχόντα ταῖς δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς.

In Xenophon i. *παρὰ*. Cambyfes and Cyrus passing out of Persia *προσηύξαντο θεοῖς καὶ ἡρώσι τοῖς πλεονεχέσιν γῆν κατέχευον, ἵλαως καὶ εὐμενέως πύμπνησας*. That is, Besought the gods protectors of Persia, to send them forth favourably and with good speed. And entering into Media, *προσηύχοντο εὐδὲς θεοῖς τοῖς μυσταῖς γῆν κατέχευον. ἵλαως καὶ εὐμενέως δέχεσθαι αὐτοῖς*. That is, to receive them favourably and with good speed.

XXII. One Geta a Bond-man counterfaiting himselfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and associating others vnto him, was taken, brought to Vitellius and hanged.

ABOUT the same time a certaine fable, beleueed at the first, and running without controlement at the beginning, ended within few daies. A certaine man counterfaited himselfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and that he had lyen in Neros time for feare secret in Histria, because there the vassals and possessions of the old Crassi and the affection toward the name did remaine. So certain leaud persons being assumed to furnish the play, the credulous common people, and some of the souldiers, vpon ignorance of the truth, or else desirous of troubles, began to associat themselves vnto him a pace: but their Captain was intrapped anon and brought before Vitellius, and being examined what maner of man he was, when as they found

found no truth in his answers, and that he was owned by his master by name and quality Geta a fugitive bond-man, he was executed after the maner of slaues.

XXIII. *Vespasian sweareth to Vitellius: then taketh vpon him-
selfe the Empire in Iewry.*

IT is scarcely credible how greatly Vitellius grew in pride and slothfulnesse, when as the souldiers sent for that purpose brought word out of Syria and Iewry, that the East had sworne allegiance vnto him. For Vespasian, albeit onely vpon a flying report without any certaine Author, was in euery mans mouth, and commonly spoken of, and oftentimes as he was named Vitellius would startle. Then he and his Army, as being without any concurrent in cruelty, in lust, in oppression, brake out into barbarous and forraine behauiour. But Vespasian in the meane season laying his plot for the war, entred into consideration of the forces both neare and farre off. His owne souldiers, were so ready in his behalfe, that when he began them the oath and wished all prosperity to Vitellius, the souldiers answered with silence, without either good wish or good word. Mutianus was not aliene from Vespasian, and toward Titus very well affected. Alexander the gouernour of Ægypt had entred into the confederacy. The third Legion, because it was transferred out of Syria into Mœsia, Vespasian reckened as his owne: and the rest of the Illyrian Legions it was hoped would follow. For the insolent behauiour of the souldiers which came from Vitellius, with their proud gestures and lookes, and rude speeches, despising all others as base and inferiours, had wonderfully offended all the Armies beside. But to enter into so weighty a war was a point not so quickly resolved vpon: and Vespasian albeit he hoped the best, forecast sometimes the worst in his minde: what a day would that be for him, in the which he should commit to the mercy of the war himselfe of threescore yeeres of age, and his two sonnes in the flower of their youth? that in priuate attempts a man might proceed and stop where hee listed; but to them which desired the Empire ther was no middle course, between the estate of a Prince and the death of a Traytour. Furthermore he laied before him the puissance of the German Army; a matter well knowen vnto him^a being a martial man: that his Legions had neuer made triall of themselues in a ciuill war, whereas they of Vitellius had beene conquerours therein: and the conquered party abounded more in complaints then in forces and strength. Moreouer that in ciuill dissensions the faith of the souldiers was fleeting: and that there was perill to be feared from euery particular man. For what would Cohorts and Wings auaille, if one or two, to attaine the reward proposed by the other side, would desperately venture to kill him? so Scribonianus was slaine vnder Claudius, and so his murderer Volaginius of a common souldier was preferred to the highest places of seruice. That it was a more easie matter to incite all in generall, then to beware of euery one in particular. As he seemed to wauer mooued with these feares, both the other Lieutenants with the rest of his frindes sought to confirme him, and Mutianus after many and secret conferences, now also in open councell spake to him in this wise. All men, which are to enter into great and important actions, ought to weigh with themselues, whether that which is vndertaken be profitable to the Common-wealth, honorable for themselues, and easie to be effected or at least not greatly difficult: withal the party that perswadeth vnto it is to be considered, whether beside bare words and aduise he adioyne his owne perill thereto, yea or no: and if fortune doe fauour the attempt to whom the principal glory accreweth. I cal you Vespasian to the taking of the Empire, a matter as much

^a Viro militari.
for Vespasian before he was sent into Iewry had beene Lieutenant of a Legion in Germanie, then in Britannie, where he fought 30. battels, tooke about 20. townes, and adioyned the Ile of Wight to the obedience of the Roman Empire, whereupon he receiued triumphalia ornamenta. Suet. Vesp. cap. 4.

" much for the safegard of the Common-wealth, as for your owne honour. Next af-
 " ter the gods it is in your hand to attaine it : and feare not as though I said it to flat-
 " ter : it is more neare a disgrace then a praise to be chosen after Vitellius. We rise not
 " against Augustus, a man of that deepe insight, not against the wary old age of Ti-
 " berius, nor against the house of Caius, or Claudius, or Nero rooted by so many de-
 " scents in the Empire : you gaue place also to the ancientnesse of Galbaes house : to
 " sleepe any longer and abandon the State to be in this sort polluted and ruined, were
 " a sloth and cowardise, yea although to liue in that flauery were as safe for you, as it
 " is dishonourable ; which indeed is not so. The time is already * gone and fore-past
 " when you might seeme to haue for ambition desired the Empire : the Empire must
 " now be your sanctuary and refuge. Haue you forgotten how Corbulo was murde-
 " red ? a man of greater lignage then we are, I grant : and so was Nero likewise then
 " Vitellius. He that is feared is alwaies noble enough in his conceit that doth feare :
 " and that a Prince may be made by the souldiers abroad, Vitellius himselfe hath she-
 " wed the way ; a man otherwise which neuer serued in fielde, neuer attained to any
 " militare renowne, but preferred onely vpon a dislike of Galba, and now so disliked
 " himselfe, that Otho, whom he ouercame, not by stratageme or strength, but by his
 " owne hasty casting away of himselfe, is become a notable Prince and much wished
 " for : whereas Vitellius in the meane time disperseth the Legions, disarmeth the Co-
 " horts, and ministreth daily new matter of war. His owne soldier if he had any cou-
 " rage or edge, it is dulled and worne away in tipling and brotheling-houses, and fol-
 " lowing the Princes example. You haue out of Iewry, Syria and Ægypt nine com-
 " pleat Legions in readinesse, not wasted by war, nor corrupted with mutinees ; but a
 " souldier confirmed with practise and vse, and hartned with happy exploites against
 " forraine enemies. We haue Nauies, Winges and Cohorts to strengthen our cause,
 " and Kings beside most faithfull vnto vs : and that which is aboue all, your owne ex-
 " perience and skill. Of my selfe I will not say much : this onely that I am not inferiour
 " to Cæcina and Valens : disdain not Mutianus for a helper, because you haue him
 " not a competitour : I prefer my selfe before Vitellius, and you before mee. Your
 " house is beautified with triumphal ornaments, and adorned with two goodly yoong
 " men, the one already ^b capable of the Empire, and in his first seruice renowned a-
 " mong the Armies of Germany also : it were absurd for me not to yeeld vp the Em-
 " pire to him, whose sonne I would surely adopt if may selfe were Emperour. Now as
 " concerning the reward and the perill, they shall not be equally parted betweene vs.
 " For if we doe ouercome, I shall haue that honour which you will affoord mee : the
 " danger and perill shall be alike to vs both ; or as it is better, rule you these Armies
 " here, and commit ouer to me the warre and vncertaine euent of the field. The con-
 " quered side liueth this day vnder better discipline, then the conquerours ; anger and
 " hatred, and desire of reuenge inflaming them to valour, whereas the other through
 " pride and breach of discipline wax dullish and blunt : whose secret and swelling
 " wounds the war of it selfe will open and disclose : neither doe I repose my selfe more
 " vpon your vigilant, frugall and discreet dealing, then vpon the sluggish, doltish, and
 " cruell proceeding of Vitellius. And beside all this our cause is more iustificable in
 " warre then in peace : for they which deliberate to rebell, haue rebelled : After
 " the Oration of Mutianus the rest came more boldly about him, exhorting and per-
 " swading him, and laying before him the Oracles and Prophecies, and the fauourable
 " aspects of the heauens : neither was Vespasian voide of that kind of superstition. For
 " afterward when he was Emperour, he had openly about him one Seleucus an Astro-
 " loger, to foretell and direct his affaires. Moreouer certaine old and ominous pre-
 " sages

* Abijt iam et
 transactum est
 tempus quo pos-
 ses videri concu-
 pisse, confugien-
 diam est ad im-
 perium.

b About twen-
 tie seuen yeeres
 old.

sages came to his remembrance. A notable ^c tall Cypres-tree was in his ground, which suddenly fell downe, and the day following rose vp againe vpon the same roote and flourished, growing higher and better spread then before. That then by the consent of the Haruspices fore-shewed great and prosperous matters: who assured him, when he was very yongue, of most high and honourable preferment. But at the first the ^d Consulship, and triumphall ornaments, and the glory of the Iewish victory seemed to haue fulfilled the prophecy: when he had attained to them, he beleueed then the Empire was portended thereby. Betweene Iewry and Syria lieth the Mount Carmelus, and so the god also is called, to whom according to the custome anciently receiued an Altar is erected, and all deuoutnesse and reuerence shewed, but without either Image or Temple. As Vespasian sacrificed there, fraught with secret hopes in his head, Basilides the Priest often viewing and marking the entrails, ^e Whatsoeuer it is, quoth he, ô Vespasian which thou intendest, whether it be to build a house, or to enlarge thy possessions, or to increase the number of seruants, it shall be effected: the gods doe grant thee a great roome, large limits, and many men. These darke speeches were straight-waies noted and published, and now by the common voice of the people applyed and construed: neither was there any thing more vulgar in euery mans mouth, and especially in his owne audience; as to them which depend vpon hopes, such kindes of speeches are most vled. From this conference they departed with full resolution, Mutianus to Antiochia, and Vespasian to Cæsaria, the one being the head towne of Syria, the other of Iudæa. ^f The matter was first published, and Vespasian named Emperour at Alexandria by Tiberius Alexander, who made the most haste, and ministred the souldiers their oath vpon the first day of Iuly, which day afterward was reputed and celebrated as the first day of his raigne, although his owne Army of Iewry began not before the ^g third of the same moneth: and then in his presence they sware with such affection and heate, that they did not attend the comming of Titus his sonne out of Syria, who was a messenger of all matters betweene Mutianus and his father. The ^h violence of the souldier ouer-ruled the whole action: for no assembly being called; the Legions not met together; the time and place not agreed of, nor the man determind vpon, a point in that case of most difficulty, that should speake the first word: hope and feare, reason and chance, diuersly distracted their mindes. Matters standing in these tearmes, as Vespasian came out of his Chamber, a few souldiers after the wonted manner stood on a row, as to salure their Generall, but they saluted him Emperour: then the rest ran too, and heaped vpon him the names of Cæsar and Augustus, and all titles of soueraigne power. His conceites rose from apprehension of feare to the consideration of his fortune, notwithstanding there appeared in him no token of pride or arrogancy, nor change in so great a change; but being amazed at the sudden sight of so great a multitude, as soone as he had recouered his spirits he spake vnto them souldier-like: and being receiued with a ioyfull applause, he sent word to Mutianus of his successe. Mutianus at Antiochia receiuing the message which he looked for, called the souldiers to the oath for Vespasian, which they most willingly accepted. Then he went to ⁱ the Theatre, where the maner of that towne is to meet and consult: and made a speech vnto them, as they flocked and fawned about him, in their owne language, as he was a man competently eloquent in the Greeke tongue also; and one that had the art to make the most shew of whatsoeuer he spake or did. But aboue all, that incensed principally both the Prouince and the Army, which Mutianus affirmed, that Vitellius had determined to transferre the German Legions into Syria, a rich and quiet seruice; and of the Con-

^c Suet. Vespasian. no. c. 5.

^d Quam gestis, cum Suetonio per duos menses, mos annuimus, about the latter end of Claudius time.

^e Suet. Vesp. c. 3. apud Iudæam (armelides ora- culum consue- tum (Vespasian- num) a confir- matione sortis.

^f Suet. Vesp. c. 6. saith the matter was first broched and begun by the Ilyrian army.

^g 5 to Nonas. Suet. 5. to Idus, which is the eleuenth day.

^h The souldiers affection toward Vespasian, and the maner and circumstances of his assuming the Empire, are well set downe by Josephus apud. 4. c. 36 (who was present at the action) with some particularities not touched by Tacitus here, noted by Egesippus alto lib. 4. ca. 27. if it be the ancient Egesippus, and not rather an extract of Josephus.

ⁱ The souldiers affection toward Vespasian, and the maner and circumstances of his assuming the Empire, are well set downe by Josephus apud. 4. c. 36 (who was present at the action) with some particularities not touched by Tacitus here, noted by Egesippus alto lib. 4. ca. 27. if it be the ancient Egesippus, and not rather an extract of Josephus.

^h He came out of Iury with Titus when he was sent by his father to Galba: and when Titus vpon the message of Galbaes death returned backe againe from Corinth, Agrippa notwithstanding, saith Iosephus lib. 4. cap. 29. *καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁρμήσας πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰς τὴν ἰσχυρίαν ἀπικλίσθη, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίncipem locaret gratiam,* saith our commenton Hegeſippus, lib. 4. ca. 21.

trary side to remooue the Syrian Legions into Germany, a hard and cold Country^e and a place of great paines: for both they of the Prouince liked well of the souldiers company, to whom they were enured, and with whom many of them were linked in affinity and kinred, and the souldiers likewise loued the place of their settled Campes, as their owne homes, being growen familiar with them, by reason of their long seruice there. Before the fifteenth of Iuly all Syria had receiued the same oath. Moreouer Sohemus with his Kingdomes adioyned himselfe to the cause, a man of good forces; and Antiochus of wealth of long gathering, and of all the subiect Kings the richest. Agrippa also, vpon secret aduertisements from his friendes, departed^h from Rome vnawares to Vitellius, and sailed hastily home: and likewise the Queene Berenice with all her might furthered the side, a Queene in the flower of hir beauty and youth, and well beloued of the old Vespasian also, in respect of the great and rich gifts which she gaue. All the Prouinces which bordered on the Sea, as far as Asia and Achaia, and all the inlands to Pontus and Armenia, receiued the oath: but the Lieutenants thereof were without Armies, for as yet² Cappadocia had no Legions assigned.

¹ The Theatre, where the maner of that towne is to meet and consult] For so all the Græcian Cities vsed to doe, as appeareth both by the Greeke Orators and Historiographers, a thing noted also by Ausonius *Ludo septem sapientum, Prologo.*

*Quid erubescis tu togate Romule?
Scenam quod introibunt tam clari viri?
Nobis pudendum est hoc, non & Atticis
Quibus theatrum curia præbet vicem?
Nostris negotijs sua loca sortito data.
Campus comitis, ut conscriptis curia.
Forum atque rostra separat ius ciuium.
Vna est Athenis, atque in omni Græciâ
Ad consulendum publici sedes loci.*

² Cap. 8.

² Cappadocia had no Legions] Vespasian being settled in state Cappadocia, saith ^a Suetonius, *propter assiduos barbarorum incursus legiones addidit, consularemque rectorem imposuit pro equite Romano*, yet by Tacitus it may seeme there was some power. *Cappadocia Pontusque & quicquid castrorum Armenijs prætenditur.*

XXIIII. The preparation of Vespasian and his side for the warre.

BERYTUS¹ was elected for the place of their principall consultations. Thither Mutianus with the Lieutenants and Tribunes repaired, and the chiefest of the Centurions and souldiers, and certaine choise persons out of the Iewish Army. So many foot men and horse-men together, and so great preparations of Kings striving to exceede one another made shew of a Princes estate. The first prouision for warr was to leuy more men, and reuoke the old souldiers which were discharged: certaine strong Cities were appointed out to make Armour therein: at Antioche gold and siluer was coined: and in all these seuerall workes great speed and diligence vsed by the meanes of good ouer-seers. Vespasian also would goe in his owne person and encourage them, inciting the good by praise, the slow by example rather then correction, more ready to conceale the vices of his friendes then the vertues: many he rewarded with Captaines and Procuratours places, many he aduanced to be Senatours, excellent men and of great vertue, and which afterwards attained to highest degrees, although in some fortune supplied the want of good qualities. As for donatiues to the souldier, neither did Mutianus in his first oration make any mention but sparingly thereof, nor Vespasian make any offer of greater in ciuill warre, then others were wonted in peace; a man notable and firme against these laushings to souldiers, and therefore hauing his Army better in order. Moreouer Embassa-

Embassadours were sent to the kings of Parthia and Armenia to conclude a surceance of armes, lest whilst the Legions were intentiue vpon the ciuill warre, those nations should assault the frontiers behind. It was agreed that Titus should prosecute the Iewish warre, and Vespasian should put himselfe in possession of the strength of Ægypt. Against Vitellius it was thought sufficient to send a part of the host, and Mutianus to lead them, and the name of Vespasian, and the fauour of fate, which findeth or maketh a way through all lets. Then letters were written to all the Lieutenants and armies, and orden giuen out to inuite the Prætorian souldiers, which hated Vitellius, vpon promise of restitution to their places. Mutianus with an army not encombred with cariage, bearing himselfe rather as the Emperours fellow then as a seruant^a marched forward, not very stoutly, lest he should seem for feare to delay, nor yet very hastily, but gaue time for the fame of the action to grow; knowing that his strength was not much, and that men belecue alwaies greater maters of things which are absent: but there followed a great troupe, the sixth Legion, and thirteene thousand Vexillaries. The fleet hee commaunded to passe out of Pontus and meete him at Byzantium, being halfe in a minde to leaue Mœsia,³ and with his horsemen and footemen directly to go to Dyrrhachium, and withall with his shippes of warre to shut vp the sea toward Italie, leauing Achaia and Asia behinde him in safety; which, vnlesse they were garded with sufficient power, being without armies would lie open to Vitellius, and that by that meanes Vitellius himselfe would stand in doubt what part of Italy to protect, if at one instant Brundisium and Tarentum, and the coasts of Lucania and Calabria should be infested by enemy fleets. Thus the^b prouinces were busily occupied in prouision of shippes, men, and armour; but the greatest difficulty was to get money: which Mutianus affirming to bee the sinewes of ciuill warre, respected not law or equity in iudgements, but onely what way to procure masses of money. Crimes were dayly deuised against men of most wealth, and they spoiled: which maner of dealing being of it selfe greuous and intollerable, but in some sort excusable by the necessity of the warre, remained also in peace afterward. For Vespasian himselfe, albeit at the beginning of his Empire he was not so obstinately bent to attaine vnreasonable matters, yet vpon his continuall prosperity, and taught by ill masters, hee tooke foorth a bad lesson, and vsed it boldy. With his owne purse also Mutianus furthered the warre, conferring priuately that, which he would in more ample measure repay himselfe out of the common. The rest following his example in contributing of money, few or none had the grace to receiue it againe with the like vantage.

^a *Claustra Ægypti Josephus, aduoc. lib. 4 c. 37.* Openeth this matter at large of the necessity of the countrey to the vittailing of Italie, of the strength on euery side, and hardness of access either by land or by Sea, and especially of the dangerousnes of the haue at Alexandria a very particular description, neuertheless Vespasian, after this consultation at Berytus, according to Josephus ca. 4. went to Antiochia before hee went into Ægypt

^b Having set forward Mutianus in his way, heere he returned again to talke of the preparation somewhat disorderly, & peradventure to draw in that saying of Mutianus. Pecunias esse belli cibus meritas.

¹ Berytus] By the circumstances in the story of Iosephus it may seeme, that here at Berytus was the first meeting of Vespasian and Mucianus, and that before all was delt betweene them by the mediation of Titus, whom we find in Tacitus absent with Mucianus in Syria, which had not needed if they had met before, and the matter been concluded vpon. Surely in Tacitus of their first meeting no place is set down, and it may seem strange how two Lieutenants Generall could come personally together before the war was openly vndertaken. But they not comming together before their open declaration in armes, there had beene no place left for that good oration, which Tacitus ment howsoever to bestow on Mucianus. although for the truth of the story, and the circumstances of matters which passed in Iewry, and Syria, I am content to beleue Iosephus better, who, as I haue said, was an eye-witnesse of the whole action.

² Marched forward] Iosephus *ἀλωσ. 4. cap. 40. ὁ δὲ μωκλιανὸς διὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος δίστας τὸ πλεῖν, πρὶν τὴν πύλιν σκαπὴν ἢ καὶ διακαππαδοκίας, καὶ φρυγίας.* That is, Mutianus fearing to commit himselfe to the sea because it was the deepe of winter, brought his army by land through Cappadecia and Phrygia. How it could be *χειμῶντος ἀκμῆς*, the deepe of winter, when as without question the war was begun sometime in Iuly, or at the furthest in the beginning of August, I cannot imagine.

³ To leaue Mœsia and with his horsemen] It appeareth in the procelse of the story, that he tooke the way of Mœsia, of whose whole journey from Syria, till we find him in the third booke fighting with the Dacians, wee haue not one word set downe by Tacitus; as likewise after that action, till his entry into Rome, in the fourth booke: points in my iudgement very materiall in a good story, and greatly to the satisfaction of the Reader.

XXV. *The armies in Mœsia, Pannonia and Dalmatia
adhere to Vespasian.*

^a Suet Vesp. c. 6.
writeth that not
the three Legi-
ons, but 2000
out of the three
Legions came
forward to A-
quileia: no doubt
erroneously;

^b Tacitus 14.
Ann.

TH E affaires of Vespasian were in the meane season hastened forward by the Illyrian armies affection toward the side. The third Legion gaue example to the other two Legions of Mœsia: the seuenth surnamed Claudiana, and the eight being welwillers of Otho, albeit they were not present at the battell, but onely come forward ^a to Aquileia; at which place misusing the messengers that brought worde of Othoes ouerthrow, and tearing the banners wherein Vitellius name was inscribed, and lastly taking a summe of money by violence and parting it amongst them, they shewed themselves open enemies to the cause. Whereupon they feared displeasure, and vpon feare deuised, that this kind of dealing, which to Vitellius must haue needed a long and solemne excuse, might to Vespasian be set vp and reckened as a fauour and benefit. So the three Mœsian Legions, thus concurring in one, by letters inuited the Pannonian armie to the cause, or if they refused, prepared to force them. In that tumult Aponius Saturninus Lieutenant generall of Mœsia endeououred to commit a most wicked act, sending a Centurion to murder Tertius Iulianus Lieutenant of the seuenth Legion, vpon priuate grudges, pretending the publike cause of the sides. Iulianus vnderstanding of the danger, and taking guides skilfull in the countrey, fled by the deserts of Mœsia, beyond the mount Hemus, and afterward was not present in the ciuill warre of the one side or other: protracting the iourney hee tooke to Vespasian by diuers delaies, and as the occurrences were, making lesse speede or more. But in Pannonia the thirteenth Legion, and seuenth surnamed Galbiana, retaining the anger and grieve of the losse at Bribiacum, without any stay ioined themselves to Vespasian, at the incitement principally of Antonius Primus, a man attainted in law, and in Neroes time ^b convicted of forgery, but among other miseries of warre and a troubled state he recovered his place in the Senate, and by Galba was made Lieutenant of the seuenth Legion. He was supposed to haue written diuers letters to Otho, offering his seruice for a captaine to the side; of whom being not regarded, he was not that warre in any employment: but when as Vitellius state began to decay, following Vespasian he added great waight to the cause, beeing a valiant man of his hands, of a ready vtterance, a cunning craftmaster to make other odious, in dissensions and mutinies powerable, a violent spoyler, a wastfull spender, in time of peace and quiet gouernement insupportable, in warre not to be contemned. The Mœsian and Pannonian armies, being thus ioyned together, drew anon the Dalmatian souldier, albeit the Lieutenants generall sturred nothing at all. Titus Flauianus was generall of Pannonia, and Pompeius Sullanus of Dalmatia, two wealthy old men: but there was in the countrey Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator, a man in the principall strength of his age, and of noble birth; who in his first yeares vpon desire of ease, had renounced his place in Senate, and afterward being Captaine of his colony in fauour of Galba, by that meanes attained a Procuratorship. This man, entring into the cause of Vespasian, became a principall firebrand of the warre, seeming to delite not so much in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themselves, and in steed of certainties wherewith he was anciently endued, chusing new and doubtfull vncertainties. So he assaieth to shake and sturre vp whatsoeuer there was any were discontented, writing into Britanny to the fourteenth Legion, into Spaine to the first, because they both had stoode against Vitellus for Otho: letters also were sent abroad into France:

France: and so in one moment there brake a great and mighty warre out, the Illyrian armies thus plainly reuolting, and the rest inclining to follow, where fortune should fauour.

^a Illyrain armies] Some learned men charge this narration heere, and generally the storie of the Actions between Vitellius & Vespasian, of great insufficiencies, imperfections, & confusions, wherof I do in my iudgement most cleerely acquite it. Illyricum was diuided into three prouinces; Mœsia, whereof at this time Aponius Saturnus was President or Lieutenant generall; Pannonia, whereof T. Ampius Flavianus was President; and Dalmatia, whereof Poppæus Siluanus, or Pompeius Sullanus (for in both names wee find difference of writing) was President. In Mœsia were three Legions, Tertia Gallica, Octaua Augusta, and Septima Claudiana, led by three *legati legionum*, Lieutenants of Legions: Dillius Aponianus of the Third, Hist. 3. Numisius Lupus of the Eight, Hist. 3. and Tertius Iulianus of the Seuenth; who forsaking his place, as appeereth in this place, Vipsanius Messalla vndertooke the charge. 3. Hist. in Pannonia there were at this present two legions, septima Galbiana whose Lieutenant was Antonius Primus; and tertia decima Gemina sent backe out of Italie from building of Amphitheatres, whose Lieutenant in this warre was Vedius Aquila, the same man who was also Lieutenant in the last warre. 3. Hist. & 2. In Dalmatia there was none but onely one Legion, namely vndecima Claudiana (the fourteenth being transported into Britanny) whose Lieutenant was Annius Bassus. 3. Hist. The premises considered, which are all expressed by Tacitus, I see not what can be required more to the perfection of this narration heere, it seeming to me one of the best, and most sufficient in this booke, and so likewise in the whole storie of Tacitus, of all great actions I take that betweene Vitellius and Vespasian to be generally the most fully, and best set down, as the other between Otho and Vitellius the worst. Now for the time when Illyricum began to reuolt from Vitellius, as in noting of times Tacitus is alwaies to scant, Suetonius ^a Vitellio somewhat relieueth vs. *Octano imperij mense descuerunt ab eo exercitus Mœsiarum atque Pannonia*: so that it seemeth to haue beene begun in August, or perchance toward the latter end of Iuly.

^a Cap. 15.

XXVI. *Vitellius maketh his entry into Rome.*

WHILEST these things were a working in the prouinces, by Vespasian and his adherents, Vitellius growing euery day more contemptible and slothfull, staying vpon euery place of pleasure in towne and countrey, with his troublesome traine marched toward the citty. ¹ Threescore thousand armed men were in the company licentiously giuen, of lackeyes and horsekeepers a greater number with infinite vittailers and followers of the campe, the most dissolute of all others: beside the traines of so many Lieutenants and so many friends, out of all compasse of obedience, yea although the gouernours had beene men of great austerity and strictnesse. Moreouer the Senatours and gentlemen charged the traine, who came out of the citty to meete him, some for feare, some for flattery, the rest and so all one after another for company, lest they should seeme to stay behinde when other did goe. Thither resorted also of the baser sort certaine well known to Vitellius by reason of vn honest seruices, which in time past they had done him, as buffons, stageplayers and charet driuers; with which kinde of reprochfull acquaintance he was delited wonderfully. Neither were the colonies onely or free townes impouerished by purueying of vittales for so huge a company; but the husbandmen themselues, and fields, the corne being now ripe, were spoiled and wasted as an enemy countrey. Many and cruell murders were committed by the souldiers among themselues, by reason of the iarring which continued betweene the Legions and Aydes, euer since the sturre at Ticinum: against the Pezants, or any third party they agreed but too well: but the greatest slaughter was seuen miles from the citie. At that place Vitellius distributed to his souldiers, according to the fashion of ² Fencers diet, to euery of them meate already dressed: and the common people, that came out of the citie to see it, had dispersed themselues throughout the whole campe. As the souldiers gaue no heed to such matters, certaine peasants, after a kind of homely iesting, cut away secretly their belts, and spoiled them thereof; asking in iying manner, whether they were girded or no. The soldiers stomack, not vsed to beare words of disgrace, could not digest that scorne: but with their swords

I 2

reuenged

revenge themselves upon the people which was without weapon: among others the father of one of the souldiers was slaine as hee accompanied his sonne: upon which accident perceiued and noised abroad they refrained from shedding of innocent blood. Notwithstanding in Rome the terrour was great, by reason of the souldiers running and gadding thither before. The place of common assembly they repaired specially to, coueting to behould the Place where Galba was slaine: when as they themselves were a spectacle no lesse horrible, with hides of wilde beasts about their backs, and huge massy iauelins in their hands, falling to quarrelling, and from quarrelling to blowes and their weapon, when as through their owne lacke of skill they did not auoide the presse of the people, or chanced to fall by meanes of the slippery stones, or iustling of others. The Tribunes also and other captaines in terrible sort, with multitudes of armed men, went squaring and ietting the streets. Vitellius himselfe riding from the Miluian bridge upon a goodly courser with his coate armour on backe, and girded souldier like, putting the Senate and people before him, had welny made his entry^a as into a towne taken by force; but being aduised otherwise by his friends he laide aside his militarie attire, and taking his robes marched with his men in peaceable maner. The³ Standerds of fower Legions, were marshalled in front, and so many banners about them out of other Legions, then the ensignes of twelue wings: next to whom were the ranckes of footemen, and behinde them the horse, and lastly fower and thirty cohorts distinguished according to the names of the nations they were of, or kindes of weapons they vsed. Before the Standerd marched the Camp-masters and Tribunes and principall Centurions in white garments, the other Centurions ech with his owne band glistering all in armour, and goodly gifts won by their seruice: the chaines also of the common souldiers and horse furniture shone: a braue and beautifull shew, and an army woorthy of a better Prince then Vitellius. After this manner entring the Capitoll, and there embracing his mother, he honoured her with the name and stile of Augusta.

^a Suetonius. c. 11. saith plainly he did so: *urbem ad classicum introiit, paludatus ferroq; succinctus inter signa atque vexilla, sagulatus comitibus, ac detestum commisitque armis.* for this seemeth to haue been the maner of entring a towne taken by force. Josephus 4. alius ca. 35. describeth also this entry.

¹ Threescore thousand armed men] Valens had out of Germany fortie thousand armed men, beside *legio Italica*, and eight cohorts of Batauians, &c. Cæcina thirtie thousand, beside *Ala Syllana*, &c. Vitellius *tota mole belli secutus*, saith Tacitus. 1. Hist. and in this booke, *reliquas Germanici exercitus vires traherat*, beside eight thousand of *Britannico dilectu*, of all which number we finde in Tacitus none sent away, but the cohorts of Batauians, and yet heere we haue but threescore thousand armed men.

² Fencers diet, *Gladiatoria sagina*] *Gladiatores & Athletæ* in old time wer most daintily dieted and stall fedde, as it were: the knowen phrases of *Athleticus habitus*, and *Gladiatoria sagina* importing no lesse. Cic. *Cum gladiatoris totius corporis firmitate*. Cyprianus: *Impletur in succum cibis fortioribus corpus, & aruina assidui nidoris moles membrorum robusta pinguescit, ut saginatus in pœnam carius pereat.*

³ The standerds of fower legions] The eight Legions, which seeme heere, and elsewhere, to be noted of Vitellius side, were *Italica*, and the seuen Legions of Germany, albeit none completely but *Rapax*, in all the rest part of the men being left behinde, and the whole names attributed alike to both parts.

XXVII. The actions of Vitellius at Rome after his entry.

THE day following, as though he had spoken before the Senate and people of a strange citie, he made a glorious speech of himselfe, extolling his owne industriousnesse and temperancy, when as they which heard him of their owne knowledge were witnesses of his lewd actions, and al Italy beside, thorow which he marched for dowsinesse and riot notoriously infamous: notwithstanding the common people which is voide of cares, and learned in one lesson onely, without difference of truth and falshood to flatter them in authority; with shewtes and wordes gaue their applause; and when he denied the name of Augustus they constrained him to take it by force, as vainely as before he had vainely refused it. By vertue of his

his High-priestship he ^a published his edict of ceremonies vpon the eighteenth of Iuly: which thing in a city which construeth all things was taken for an ill signe, the day being of ancient time ¹ accounted vnluckie, by reason of the ouerthrowes at Cremera and Alia: so ignorant he was of all law humain and diuine, and so negligent were his friends and seruants, as that he seemed to haue none but drunken persons about him. Notwithstanding in the ² election of Consuls hee carried himselfe in a kind of equality, seriously affecting in the Theatre a spectatour, in the Race as a partaker, the fauour of the meanest sort; things acceptable indeed and popolare, if they had sprung from a vertuous roote; but the memory of his former life made them esteemed base and dishonorable. He came often into the Senate, euen when small matters were handled; and as once by fortune Heluidius Priscus Prætor elect had opined against a matter which Vitellius affected, he was in choller at the first, but proceeded no further, but only to pray aid at the Tribunes of the people against the contempt of his authority. Whereupon Heluidius friends, who feared a deeper impression of anger in his mind, going about to mitigate and make vp the matter, he answered that it was no new thing to see two Senatours in the common wealth disagree in iudgement: that he also was wont sometimes to dissent from Thrasea. Many derided the impudency of the comparison: others liked it well, that hee had picked out not one of the powerable fauorites in court, but Thrasea rather for a patterne of true glory. ³ P. Sabinus and Iulius Priscus were constituted captaines of the Guard; Priscus by Valens preferment, and Sabinus by Cæcinaes. For Cæcina and Valens disposed of all the affaires of the Empire, leauing between them little authoritie or none at all to Vitellius, and yet iarring and disagreeing together, aunciently enemies one to the other: but the warre and the campe couered the rancour so for a season, which now brake out & was greatly increased by the peruerse behaviour of friends, and liuing together in a city so fruitfull to breed and nourish dislikes; whilest they contend together, and are compared by others in multitude of suiters and followers, and greatnes of traine; Vitellius diuersly fauouring sometime the one, sometime the other: as powerableness is neuer sure where it is too excessiue. As for Vitellius, knowing him to be sodainely mutable vpon euerly offence or flattery, they contemned and feared him withall: neuerthelesse whilest the time was they serued themselves, and gat houses, gardens, and the riches of the Empire into their hands; when as the lamentable and indigent multitude of Noblemen, whom Galba with their children restored to their countrey, was not any way relieued by the princes liberality. Onely hee granted them their former right ⁴ ouer their freed men: a point acceptable to the chiefe men of the city, and not disallowed euen of the meane sort: but those seruile natures marred altogether the benefit thereof, hiding their money in secret corners, or in great mens coffers; and some of them passed to the seruice of the Prince, and became of more might then their masters. Now as touching the souldiers, when as the Prætorian campe was replenished, the remainder which was very great, lodged in porches and temples scattered vp and downe the whole towne forgot to know their ensignes, to keepe watch and warde, to harden them-selues with labour and trauell: but drowned in the pleasures of the citie, and filthinesse not to be named, weakned their bodies with idlenes, and their minde with incontinent liuing: and lastly without any care at all of their own health many quartered in the pestilent places of the Vatican, wherupon the death of many common persons ensued: and the Germans and Frenchmen lying by the Tiber, and being otherwise subiect to diseases, vtterly ouerthrew the state of their body, with too much swimming in the riuer, and impatience of heat. Moreover the city-souldiery

^a Suet. V. c. 11.
omni diuino hu-
manorū, iure neg-
lecto. Aliensis dis-
pontificatum
maximum capis.

was through vndiscreetnes or ambition corrupted. Sixteene Prætorian cohorts and four vrbane were enrolled, containing a thousand men a peece. In preferring to those roomes Valens presumed to beare greater stroake, as being the worthier man, and hauing redeemed Cæcina himselfe out of perill: and in truth by his comming the side was reuiued, and with so happie a battell he cancelled the hard opinion of his slow comming forward: and all the souldiers of low Germany followed Valens and depended wholly vpon him: vpon which causes it is supposed that Cæcinaes faith began first to be fleeting. Notwithstanding Vitellius yeelded not so much to the captaines, but that hee yeelded much more to the souldiers pleasures: euerie one chose his owne place of seruice: were he neuer so vnwoorthie, if hee liked it better he was deputed to the city seruice: again those which were fit were suffered, if they listed to remaine in their former estate among the Legionarie or Auxiliary soldiers: which diuerse were willing to doe beeing molested with sicknesses, and not able to endure the heat of the country. Notwithstanding the Légions & Aides were drawn of their principall strength, and the beauty of the Prætorian campe blemished, by this confusion rather then choise of twenty thousand out of the whole army. As Vitellius was making a solemne speech, the souldiers required Asiaticus, and Flavius, and Rufinus, captaines of France to be executed, because they had taken armes in Vindex behalfe, neither did Vitellius restraine such speeches, besides that he was a man of weake resistance by nature, knowing also that the day of his donatiue was at hand, and the money wanting. Wherefore he granted liberally all other requests to the souldier: and to supply that defect the freedmen of the former Princes were commaunded to contribute, according to the number of their bondmen: whereas Vitellius without other care, saue onely to wast and consume, builded vp stables for charret-driuers, filled the Race with spectacles of fencers and wilde beasts, and as in greatest abundance cast mony most idly away. Furthermore Cæcina and Valens with great preparation, and such as before that time was neuer seene, celebrated the birth day of Vitellius, with shewes ^a of fencers in euery street throughout the whole citie. One thing much greeued the good, as it chered the bad, that Vitellius erected altars in Campus Martius, and there celebrated solemnely the ^b exequies of Nero. the beasts for the sacrifice were publickely slaine and burnt: ^c the Augustales put to the fire: which order of Priests Tiberius Cæsar consecrated to the Iulian family, as Romulus did another the like to king Tatius. It was not yet fully foure moneths since the victorie, and ^e Asiaticus Vitellius freedmen had fully done as much harme, as euer had any Polycletus, or Patrobius, or whatsoeuer most odious name in former courts. No man in that court sought to rise by vertue or ablenes: the onely way to credit was with prodigall banquets, and sumptuous cheere to satiate the vnsatiable appetites of Vitellius; who contenting himselfe to enioy the present, and caring not any further, is thought in so few moneths to haue wasted ^d nine hundred millions of sesterces: a great and a miserable city, which in the same yeere supported an Otho and a Vitellius; and that which is more insupportable, a Vinius, a Fabius, and Icelus, and an Asiaticus, in great variety of most ignominious sorts, vntill such time as Mutianus and ^e Marcellus, and rather other men then other maners succeeded in place.

^a Gladiatores.

^b Suet. c. 11. Et ne cui dubium foret quod exemplar regende recip. eliget, medio campo Martio, adhibita publicorum sacerdotum frequentia, inferias Neroni dedit.

^c Read Suet. Vitellio c. 12

^d That is, according to our positions, seven millions thirty one thousand two hundred and fifty pound sterling. ^e Epius Marcellus, a great orator, an instrument of Nero, against Trajane and others, and generally in fauour with all the Princes, vnder whom he liued, as a smoothen of their actions. read Tac. 16 Ann. 2. & 4. Hist. &c.

^e Accounted vnluckie] Liuius lib. 6. l. Tum de diebus religiosis agit: arictum diemq. ad 15. Kalen. Sextiles duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabij casti, quo deinde ad Alim cum exitio vrbis fædè tignatum, a posteriore clade Aluise app. illarunt, insignemque nulli rei publice priuatimque agenda fecerunt. Dio. l. 9. de clade Cremerensi τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ἐκείνη ἐν ἡ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο μετὰ αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποβέβηκε πύημα (ἢ τὸ ῥωμαίων πᾶσις) καὶ ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτὴ ἐγένετο πᾶσις γενεᾷ ἀρξάτο, ἡ τότε συμβῆσαν αὐτῇ τύχη ὁρῶμεν. That is, the day in which this calamitie befell them the people of Rome

a. comes, dismall and unluckie; neither will they on it begin any serious matter, in respect of the ill fortune that had hapned that day to the citie.

In the election of Consuls: *Comitia Consulum cum candidatis civiliter celebrans*] What by *Comitia Consulum* should be ment in this place, the people being at this time excluded from all voice in elections, either I doe not conceive, or else *comitia consuli civiliter celebrare* is but as much, as *munera à candidatis consularibus edita* (whether it were humillie or any other) *civiliter celebrare*. In the free state the suiters for offices to winne the peoples favour and good will *dabant gladiatores*, till it was by a law expressely by Tully to that purpose enacted forbidden, and brought within the compasse of *ambitus*. Cicero in Vatinius: *Ego legem de ambitu ex S. C. tuli, qua dilucide vetat biennio quo quis petat potiturus sit, gladiatores dare nisi ex testamento*. But after they had attained their suit, it was then not lawfull enely, but necessarily incident to most offices to exhibite to the people all sorts of games and plates, and accordingly they performed it with all magnificence & cost. Vnder the Emperours; albeit no part of the election of any officer depended vpon the peoples fauor, yet both *candidati*, & *designati*, & actual officers continued to minister to the people their accustomed pleasures of *gladiatores, circenses, &c.* contending therein by all possible meanes to win the good will of the people. In the time of Alexander Mammæ, *Questores candidati munera populo dederant*. in Neroes, *Questoribus designatis gladiatores edendi necessitas erat*, saith Tacitus. *Consul designatus est & munus edidit*. Marcellus in e. consuls. l. 36. Now to be present at these shewes was accounted great popularity in the Prince. Xiphil. de O. hone. *εἰς τὰ θέατρα οὐκ ἔρχοντο ὁμοῦν τὸ πᾶν*. That is, He vsed much the Theatres to win the hearts of the multitude. * Suetonius de Augusto. *Ipse Circenses spectabat spectaculo plurimas horas, aliquando totos dies aderat* Tacit. 1. An. de eodem. *Civile rebatur misceri volustatibus vulgi*. as contrarily to come seldom thither was disliked as a signe of a proud, melancholick, and sovre nature; wherof Iulianus accuseth himselfe in Misopogon: *τοὶ μὲν τὰς ἵππων ἐκείνους, ὡς παρ' οἱ χοῖμα τὰ ἀνδροκότες τὰς ἀρετὰς; ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ποτὶ τὸν*, &c. That is, I alwaies hate and shun the horse race, as they which are indebted do the places of publicke assembly, therefore I goe seldom to them, or to come thither and not to be attentive, or attend agere, as Cæsar, qui vulgo reprehensus est, saith Suetonius, *quod inter spectandum epistolis libellis que legendis ac rescribendis vacaret*. But Vitellus heere seemeth not onely to haue frequented the shewes, which *candidati Consulares*, or *designati* did exhibit, but also to haue taken part, for example, with the *Mumylones* against the *Thracas* in the theatre, or with the *Tenets* against the *Prasini* in the circus, and therein *omnem infima plebis rumorem afflasse*: in those daies accounted a point of most great popularity b. Cap. 8. Suet. * Titus: *Quin & studium armature Thracum (ne quid popularitatis pratermitteret) præ se ferens, sæpe cum populo & voce eo gestu, vi futor conuallatus est Titus, verum maiestate saluâ*.

P. Sabinus] Not Vespasians brother, as some learned men against all circumstances of story haue written. This Sabinus was cast in prison ob amicitiam Cecine: 3. Hist. Vespasians brother was *Prefectus vrbi*, and at good libertie, till he was besieged and taken in the Capitol.

* Right ouer their freed men: *Lira libertorum*] The *Libertus* was bound to maintaine his patrone, if by any means he fell in decay at his death: by the old constitutions to leaue his patrone heire of the halfe of his goods, which if it were any waies embezeled, the law awarded the patrone *omnium bonorum possessionem etiam contra tabulas*. and in these two points, beside some other seruices and duties called in the law *opera*, consisted almost the whole *iuris libertorum*, as appeareth lib. 38. Digest. Now whereas Vitellius receiued *sis ab exilio iura libertorum concessit* by grace, it seemeth in latter times to haue belonged to them by common right. Vlpian: Dig. 38 Tit. de bonis libertorum L. 3 Si deportatus patris anus restitutus sit, liberti contra tabulas bonorum possessionem accipere potest. and againe in the same title, L. 4 Paulus Si deportatus patris sit, filio eius cumpsit bonorum possessionem bonis liberti, nec in pedimento est ei tamen patronus qui de mortui loco habetur.

The Augustales] Tac. 1. Ann. *Item annus nouas ceremonias accepit, addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, et quondam Titus Tattus retinendus Sabinorum sacris sodales Titius instituerat. sorte duelli è primoribus ciuitatis vnus & vigenus Tiberius, Drususque & Claudius, & Germanicus adijciuntur*. Where we see Tacitus attribute that to Tattus himselfe, which heere he attributeth to Romulus.

XXVIII. The preparation of Vitellius against Vespasian.

THE reuolt of the third Legion was first of all other certified to Vitellius by letters, written by Aponius Saturninus, before that he also associated himselfe to Vespasians side. But neither did Aponius write all, as a man affrighted with the sodainnes thereof, and beside the friends of Vitellius flatteringly sought to extenuate and lessen the matter: that it was but a mutinee of one Legion alone; a matter of no moment, seeing all other armies remained in obedience. After the same stile Vitellius also spake to the souldiers, inueying against the lately called *Prætorians*, by whome he affirmed false rumors were spread, and that there was no danger of ciuill warre, suppressing the name of Vespasian, and setting vnder hand souldier, abroad in the towne to restrain the speeches of the common people: which thing was a principall meanes to nourish the fame. Neuerthelesse hee sent for Aides out of Germanie and Britannie, and the Spaines, coldly and dissembling the necessity: the Lieutenants and prouinces on their parts vsed the like coldnesse againe. Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant of Germanie suspecting already the reuolt of Batavia, had

had a war of his own to care & provide for. Vectius Bolanus governed in Britanny, a cuntry neuer so in quiet, that he could conveniently spare any number of souldiers: and beside neither of them were greatly fast to the side. Out of the Spaines also final haste was made: at that time there was no Lieutenant generall there, but onely the Lieutenants of three Legions of equall authority; who as in Vitellius prosperity they would haue contended who should haue beene formost, so now in his declining estate they equally drew backe. In Africke the Legion and cohorts leuied by Clodius Macer, and straightwaies dismissed by Galba, began by Vitellius commandement to resume their seruice againe: and withall the whole youth of the prouince voluntarily gaue in their names to be souldiers: for¹ Vitellius had governed as a Proconsull there with good integrity and liking, Vespasian with as much infamie and hatred of the country; and accordingly our allies presumed, they would cary themselves in the Empire: but the triall was otherwise. And at the beginning Valerius Festus the Lieutenant furthered faithfully the endeouours of those of the prouince: but anon he faultred, in letters and edicts openly pretending Vitellius, and with secret messages intertaining Vespasian; meaning to defend the one side, or the other according as they should happen to prosper. Some Centurions and souldiers were taken in Rhoetia and Fraunce with letters and edicts of Vespasian about them, and being sent to Vitellius were slaine: but more escaped passing vndiscovered by the secretnes of friends, or by their owne shifting. So the preparations of Vitellius were knowne abroad: Vespasians purposes were for the most part vnkowne, partly thorough the negligence of Vitellius, and partly because the Pannonian Alpes were kept with garrison, which staied all messengers: and at sea the² Etesians blewe, a good wind to saile Eastward, and contrary from thence.

^a Olympiodorus

seemeth to haue
redde the place
of Aristotle thus:

ῥοπία καὶ ἔτος
πνέοντες μετὰ τὰς
θερινὰς περιπατοῦντες

καὶ τὴν τὴν καὶ
ἐπιτολὴν μετὰ
ἐκείνην ἡμέραν.

^b Varro lib. 1. de
re rustica, cap. 28

maketh in xxix.
daies, deceiued
as it seemes by a

naughty Alman-
nacke.

^c For so the au-
thor of the booke
de mundo ad A-

lexand. maketh
the Etesia to
haue some point

of the W. st:

μὲν ἐν ἰσθμῷ ὅπου
τὸ δὲ τὸ ἀρκτὺν
περὶ τὴν ἡμέραν

ῥοπία καὶ ἔτος
πνέοντες μετὰ τὰς
θερινὰς περιπατοῦντες

καὶ τὴν τὴν καὶ
ἐπιτολὴν μετὰ
ἐκείνην ἡμέραν.

^d Zephyros
quoque uana ve-
stigia His ad-

scripsit aqua,
quorum stata
tempora flatus,

Cont. nuique dies
et in aere longa
potestas.

¹ Vitellius had governed as Proconsul¹ In administranda prouincia (Africa) singularem innocentiam praestitit (Vitellius) saith Suetonius Vitellio cap. 3. agreeing with Tacitus: but in Vespasian he disagreech vterly. Tacitus saith heere famosum inuisumque proconsulatum in Africa Vespasianus egerat. Suetonius Vespasiano. cap. 4. Exin sortitus Africam (Vespasianus) integerrime nec sine magna dignatione administravit.

² The Etesians² Etesia according to Aristotle 2. Meteor. ad Theophrastus de uenis, ῥοπία καὶ ἔτος πνέοντες μετὰ τὰς θερινὰς περιπατοῦντες καὶ καὶ ὁ ἐπιτολὴν, That is, are northerly winds blowing after the sommer. Solstitium, and rising of the dog starre. Καὶ ὁ ἐπιτολὴν, according to Pliny. lib. 2. cap. 47. tell in that time vpon the eighteenth of Iuly, & post biduum exortus, saith the same Pliny, Etesia diebus quadraginta perflant, nec ulli ventorum magis

ffati sunt. so that Etesia dured ordinarily from the twentieth of Iulie till the end of August. And the solstitium estiuum being mst twenty five daies before καὶ ὁ ἐπιτολὴν, ^b according to Olympiodorus in 2. Meteor. it must by due

account light in that time vpon the fower and twentieth of Iune, from which day the too great length of the Iulian yere hath in our age drawne it back elcuen or twelue daies, casting it vpon the twelfth or thirteenth of Iune.

Now that Etesiarum flatus was good for sailing into Ægypt and the East, and ill from thence, beside the site of the cuntry, that also may be an argument, that Thales and certaine other Philosophers affirme (as Diodorus

Bibliothocæ lib. 1. reporteth) the cause of the rising of Nilus to be these Etesian winds, οἱ ἀπὸ πνέοντες τὰς ἐκβο-
λαῖς τὸ ποταμὸν καλῶν σιν εἰς θάλασσαν ἀνέχοντες. That is, Which blowing directly against the mouth of the

river hinder the water from falling into the sea.

XXIX. The setting forth of Cæcina against the Illyrian armie, and the beginnings of his treason.

At length Vitellius terrified with the breaking in of the enemies vppon the frontiers of Italie, and fearefull messages from euery quarter, commaundeth Cæcina and Valens to make ready for the warre. Cæcina was sent before, but Valens staied behinde by reason of his weakenesse of body, being lately recouered of a dangerous sicknesse. Now the German army going out of the city made a farre other shew then it did at the entry. No quicknes appeared in their bodies, no courage in their minds; marching slowly and thinly: the armor decayed, the horses

horses vniusty: the souldier impatient of the sunne, the dust, and the weather; and the more dull to sustaine trauell, the apter to mutin. And beside, the qualities of Cæcina wrought no small preiudice to the cause: his ambitious and popolare proceeding, an old fault of his a sluggish and dull disposition, lately sprung vp: whether it were that too much fauour or fortune turned his edge, and caused him to degenerate to riotous life, or that intending euen then treason in his minde, he thought it good policy by that meanes to weaken the valour and force of the army. Many haue beleeued that Cæcinaes minde was shaken and altered first by a practise of ^a Flauius Sabinus, Rubrius Gallus carying the message betweene them, and promising that Vespasian should ratifie all couenants made and agreed in case of reuolt: and withall he was put in remembrance of the hatred and emulation between Valens and him, and that seeing he had not like part in Vitellius, he should doe wisely to purchase credit and might with the new Prince. Cæcina taking his leaue of Vitellius, and dismissed from his presence with great honour, sent part of his horsemen before to put themselves in Cremona. Straight after the Vexillaries followed of the ^b fourteenth and of the sixteenth Legion: then the fifth Legion and the eighteenth Legion: and lastly the one and twentieth surnamed Rapax, and the first called Italica with the Vexillaries of the three Brittish legions, and the choise of the Aides. When Cæcina was gone, Fabius Valens wrote to the army, which before belonged to his charge, to stay for him in the way: that so it was agreed betweene him and Cæcina: who being present, and therefore of greater authority, falsly alleaged, that vpon later aduise that purpose was changed, to the end that resistance might be made with the whole forces vnited against the enemies comming. So the Legions were commaunded to make speed to Cremona, and part to go to Hostilia. Cæcina himselfe turned out of the way to Rauenna, vpon pretence to giue direction to the nauy: and so to Padoua, where secretly the treason was contriued betweene Lucilius Bassus and him. For Lucilius Bassus after the captainship of a wing, being made Admirall of both the fleets at Rauenna and Misenum, because hee was not by and by created captain of the Guard, reuenged his vniust anger with wicked disloyalty: neither can it be certainly knowen, whether he drew Cæcina into the action, or the same vile minde induced them both, as it happeneth often lewd persons to be of like conditions. The histories written of this warre, vnder Vespasian and his children, haue deliuered false and flattering causes, as that desire of peace and loue of the common wealth mooued them thereto. To me it seemeth, beside the inconstant disposition of the men, and the small account of their faith, which once being falsed to Galba, afterward they neuer respected; that vpon emulation and enuy that others should go before them in the Princes fauour, they compassed the destruction of the Prince himselfe. When Cæcina had ouertaken the Legions, hee sought by sundry subtle practises to weaken the good wils of the Centurions, and of the souldiers which were obstinately bent for Vitellius; Bassus attempting the like found not the like opposition, the nauy being easily induced to change their loyalty, vpon the memory of their late seruice for Otho.

^a Brother to Vespasian & pro- uolt of Rome.

^b Read fifteenth one of the foure Legions of Lowe Germany, for the 14. was sent away into Britanny as enemy to Vellus cause.

THE

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIUS TACITVS.

I. *The consultation of the Flavian captaines, at Petouio in Pannonia,
concerning the manner of proceeding in warre.
Sextilius Felix sent into Noricum.*



^a It seemeth they were stopped before li. 2. *Deinde Pannonica Alpes praesidijs inesse munitiones uidebantur: but perhaps it was but onely so farre as to stay the postes from passing that way, not to garde it against an army of men.*

^b Lieutenant of the seuenth Legion surnamed Galbiana.

^c *theatrum & circus.*

WITH better fortune and faith the Flavian captaines conducted their warlike affayres, assembling in councell at Petouio, the standing campe of the thirteenth Legion. There was it debated, whether it were safer to stand vpon their defence, and fortifie themselves by ^a stopping the passage of the Pannonian Alpes, vntill their whole forces behind were come forward; or else were it more manfull and resolutely done, to march on and fight for the winning of Italy. They which perswaded to stay for more succour, and protract the warre, amplified the fame and force of the German legions, and further, that Vitellius had also brought with him the flower and strength of the armie of Britannie: that their owne Legions were both fewer in number, and lately beaten; and though they spake bigly, yet the partie ouercome retained the lesse courage. But in the meane while if the Alpes were possessed Mutianus would shortly come on with the power of the East: and Vespasian beside had at will sea and nauies, and the good will of the prouinces, sufficient furniture for a new warre if need were: so by staying a little this aduantage would grow, that new forces would come, and the old not diminish. To this ^b Antonius Primus (who was the chiefest inciter of the warre) replied; That speed was the thing that might most help them, and most hinder Vitellius. As for the victory they lately obtained, they were growen more in carelesse slouth, then courage thereby: not keeping in campes as men of warre, alwaies ready to fight, but lying in the good townes of Italy, loytering and disporting themselves, feared of none saue onely their hosts: and the hardlier kept and fiercer they were before, now giuing themselves the more greedily ouer to enioy their vnaccustomed pleasures. Moreouer the ^c theatres and places of sports, and other delights of the city, had effeminated their minds, or diseases vtterly wasted their bodies: but if respite were giuen, through warlike exercises they would recouer their strength: and besides, Germany was not farre off, from whence they might be supplied with new forces, and Britannie but a small step beyond: France and Spaine were hard at hand to furnish them of men, horses, and money: beside Italy it selfe, and the wealth of the world in Rome, all wholly at their disposition. And if they list to begin and assaile vs, they haue (quoth he) at commandement two nauies, and the whole Illyrian sea free: what will it then profit vs to keep the straytes of the mountaines? or what can it auaille vs to differre the warre till another summer? and whence shall we haue money and vittales in the meane time? nay rather why take we not this opportunity present, since the Pannonian Legions, thinking themselves rather beguiled then beaten, are so instant and earnest to haue their reuenge, and the armies of Moesia are yet entire and vnfoiled? if the number of souldiers be reckened rather then the names of Legions, our side hath more strength and much lesse disorder; and the very shame of the late ouerthrow hath greatly amended

ded our discipline : and yet our horsemen euen then were not defeated, but contrarily scattered Vitellius troupes, albeit the maine battell went against vs. Two wings of Pannonia and Mœsia were able at that time to breake thorow the enemy: now the ensignes of sixteene wings vnited together, with their stamping and sound, and the very dust of their feete, will doubtlesse be able to couer and ouerwhelme both the horses and horsemen of our enemies, who haue now almost forgotten to fight. For my part (if I may be permitted) as I am the first to giue the aduise, so I will be the first to execute the same. You, whose condition giues you free choise of either, lye still and keepe your Legions at home: some few* light cohorts shall serue my turne: as soone as the warre is begun, you shall heere that Vitellius state will decline, and then you will take pleasure to follow and tread in the steps of my victory. This and more to the like purpose Antonius vttered with burning eies and fierce shrill voice, that he might be heard further (for some of the Centurions, and of the souldiers also had intruded themselues into the councell (and the speech moued greatly euen the wariest amongst them and doubtfullest to enter into danger. But the common souldier and the rest magnified him, as the onely man of courage, and the onely captaine; despising the colde and sluggish proceedings of the other. This good opinion he first wan through a speech he made in the assembly when Vespasians letters were first openly read, in the which he did not (as the most of the rest) deliuer his mind in doubtfull and ambiguous termes with a meaning to interpret them afterward as he should see best for his purpose, but seemed directly & resolutely to enter into the cause, and therefore was a great deale better liked of the souldiers, as one that made his fortune common with theirs both in the danger and honour of the attempt. Next after him Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator was of chief authority amongst them. For he likewise was wont to inuey bitterly against Vitellius, and thereby had left to himselfe no hope of pardon if the enterprise failed. Titus^e Apius Flauianus, both by nature and by reason of his age being slow in proceeding, gaue occasion to the souldiers of suspition, as if he had respected his affinity with Vitellius: and because he had withdrawn himselfe out of the camp when the Legions began first to reuolt, and afterward came againe of his owne accord, it was thought he did it to seeke some opportunity of treason. For indeede Flauianus had once relinquished his prouince of Pannonia, and retired himselfe out of danger into Italie; and afterward by desire of noueltie was brought to take vpon him his gouernment againe, and become a medler in ciuill warres, through the perswasion principally of Cornelius Fuscus; not that there was any great neede of Flauianus abilities: but that the name & countenance of a Lieutenant generall might giue reputation to the side, that was then but in rising. Then letters were written to Aponius Saturnius Lieutenant generall of Mœsia, to make hast, and back their passage into Italy with his army.¹ And lest the prouinces, by this remouing away of the Legions, might lie open to the spoile of the barbarous nations confining, the principall men of the Sarmatae Iazyges, and heads of the countrey were assumed into the seruice, who made offer also of the common sort, and great troops of horsemen, which is their sole strength, but the offer was not accepted, lest amidst our dissensions they should attempt any thing preiudiciall to the state of the Empire, or els vpon better wages, without respect of honor or faith, passe to the enemy. Sido and Italicus anciently deuoted to the Romane name, kings of the Suenians, a nation both more faithfull and more obedient, were drawne to the partie. Garrisons also were laied on the side against Rhoetia which held for Vitellius, being gouerned by Porcius Septimus the Procurator, a most faithfull seruant vnto him. So Sextilius Felix was sent with

* *Expedite cohortes*, that is, without carriages, *absq; impedimentis*.

^e Lieutenant generall of Pannonia.

with the Aurian wing, and eight cohorts, and the youth of the countrey of Noricum, to plant himselfe against him along the bancke of the riuer Enus which diuideth Rhoetia and Noricum asunder: where they remained skirmishing one with another, whilest in the meane time the maine matter was decided elsewhere.

^a And lest the prouinces] All from these words in the Latin copy *ac ne inermes prouincia &c.* to these *si placeret Galba principatus*, inclusive, should be placed before, *quasitum inde qua sedes bello legeretur &c.* and so the wordes *primum exercitum Maxium celebrare* cohere with *et presumptere partes*. Which disorder, by reason the lines and letters almost betweene *quasitum inde* and *Maxium celebrare* are equall to the lines betweene *ac ne inermes* and *Galba principatus*, may seeme to haue grown first by the meere transposition of a leafe in the copy, from whence all ours were deriued.

II. *Antonius Primus marcheth forward, and hauing taken Aquileia, Opitergium, Altinum, Padoua, Este, setteth his maine campe at Verona.*

NOW Antonius taking with him certaine Vexillaries out of the cohorts, and part of the horsemen, marched on toward Italie, accompanied with Arrius Varus a valiant warrior, rather then a vertuous man: which glory hee gained by his seruice and good successe in Armenia vnder Corbulo: whom notwithstanding he was suppoled secretly to haue discredited with Nero. Whereupon by such sinister meanes growing in fauour hee attained a principall Centurions place: which though ill gotten was at the present to his great contentation, but afterward turned to his ruine. Antonius and Varus in passing tooke Aquileia, and the countrey thereabouts, and proceeding forward were at Opitergium and Altinum ioyfully receiued. At Altinum a garrison was left against the fleete of Rauenna, of the reuolt whereof they had not as yet receiued any intelligence: and marching forward they adioyned Padoua and Este to the side. Where aduertisement was giuen that three Vitellian cohorts and the Scribonian wing lay at Forum Alieni, hauing there made a bridge ouer the riuer. It was concluded to take the occasion, and to set vpon them as they lay negligently and carelesly; for that circumstance also was certified: and so accordingly they came vpon them at the dawning of the day, and surprized them being for the most part vnarmed. They were willed beforehand, that after some slaughter at the beginning they should seek to induce the rest with feare to change their allegiance; and some there were which yeelded themselves at the first: but the greater part fled ouer the riuer, and breaking the bridge cut off the passage from the enemy pursuing. This victory being diuulged, and the first attempts of the Flauianists hauing succeeded so prosperously, two Legions, the seuenth surnamed Galbiana, and the thirteenth called Gemina^a with Vedius Aquila Lieutenant thereof, came to Padoua cheerefully, and full of courage. There some few daies were spent in reposing the army, and Minucius Iustus camp-master of the seuenth Legion was saued from the fury of the souldier, and sent to Vespasian, because his gouernment was straiter and more seuerer, then the nature of a ciuill warre would support. At what time also Antonius supposing it a plausible action, and for the credit of the side, if Galbaes gouernment should seeme to be liked, gaue commandement thorowout all the free townes, that the images of Galba; which vpon change of times and dissention in state, had beene broken downe, should bee restored a new: a thing very long and greatly desired, and therefore interpreted gloriously in the highest degree. Then was it proposed and disputed, what place were best to be chosen, for seate as it were of the warre. Verona seemed fittest, the countrey about it being champion, and commodious for horsemen, wherein consisted

^a And Titus Ampius Flavianus Lieutenant generall of Pannonia.

list their principall strength : and beside to dispossesse Vitellius of a Towne of such wealth and importance , would both be commodious and bring reputation to the cause. In the passage thitherward they tooke Vicenza a thing of it selfe not greatly materiall , as being a towne of small forces ; howbeit because Cæcina was borne there it seemed a matter of consequence ; when men began to recount , how that the Generall of the contrary part had lost his owne country and home : but the getting of Verona was worth the paines taking. For both the side was relieued with their wealth, and the example was a good precedent to others : and the Army lying there opportunely in the way, betweene Germany and Vitellius powers, did shut vp the Rhetian and Iulian Alpes , and cut off all hope of passage for the Germans that way. All which proceeding was either vnknown to Vespasian , or expressely forbidden by him : his commandement was to march no further then Aquileia, and there to expect Mutianus ; adding also a reason thereof, that seeing Ægypt, the garners of the City, the reuenues and tributes of the richest Prouinces were in his hands Vitellius Army might through lacke of pay and vittell be constrained to yeeld. To the same purpose also Mutianus aduised them often by letters, alleading what a glory it would be to obtaine a victory without bloud , and whereof no mourning ensued , with such other pretenses ; whereas he did it indeed vpon ambition, and coueting to reserue the whole renowne of the war for himselfe : but by reason of the great distances counsels came after the factes. Antonius hauing thus seated himselfe in Verona issued forth on the sudden, and gaue the Alarme to the enemy, where trying their man-hood together in a light skirmish they departed on euē hand. Anon Cæcina encamped himselfe betweene Hostilia , a village of the territory of Verona and the marishes of the riuer Tartarus, in a safe and defensible place ; his backe being garded with the riuer, and the flankes , with marishes : who if he had ment truth, hauing all his masters power vnder his hand, might with great facility either haue surprized two simple Legions (the Army of Mœsia as yet being not ioyned) or at least beaten them backe , and forced them to flee , and with shame forsake Italy. But Cæcina omitted traiterously all aduantages , which at the first were offered , spending the time in trifling delaies , and rebuking them by epistles, whom with like facility he might haue repulsed with armes : vntill by messengers passing betweene, the bargaine was driuen, and the couenants for his treason agreed vpon. In the meane time Aponius Saturninus came with the seuenth Legion surnamed Claudiana : the Legion was gouerned by Vipsanius Messalla a Tribune, a man nobly descended , and of noble qualities himselfe, the only vertuous man and without note, that entred into that action. To this army , nothing comparable to his owne (for as yet there were but three Legions) Cæcina sent letters, blaming their rashnesse, that being once ouercome they durst put themselves againe into armes : and withall he extolled the valour of the Garman army ; of Vitellius making small mention and in common tearmes only , without any reprochfull word against Vespasian at all : in summe writing nothing that might either corrupt the enemy or terrifie him. The Captaines of the Flauian army , omitting to speake of their former misfortune, returned answer concerning Vespasian in hauty and glorious tearmes, shewing themselves very confident in their cause and secure of the euent ; reuiling Vitellius as enemies , and bragging of the Mœsian army , as being hitherto neuer ouerthrowen ; seeking * moreouer to weaken the faith , and win the good will of the contrary side , by putting the Centurions and Tribunes in hope of retaining their places, and fauours which Vitellius had bestowed vpon them , and exhorting Cæcina himselfe in plaine tearmes to reuolt. Both the letters were solemnely

read to the Flavian souldiers : which thing increased not a little their courage and confidence ; seeing Cæcina to write humbly , as fearing to offend Vespasian , and their Generals contemptuously , as it were , insulting ouer Vitellius.

* Antonius taking with him certaine &c.] The Legions their Captaines , and marching withall necessary circumstances in a maner , are in this war fully and plainly set downe by our Author , incomparably better then either in the last betweene Vitellius and Otho , or in the next betweene Ciuilis and the Romans in Germany. Here Antonius Lieutenant of *septima Galbiana* marcheth first , about the latter end of August , or beginning of September , with *vexillarij & cohortibus* , and part of the Horse , making vp no doubt a conuenient power , albeit there was not any entire Legion. With him went Arrius Varus , of no higher degree at that time , as I thinke , then a Primus pilus , of what Legion I cannot tell : but *lib 4. Tertia Legio* is called *familiaris Arrio Varo miles* : afterward , as it appeareth Hist. 4. he obtained the Captaine-ship of the Guard , and *Prætoria insignia* , and being put by Mutianus from the Captaine-ship of the Guard , was made *Præfectus annonæ*. At Patauium or thereabout the two Legions of Pannonia ouertooke Antonius , namely *septima Galbiana* , whose Lieutenant was Antonius himselfe , and *tertiadecima Gemina* with Vedius Aquila Lieutenant thereof , the Lieutenant generall also T. Ampius Flavianus , as it may be presumed , comming withall : for we finde him anon in the mutinee. At Verona Aponius Saturninus President of Mæsia with *septima Claudiana* , Vipsanus Messalla being Lieutenant thereof , ouertooke them. And anon afterward at Verona or thereabout the other two Legions of Mæsia , *tertia Gallica* with Dillius Aponianus , and *octaua Augusta* with Numisius Lupus. And this was all the power that was present of the Flavian side at the battell of Cremona , certaine bands of old Prætorian souldiers excepted , whereof we finde mention both in that field and elsewhere : but when and where they came to the side , is nowhere as it ought , expressly set downe. Of Vitellius part there were present in the action of Cremona two complete Legions , *vna & vicesima Rapax* , which came out of Germany with Cæcina , and Italica taken away from Lyons by Valens ; and six vnperfect Legions out of Germany : to wit *quarta* , and *octadecima aliâs duo & vicesima* out of high Germany ; *prima* , *quinta* , *quintadecima* , and *sextadecima* out of low Germany. Whereof six be named 2. Hist. * A little before the ioyning all the eight are set downe particularly , and by name. And beside the eight Legions there were of that side *vexillarij* out of the three Brittish Legions , *secunda Augusta* , *nona* , & *vicesima Victrix* , part of the eight thousand which Vitellius brought out of Germany & *Britannico dilectu* , Tacitus 2. Hist. 3. and all his power vnder the charge of Cæcina. After the battell at Cremona *vixta Legiones per Illyricum dispersæ* Tac. 3. Hist. the five conquering Legions , being increased by *vndecima Claudiana* , and six thousand men beside out of Dalmatia , vnder the leading of Poppæus Siluanus Lieutenant Generall of that country , and Annius Bassus Lieutenant of the eleuenth Legion , were left at Verona. Antonius with the Auxiliaries and *lecti & legionibus* marched to Fanum Fortunæ. Tac. 3. Hist. At Fanum they sent for all their power from Verona , which ouertooke them at Carsulæ. On the other side at that ouerthrow at Cremona Vitellius sent to Fabius Valens three Prætorian Cohorts with the Brittish Wing , which were taken by Cornelius Fuscus at Arminium. Then he sent both the Captaines of his Guard with *b* fourteene Prætorian Cohortes and certaine Winges of Horse-men , and a Legion & *classis* different from Adiutrix Classica (which then was in Spaine) and belike newly enrolled. And this in effect was the power of both sides imploied in this action.

* Sauiug that for *quintadecima* , *quartadecima* is written by error of copy which Legion was quite sent away into Britannie before. *b* And three taken before at Arminium , summe xvij. besides others perchance left with Vitellius at Rome , and yet ten was the ordinary number or all , and in Vitellius time , when they were most , but xvj. Tac. 2. Hist.

III. A mutinee of the Pannonian souldier against Flavianus their Generall , and another of the Mælian against Saturninus likewise theirs.

SHORTLY afterward the third and eighth Legion came ; the one commanded by Dillius Aponianus , the other by Numisius Lupus : whereupon they began to make shew of their forces , and determined to cast vp a * militare Trench about the Towne of Verona. By chance it fell to the Galbian Legion to worke in the forepart of the Trench toward the enemy , and some of their owne horse-men appearing in sight a far off caused a vaine feare , as if it had been the Vitellian power. By and by they laied hold on their weapons , and their bloud being stirred sought to discharge their choler and rage vpon Flavianus , accusing him of treason without either prooffe or probability : but the man was before odious vnto them , and therefore his death was now violently required. They cried out against him that he was allied with Vitellius , that he had beene a traitour ^a to Otho , and intercepted their donatiue. No answer would be heard , albeit he besought them holding vp his hands in most humble manner ; lying for the most part prostrate vpon the ground , with his garments rent , weeping and sobbing pittifully : which kinde of behauiour prouoked their rage the more , as if this his over-great feare had certainly argued a guilty conscience. Saturninus endenouring to speake in his defence was still interrupted by the souldiers out-cries :

* *vallum militare* in opposition to *vallum rusticum* , or *fossa agrestis*.

^a These particularities are not declared , as in my opinion they ought to haue beene , in the former story : seeing here they are thought worthy the remembrance.

out-cries: and the rest likewise were reiected with noise and clamour: onely to Antonius they were content to giue eare; for he was both eloquent and skilful to please a multitude, and beside, of most authority amongst them. When the sedition waxed hoat, and passed from words and ill speeches to weapons and blowes, he commanded Flavianus to be laied in chaines. The souldier perceiued the^b sleight, and breaking thorow those that garded the Tribunall, they were at the point to haue flaine Flavianus: but Antonius opposed himselfe with his sword drawen, protesting that if they would not desist, he would either die by their hand, or by his owne: and withall desired the assistance by name of all that he knew, or were of note otherwise for their degrees and places in seruice. Then turning himselfe to the * enseignes and gods of war, he besought them to send such fury, such discord, into the mindes of their enemies rather: till at length the sedition growing cold, and the day being spent, the souldiers slipped away each to his lodging. ¹ Flavianus departed away the same night, and meeting with letters from Vespasian was deliuered from danger: but the Legions, as it were tainted with a contagious infection, staid not there, but banded themselues in like mutinous maner against Aponius Saturnius, Lieutenant generall of the Mœsian Army, vpon the comming abroad of certaine letters, which he was supposed to haue written to Vitellius: and their fury was so much the more hard to appease, because it began, not as the former toward the evening, when they were tired before with labouring, but at the noone time of the day. As in times past souldiers stroue to passe one another in modesty and vertue, so then the contention was to excell in vnrulinesse and insolency; the Mœsian souldier being loath to vse lesse violence in seeking the death of Saturnius their generall, then the Pannonian were of Flavianus before: the Mœsian souldiers alleaged that they had helpt the Pannonians to prosecute their reuenge; and the Pannonian souldier as if the sedition of others would acquit them, were glad to see the like fault committed againe. So agreeing together in this determination they went to the Gardens where Saturnius lodged. It was neither Antonius, nor Aponianus, nor Messalla, that saued him out of their fury, though they did what they could, but the secretnesse of the place where he was hid, lying close in the furnaces of certaine Bathes, which by chance were vnoccupied; and so priuily he conueied himselfe to Padoua, putting away his sergeants, and liuing a priuate person. The Lieutenant generall being thus remooued, Antonius had the whole gouernment and direction of both the Armies; his companions the Lieutenants of the Legions easily yeelding to him, and the souldiers fancying him aboue others: and some were of opinion, that both the mutinees were raised by his procurement, to the end that he alone might enioy the whole benefit of the war.

^b So Vitellius saued Iulius Burdo. 1. Hist. and Otho Celsus.

* *Conuersus ad signa & bellorum deos, that is, ad signa, which the Roman souldiers adored as gods.*

¹ Flavianus departed away] It had been well Tacitus had made vs acquainted with the contents of these letters, which met him so maruellously, *ὡς περ ἐκ μηχανῆς*, That is, *Tanquam ex machina*; as if Vespasian in Iury two monthes before had foreseene, that his good friende Flavianus should haue beene suspected and misused by his souldiers at Verona, and thereupon directed letters in his fauour. Then where the letters so luckily met him, or at all whether he went is not specified: but surely whether soeuer it was, being once out of the souldiers fingers, he was as I presume out of all danger, at least any such as Vespasians letters could exempt him from.

IIII. *The reuolt of Lucilius Bassus the Admirall, and of the Fleete at Rauenna. The treason of Cæcina Generall of the Army by land.*

OF Vitellius side also matters were no lesse disquiet, the dissension being more dangerous, as proceeding not of souldiers ielosies, but of the treason of the Generals. Lucilius Bassus, Admirall of the Nauy at Rauenna, had woone to

the Flavian side the mindes of his souldiers, being somewhat inclinable thereto of themselves, the most of them were of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which Countries held for Vespasian. The time for accomplishing the treason was appointed in the night, that whilst the rest knew nothing of the matter, they onely of the conspiracy might assemble themselves in the Principia. Bassus either for shame, or doubt what would be the issue, kept himselfe within his house. The Captaines of the Gallies in the meane time with great tumult brake downe Vitellius images: and some few which resisted being put to the sword, the rest of the multitude vpon desire of change was easily induced to fauour Vespasian. Then Lucilius comming abroad auowed the whole fact as done by his authority, and the Nauy in his place made choise of Cornelius Fuscus for Admirall; who came with speed thither: and Bassus was conueied by ship to Hadria, as it were vnder honourable arrest, and by Mennius Rufinus Captaine of a wing being in Garrison there put in bands; but soone after enlarged at the comming of Hormus Vespasians freed-man, who was also in this war counted among the Generals of that side. Now Cæcina, as soone as the reuolt of the Nauy was published abroad, assembled ^a the chiefe of the Centurions, and some of the souldiers, the rest being dispersed and busied in their ordinary militare duties, into the Principia, purposely chusing the most secreet corner of the Campe. There he greatly extolled the valour of Vespasian, and the strength of the side, declaring also that the Nauy was already reuolted, the only support of Vitellius prouision: that France and Spaine were turned against him: that in the City there was nothing to be trusted vnto; and generally aggrauating all to the woorst against the person and state of Vitellius. Whereupon some that were priuy to the plot beginning to sweare to Vespasian, the rest amazed at the strangeness of the matter followed the example: immediately Vitellius images were broken downe, and messengers sent to Antonius to declare what had passed. But as soone as this reuolt was bruted thorow out the camp and the souldiers comming into the Principia saw Vespasians name set vp, and Vitellius images cast vnder foote, they were mute at the first, then all at once they brake out with indignation. Is then the glory and fame of the German Armies now come to this? that without battell or any blow stricken they should thus binde their owne hands, and yeeld vp their weapons? for else what power was there of the other side to compell them? onely the Legions which before they had ouercome, and yet the flower and strength of them absent, to wit, the ^b first and fourteenth, which yet they had likewise ouerthrowen in the same field with the rest: and all belike to this end, that so many thousands of valiant souldiers should afterwards, like a droue of bond-flaues, be bestowed as a present vpon Antonius an ^c exiled person: as though eight Legions were to be the dependance of one Nauy. But so was the pleasure of Bassus and Cæcina, after they had robbed the Prince of his houses and gardens, and treasure, to bereaue him also of his souldiers, albeit neuer touched nor wounded, and so to make them contemptible and vile, euen to the Flavianists also. For what could they say being required an account of their prosperity and aduersity? To this effect euery one by himselfe and all together crying out, as grieve and anger wrought in their mindes, the fift Legion being most forward they set vp Vitellius images againe and laying hold vpon Cæcina put him in fetters and appointed Fabius Fabulus Lieutenant of the fift Legion and Cassius Longus the camp master Generals in his place: killing certaine Gally-souldiers which by chance ariued there in an ill houre though vtterly ignorant and innocent of that which had passed. Then leauing their ^d Campe and breaking the bridge they returned to Hostilia, and from thence to Cremona to ioyn with the first Legion called Italica, and the one and twentieth surnamed Rapax

^a This reuolt of Cæcina is described in the like manner by Josephus, libro quarto, capite quadragesimo primo.

^b Prima adiutrix sent into Spaine, and Quarta decima into Britanny.

^c Tempora Nero mis saith Tacitus 2. Hist. falsi damnatus, and so perhaps exiled.

^d Jussu Hostilium & paludes Tarta-ri fluminis.

pax, which Cæcina had sent before, with part of his horse-men, to put themselves in Cremona.

^a Bassus was conveyed] Why remained he not still in the charge? why was he committed, albeit it were *causæ honorata*, by those which fauored Vespasian: why sent to Adria? why there put into straiter prison, if Mennius were a frinde to Vespasians cause? if an enemy, why loosed at Hormus commandement, who was Vespasians man? and what then became of him? when, by whom, and wherefore was Mennius Rufinus put there in Garrison? These petty circumstances or some good part had in my opinion beene necessary in this place for the full satisfaction of the Reader.

V. *The skirmish of the Flavian and Vitellian horse-men betweene
Bebriacum and Cremona.*

WHEN Antonius had vnderstanding hereof, he determined whilest the enemies were at dissention, and their forces not ioyned together, to vse his aduantage and assaile them, before either the Generals could ground their authority, or the souldiers frame themselves to a new obedience, or the Legions recouer courage by vniting together. He gessed that Fabius Valens was already come out of Rome, and would make great haste, as soone as he heard of Cæcinaes treason: and Fabius was knowen to be a man faithfull to Vitellius, and not vnskillfull in seruice: besides a great power of Germans was feared by the way of Rhætia, and Vitellius had sent for Aydes out of Britanny, France and Spaine: enough to haue maintained a mighty and puissant war, had not Antonius vpon doubt thereof hastened the battell, and before-hand obtained the victory. So with his whole hoste he remooued from Verona, and the second night sate downe at Bebriacum. The next day imploying his Legions in fortifying the Campe, he sent out his Auxiliary Cohorts into the Territory of Cremona, to the end that the souldiers, vnder colour of prouiding necessaries, might be enured and fleshed ^a in ciuill spoile. He to safe conduct the Forragers aduanced himselfe with foure thousand horse eight miles forward from Bebriacum: and the skowtes in the meane time, as the maner is, pricked on further. About the ^b fift hower of the day one came riding in post, to giue intelligence that the enemies were hard at hand, that some few marched before, but the noise and trampling of the whole Army on euery side was clearely to be heard. Whilest Antonius was deliberating what was to be done, Arius Varus, desirous to do some piece of seruice, brake out with certaine of the forwardest horse-men, and made the Vitellianists recule, and slew some few: for by and by more of their fellows comming to helpe, fortune changed, and they that were most forward before in pursuing, were now left last in the flight. This hast was against Antonius will, who supposed the euent would be such as it was: but seeing it could not be vndone he encouraged his men to fight valiantly: and diuiding his troupes in two parts, left a lane in the middle to receiue in Varus with his horse-men, word also was sent backe to the Legions to arme, and the alarme was giuen to those that were forraging abroad, that euery man should leaue of spoiling, and repaire with all speed the next way to the fight. Now by this time Varius in a great feare was retired within his owne Troupes, and induced thither a generall terror, the wounded and vnwounded were beaten in together, and greatly distressed thorow their owne feare, and the straitnesse of the waies. In all which confusion and tumult Antonius omitted no part either of a resolute Generall, or valiant souldier, encouraging those that were dismayed, staying them that shrunke; where most neede was; whence any hope appeared, there busying himselfe, with direction, hand and speech, in the view of the enemy,

^a That is, in spoile growing by reason of ciuill warres.

^b That is, as we account, eleuen of the clocke, or there about.

enemy, in the sight of his owne men, growing at the last to that heate, that with his Lance he ran thorow a Guidon-bearer who was fleeing away, and taking his guidon turned it against the face of the enemy: whereat for very shame there staied about an hundreth horse. That which principally helped was the quality of the place, the * way being there somewhat narrow, and the bridge broken of the Riuer that ran behinde them, whose vnknown channell and steepe bankes stopped their further flight. That constraint or chance recouered the field that welny was lost. For knitting themselves strongly together, with thicke and close rankes, they receiued the Vitellian souldiers comming on loosely without any order. Which thing the lesse it was looked for, amazed them the more. Whereupon Antonius finding them yeelding pressed the more instanly vpon them ouerthrowing all that came in his way: and withall the rest as their inclinations were, some fell to spoiling and catching, some to take armour and horses: euen they which before were broken and scattered abroad in the fields, hearing the ioyfull crie of their fellowes, returned then backe to take part of the victory. About fower miles from Cremona, the enseignes of two Legions, Rapax and Italica, appeared, hauing marched so far vpon the successe of their horsemen at the beginning: but when fortune turned, they were so far to seeke as that they neither did open their rancks, and receiue their distressed fellowes within them, nor yet went forward to assaile the enemy tired already with fighting and following so far. Thus being by chance overcome, they found in aduersity the lacke of a Leader, which in their iolity they cared not for. As the Legions stood wauering in termes of breaking, the Flauian horse-men charged vpon them: Vipfanius Messalla the Tribune was at their heeles with the Moesian Aides, who in militare renowne, albeit lately enrolled, were nothing inferiour to the Legionary souldiers. So horse-men and foote-men mingled together did easily breake the Vitellian Legions, and the Towne of Cremona lying so neare gaue them lesse minde to resist, and more hope to escape: neither did Antonius presse any further, considering the trauell and wounds, which both his horse-men and horses had taken, in so dangerous a skirmish, albeit the end went on his side. Toward the shutting in of the euening the whole power of the Flauian Army arriued: who assoone as they trod among the heapes of dead bodies, in the fresh steps of so late a slaughter, as if the whole warre had beene ended, cried to leade on out of hand to Cremona, and take by surrender or force those conquered persons. These gay speeches were in their mouthes and openly pretended; but secretly euery one cast thus with himselfe; That a towne seated in the plaine might be woon easily at a push; that their courage would as well serue them to enter in the night, and their liberty to spoile would then be much greater: but if they attended till day, then would there come supplications and intreaties for peace, and so for their labour and hurts they should carry away the vaine smokes of clemency and glory, and such other titulare matters, but the wealth and riches of the Towne would cleaue to the Captaines and Lieutenants fingers: that the spoile of a City taken by force fell to the souldiers, but of a City surrendered alwaies to the Captaines alone. Hereupon the perswasions of the Tribunes and Centurions, as persons suspect, were reiected: and because no mans speech should be heard, they rattled their weapons, threatening if no man would lead them beside, to guide and conduct themselves. Then Antonius insinuating himselfe among the common souldiers, after he had with the sight of his person, and reuerence of his place, procured silence, protested vnto them, that his meaning was not in any sort to defraude so well deseruing souldiers, either of honour or reward. Notwithstanding the captains and soldiers duties were of different nature: a souldier ought to be fierce

and

* *Arctiore illic via: and yet a little before he saith, Augustus viarum consuecabantur.*

and desirous to fight, but in Capitaines a wary fore-sight and deliberate kinde of proceeding is rather commended : and more oftentimes profiteth and helpeth he by protracting, then venturing rashly. For his part as he had to his power with weapons and hand furthered the victory, so would he likewise helpe now with direction and counsell, peculiar qualities to a Generall, and the place he sustained. And surely if they list but a little consider, the dangerousnesse of the enterprise was very apparent. It was now night, the situation of the towne was vnknown, within nothing but enemies, and euery corner fit for an ambush : nay if the gates were wide open, yet were it not safe for to enter, no not in the day time, but vpon good discouery before hand, and assurance that all coasts were cleere. What? would they begin an assault when they could not discerne the best place of approach, nor the height of the wals, whether it were best to attempt them by discharging of shot a farre off, or by engines at hand, or by mine? then turning himselfe to particular persons he demanded of them seuerally, whether they had brought their * Hatchets and Axes with them, and all other tooles necessary for an assault : and when they denied, What, quoth he then, are any mens hands in the world of that force, and strength to breake downe wals with Iauelins and swords? What if it fall out that we must of necessity raise mounts, couer our selues with hurdles and frames of boord? Shall we not then be forced to stand like good silly fooles gazing and gaping at the height of their Towers, and the strength of their fortifications? Nay rather let vs stay for one night, and fetch hither in the meane time our engines and instruments of battery, and so cary the victory surely before. And heere-with he dispatched the * seruants and followers of the campe, and the freshest of his horse-men to Bebriacum, to bring vittels from thence and all other necessary prouision.

VI. *The great battell at Cremona betweene the Flavianists and the Vitellianists. Cremona sacked and burnt.*

THE souldier discontented there at and repining, was growing toward a mutiny, when as their horse-men hauing scowred to the very walles of Cremona tooke certain stragglers of the Towne, by whose confession it was vnderstood, that six Vitellian Legions, and the whole power that lay at Hostilia, hearing of the defeat of their fellowes, had marched thirty miles that very day, and prepared themselves to fight, and would by and by be vpon them. That terrour opened their mindes, which before were closed against all their Generals good counsell, and so he commanded the third Legion to make stand vpon the "Cawsey of the Posthumian way : fast by it on the left hand stood the seuenth surnamed Galbiana in a plaine field : then the seuenth called Claudiana hauing before it a * Common ditch for a kind of defence, as the place chanced to yeeld : on the right hand stood the eight Legion in an open ground : then the thirteenth in a thicket somewhat disunited by reason of bushes and shrubes. In this sort stood the standerds and ensignes of the Legions, but the souldiers were blended together, as it chanced in the darke. The band of Prætorians stood next to the third Legion, the Auxiliary Cohorts were placed in the wings, and the horse-men garded the flankes, and reareward : Sido and Italicus the Sueuians with the choise of their Country-men serued in the forward. On the other side, the Vitellian Army, whose best course doubtlesse had beene to haue taken some rest at Cremona, and refreshed themselves with food and sleepe, and so the next day to haue giuen the on-set vpon their enemies, starued with hunger and cold, for lacke of a Leader and want of direction, about the third hower

hower of the night dashed themselves vpon the Flavian Army, who stood now in array strongly prepared to receiue them. The order and standing of the Vitellian Army I dare not for certaine auouch, being doubleffe disordered thorow anger and darkenesse. Some affirme that the fourth Legion called Macedonica stood * in the right wing: the fift and fifteenth Legions, with certaine Companies out of three Brittish Legions, the ninth, second, and twentieth filled vp the middle battell; the left wing consisting of the tenth Legion, the two and twentieth and the first: the souldiers of Rapax and Italica dispersed themselves thorow out all: the horsemen and Aides choise their owne standing. The fight continued all night very doubtfull and cruell, with great mortality sometime on the one side, and sometime on the other: courage or strength auailed little in the darke, where the eie could not discern a frinde from an enemy. On both sides was the same kind of armour and weapons: by many mutuall questions ech knew others watch-word: the banners also were mingled together, as it hapned a band to take any from the enemy and carry them to and fro. The seuenth Legion lately leuiued by Galba was pressed most hardly: fixe of her principall Centurions were slaine, and some ensignes taken away, the Standerd it selfe was hardly defended by Attilius Verus the chiefe Centurion; who with great slaughter of the enemy, and his owne death in the end, notwithstanding saued his charge. The Flavianists thus going to the worse, Antonius reinforced and strengthened the battell by sending for the Prætorian souldiers, who assoone as they vndertooke the fight repulsed the enemy at the first, and anon were repulsed themselves. For the Vitellianists had brought their engines of war, which before were dispersed and discharged against bushes and trees, without any hurt to the enemy, and placed them vpon the cawsey of the high-way to haue an open passage and free scope to shoote out; among the rest a ^a Balista of a wonderfull greatnesse, belonging to the sixteenth Legion, shooting out huge and mighty stones galled them sore, and had made a farre greater hauocke among them, had not two souldiers vnder-taken an honourable exploite, and taking vp Targets among the dead bodies gone vnknownen, and cut the cords and waights of the engine: whereupon they were by and by cut in pieces, and so their names are not knowen; of the fact there is no question. Now the battell continued doubtfull, and Fortune indifferent to both sides, till at farre in the night the ¹ Moone rose and discovered the Armies, though in deceitfull sort, and more in fauour of the Flavian side, because she was at their backs: by meanes wherof both the shadowes of the men and horses stretched along toward the enemies, and so the Arrowes and Dartes of the Vitellianists, being falsely bestowed vpon shadowes, fell short of the bodies; whereas contrarily, by reason of the Moone shining against them, the Vitellian souldiers were easily hit vnawares with the blowes of the other, discharging as it were out of couert. Antonius assoone as hee could discern his owne Company, and be likewise discerned of them, began to inflame them seuerally, some with shame and rebuke, others with praise and encouragements, all with hope and large promises: demanding of the Pannonian Legions for what purpose they had now resumed Armes? If to wipe away the blot of their late ignominy, here was the field where they might reintegrate themselves in their honour againe. Then turning to the Mœsian souldiers, he challenged them as Authours and beginners of the warre, adding that in vaine they had dared the Vitellianists with words and threates, if now they durst not abide their hands and lookes. And after this and the like sort hee spake to all whom hee met: but most at large to those of the third Legion, putting them in remembrance both of their late and ancient victories; how ² vnder the conduct of Marcus Antonius

* *indexero cornu.*

^a *Balista, s. i. i. h. Vegetius lib. 4. c. 22. funibus nervinis chordisque tenditur, quæ quanto prolixiora brachiola habuerit, tanto spicula longius emittit, & si iuxta artem mechanicam temperetur, & ab exercitatis hominibus, qui mensuram eius ante collegerint, dirigatur, penetrat quodcumque percussit.*
the fall of a Balista drew with it a great part of the wall of the Campe at Cremona.

Antonius they had ouerthrowne the Parthians, vnder Corbulo the Armenians, and of late the Sarmatians. Then directing his speech to the Prætorians in great anger: As for you disgraced souldiers (quoth he) if you win not here, what other Generall, or what other Campe shall receiue you? Yonder loe, there be your ensignes and weapons, and present death if you leese, for you haue spent already your shame. Great crying and noise there was one euery side, when as the third Legion, as the manner in Syria is, with a great showte saluted the Sunne rising: vpon which accident, or by the Generals policy, a generall rumour was spred thorow the Hoste, that Mutianus was come, and the Armies had met and saluted ech other. Whereupon as supplied with new forces, they pressed forward and gaue a fresh on-set, the Vitellian ranks growing now thinner, as being without all direction, and banding together or disbanding as their owne courage or feare did induce them. When Antonius felt them weake in the shocke, and yeelding vnder his hand, with a Company firmly compacted he charged and disordered them. The ranks once loosed brake, and could not be reunited by reason of the Cariages and engines which hindered the matter. The conquerours hoatly pursuing the chase dispersed themselves along the High-way. The slaughter was the more famous, because in the same it happened the sonne to kill his owne father: the thing and the names of the persons I will set downe, as Vipsanius Messalla hath reported it. Iulius Mansuetus borne in Spaine, and called to serue in the Legion surnamed Rapax, left a sonne at home vnder yeeres, who growing afterwards to mans estate, and being enrolled by Galba into the seuenth Legion, by meere misfortune heere met and encountered with his owne father; and hauing wounded him deadly, going about to rifle him, came into knowledge of him, and was likewise knowen by him againe. Whereupon embracing the corpes, which now was without sense or life, with teares and lamentable voice he besought his fathers ghost, not to impute this impiety vnto him, nor abhor and detest him as a parricide: that it was the publicke act of the cause: and what a small portion was one souldier of these ciuill warres? And withall he tooke vp the body, made a pit in the ground, and perfourmed his last duty toward his father. This was perceiued by them which were next, and then by more also: in the end the fame of this strange chance went thorow the whole Army, and much complaining there was, and detestation of so cruell, and wicked a warre: and yet they continued nothing the lesse to kill and to spoile both kinsmen and friendes, and euen their brethren also. They talke what a wicked fact was committed, and in the meane time commit it themselves. When as they came to Cremona, their appeared a new and no small piece of worke yet behinde. For in the warre against Otho the German souldiers had cast their Campe about the wals of Cremona, and about their Campe Rampires and Trenches, which they had now lately augmented. At the sight whereof the Flauianists were at a stop, the Generals being doubtfull what to appoint. To begin the assault the Army being tired with the trauel both of the day and the night, were a difficult matter, and hauing no place of retiring at hand dangerous too: to returne to Bebriacum were intolerable paine, the way being so long, and besides, all they had done would be lost, and the victory made voide: to sit downe and intrench, that also were a thing full of danger, and to be feared, lest the enemies being so neere should sally out, and breed some disorder as they were dispersed, and busy at their worke. But aboue all these respects the Generals stood in most feare of their owne souldiers, who would sooner abide any danger, then any delay: all that tended to safety was vnsauory; in precipitation was their hope; the greedy desire of the spoile made all killing, wounding, shedding
their

their bloud to be matters of nothing. To this resolution therefore Antonius finally inclining, commanded to environ the Trenches with souldiers round about. And first they fought aloofe with arrowes and stones on both sides but with disaduantage to the Flavian part, vpon whom the enemy discharged from aboue : then approaching neere he distributed to the Legions the trenches and gates, appointing to each their seuerall quarter, to the end the labour being thus diuided the difference betweene the valiant and the coward might be perceiued, and mutuall emulation of honour should excite them to vertue. The third and seuenth Legion were assigned the quarter next to the way, which leades from Bebriacum : the eighth and seuen furnished Claudiana tooke vp the trenches on the right hand : the thirteenth was caried with a fury to the gate toward Brescia. After this they pawed a while, til they had fetched out of the fields thereabout, some of them ^c spades and ^d axes, some others ^e hookes and ladders. Then with a strong Target fence ouer their heads they came vnder the walles, and were receiued by those that vnderstood that kind of seruice, as hauing beene trained vp in the same schoole, who rowled down huge stones vpon it, and forced the frame to stagger and fleete, then followed and searched into it with iauelins and speares, till the conexion of Targets being dissolued and broken, they slew or maimed the men. Vpon so great slaughter the Flavianists were almost at a stay, had not the Captaines perceiuing the souldiers to be tired, and all other encouragements preuaile but a little, shewed vnto them the towne of Cremona, as the price of their victory. Whether this was Hormus deuise, as Messalla reporteth, or Caius Plinius be rather to be beleued, who casteth the fault vpon Antonius, I cannot easily determine; this only that whether Antonius or Hormus were Author of this most bad part, it was not vsutable to neither of their former infamous liues, and behauiours. But hereupon no danger of limme or life could stay the Flavian souldiers, from breaking downe the Trenches, and beating open the gates, euen with their shoulders; and some climbing vp by a double Target-fence tooke hold on their enemies weapons, and caught them by the armes : so the wounded and not wounded, the halfe dead and dying, came downe tumbling together, and perished some after one fashion and some after another, representing all diuersities of deaths. The seuenth and third Legion fought most brauely, and gaue the sharpest assault, and Antonius the Generall himselfe, with the chosen men of the Auxiliary souldiers, had bended his forces that way. The Vitellianists perceiuing themselves not able to sustaine any longer the force, and fury of men so obstinately bent, and that whatsoeuer they cast downe vpon them slid away vpon the Target-fence, without doing any harme, resolved to rowle downe at the last a great * engine vpon them as they approached : which indeed for the present ouerwhelmed those that were vnder, but withall in falling it drew the battlements with it, and vppermost part of the rampier : and at the same time a Tower adioyning being battered with stones fell downe. At which breach as the seuenth Legion assaied to enter in a pointed battell, the third Legion in the meane season brake downe the gate with their swords and axes. It is agreed vpon by all writers, that the first man which entred the trench was Caius Volusius, a souldier of the third Legion, who presently going to the Rampire tumbled downe all that resisted, and aduancing himselfe in sight proclaimed the Campe was taken : and as the Vitellianists were now beginning to faint, and leape downe from the Rampire, the rest brake in. All the space between the trenches and the towne was filled with dead bodies. And there againe appeared a new worke, and another labour : the walles of the City were high, the Towers all of stone, the barres of the gates of iron, the souldier ready with weapon in hand on the walles,

the

^b Galbiana.

^c ligones.
^d dolabra.
^e Falces. Vegetius
 lib. 4. c. 14.
 Falx, trabs adun-
 co prefixa ferro,
 ut de muro extra-
 hat lapides, but
 here perchance
 it was but some
 common hook.

* balista.

the Townes-men many and sure to Vitellius ; beside a great number of strangers assembled out of all places of Italy thither, by occasion of a Faire vsually holden there at that time. But that as it was a helpe to the defendants in respect of the multitude, so was it a prouocation to the assailants in respect of the spoile. Antonius commanded to take fire and burne certaine most goodly buildings, standing without the walles, if peradventure the Towns-men vpon the losse of their substance would be induced to yeeld. The houses that were neere to the walles, and exceeded them in height he replenished with the valiantest souldiers he had ; who with blockes of timber, and tiles, and fire-brands, beat away the defendants from the walles : by this time also, the Legions had cast themselves into a Target-fence, and others shot stones, and arrowes against them on the walles. Then the Vitellianists hearts began by little and little to faile them, and euery man as he was first in degree was likewise the first to yeeld vnto fortune, least if Cremona also should be taken there would be no hope of pardon remaining, the whole wrath of the winners being like to turne not vpon the poore and beggerly souldier, but vpon the Tribunes and Centurions, by whose death some gaine might be gotten : contrarily the common-souldier not searching into sequels, and in lesse danger by reason of his basenesse, persisted still for Vitellius : and wandring in the streetes, or hiding themselves in houses would not sue for peace, euen then wen as they had left off to make war. So the principall men of degree in the army razed Vitellius names, and defaced his images, and loosing Cæcina, who then was in bands, desired him to become intercessour in their behalf. As he made dainty to doe it, and bare himselfe proudly against them, they besought him instantly euen with teares (a misery of all miseries, so many valiant men to implore the aide of a disdainefull traitour) and then hung out ouer the walles their * sacred veles and infules, in signe of submission. Whereupon Antonius commanding his men to surcease all hostility, they brought out their ensignes and standards : the Vitellian Legions followed ; a heauy company, vnarmed, and casting their eies to the ground. The Flauianists closed about them, and first outraged them in speeches, and seemed to threaten violence vnto them : but when they saw them not mooued thereat, but patiently to endure all indignities, according to the circumstance of their present fortune, they began to call to remembrance, that euen those were the selfe-same men, that had a little before at Bebriacum vsed their victory moderately. But when Cæcina came forth as a Consull in his robes, with his sergeants before him making way thorow the presse, the conquering souldiers lost all manner of patience, obiecting vnto him his pride, and his cruelty, yea and his treason too : so hatefull are vices euen where they are profitable. But Antonius interposed himselfe and sent him safely garded away to Vespasian. In the meane season the people of the towne, among so many armed men, were greatly annoyed, and they escaped nearely of a generall massacre, had not the Captaines intreated, and somewhat appeased the souldiers wrath. Antonius calling a full assembly made a solemne oration, speaking in glorious termes to the souldiers of his owne side, and in curteous to those of the other, concerning Cremona ambiguously. The Army was doubtlesse earnestly bent to the destruction and sack of the city beside a natural desire of spoile, vpon an old conceiued displeasure against them : for in the war of Otho also they were thought to haue bested & helped Vitellius side ; and afterwards the thirteenth Legion being left there to build an Amphitheatre (as commonly these Townes men are naturally malapert) they had iested and scoffed at them. Many other circumstances made their case also the harder, as that Cæcina had in that Towne exhibited his shew of ^{Gladiatores,} Fencers in honour of Vitellius victory : that it was chosen now the second

cond time for the seat-towne of the warre : that they had helped the Vitellian army with vittels : that some women were found slaine , which for extreme loue to the side had come out to the battell : and not least because the faire time had filled the towne , being otherwise wealthy , with shew of more wealth. And thus stood the souldiers for their part affected. As concerning the Commanders, the behauiours of the rest were not much marked : Antonius by reason of his fortune and his fame was principally eied : who assoone as he entred the Towne went presently to the Bath to wash of the bloud, and finding it somewhat too coole, let fall a word which was quickly taken vp, that ere long it would be made hoater. This base iest turned the whole blame vpon him, as if he had giuen therby a watch-word to set Cremona on fire, which to say the truth was burning already. Forty thousand armed men were broken in, and offeruants and followers of the Campe both a greater number, and a great deale more disordered in all kind of licentious and cruell demeanour : neither age, nor honourable calling could warrant any from violence, but without respect of either they abused their bodies in villanous maner, and slew them indifferently. Aged men and old women, nought worth to be sold, they haled in a iolity for pastime and sport : if any maide of competent yeeres, or beautifull yongue man fell amongst them, in striuing who should carry them away, they pulled them asunder and tare them in pieces ; and thereupon growing in choler turned to kill one another. Whenas any had gotten and caried away for himselfe mony, or the gold and iewels out of the Temples, being met by a stronger, he left behinde him both his life and his booty : some contemning that which they found ready and open, compelled the Owners with torture and stripes, to confesse and yeeld vp their hidden riches, and treasures buried vnder the ground. The souldiers walked with fire-brands in their hands, which assoone as they had emptied the goods, they hurled in a sport and wantonnesse into the voide houses, and empty Temples. And as in an Army diuerse in language and manners, compounded of Romans, confederates, and strangers, their lusts and desires were diuerse, and some-thing held lawfull by one, some-thing by another, and nothing vnlawfull to all. Fower whole daies Cremona ministred matter to sacke and to burne : and all things beside both holy and prophane being consumed into ashes, the Temple of ^f Mephitis without the walles remained vntouched, either because it stood out of the way, or by reason of some diuine vertue of the goddesse. ^g This end had the City of Cremona, two hundreth eighty and six yeeres after the foundation. It was built in the ^h yeere that Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius were Consuls, when Hanniball was about to come into Italy, for a Bul-warke against the Frenchmen beyond the Po, and if any other power should breake in by the Alpes. So by reason of the number of inhabitants, commodity of Riuers, fertility of the soile annexed, and affinities contracted with other people, it grew vp and flourished, in forraine warres vntouched, vnfortunate in ciuill. Antonius ashamed of this foule act, which daily grew more and more odious, made proclamation, that no man should keepe any Citizen of Cremona as his lawfull prisoner : and all Italy with one generall consent refusing to buy any of them for slaues marred the souldiers market : who thereupon began to murder their prisoners. Which being once knowen, their friends and kinsfolkes secretly came and ransomed them. In short time after the rest of the people returned to Cremona. The publicke places and Temples were reedified to the charges of the Townes-men, and vpon Vespasians speciall encouragement. For the present, the ground being infected with the noysomenesse of the dead carcases, suffered not the Flauian Army to dwell long vpon the ruines of the razed City. So they remooued
three

^f The goddesse
of ill laours.

^g In the yeere of
the City 536. and
the first yeare of
the second Pu-
nicke warre.

three miles off, and there reduced the Vitellianists, being disbanded, and trembling for feare, euery souldier vnder his colours, and anon afterward sent them away into Illyricum, lest during the time of the troubles they should fortune to worke innouation. Into Britanny and Spaine messengers were sent with the newes of the successe: and for a prooffe of their victory, into France they sent Iulius Calenus a Tribune, and into Germanie Alpinus Montanus captaine of a cohort, because Alpinus was of Tries, and Calenus an Æduan, and both had followed Vitellius side: and withall they kept and fortified the passages of the Alpes with garrisons, fearing the descent of the German that way in fauour of Vitellius.

* The Moone rose] The very same effects fell out vpon the like cause, in the night battell betweene Pompey and Mithridates described by Plutarch, and Dio. But the Epitome of Dio, setteth this heere downe somewhat otherwise then Tacitus. τὴν δὲ παραχρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν νύκτα τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκλιπείσα, ἔχ' ὅπ' ἐσχιάδην (καὶ τὰ τοῖς δορυβουλίοις καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φόβον φέροι) ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ αἱματώδης καὶ μέλαινα ἀλλὰτε πινὰ χροματὰ φοβερά ἀφείσα ἀφ' ὧν. That is, The Moone being eclipsed that night increased the astonishment, not so much because she was darkned (although in such as are affrighted such things also strike a terror) but because she seemed bloody and blackish, and streaming out some other fearefull colours.

* Vnder the conduct of M. Antonius] Some three or foure yeeres aboue an hundreth yeere before. so that no one man, that serued then with Antonius, could in possibility now be heere in this seruice. but we are to vnderstand of a Legion, as the lawyer saith of a shippe, that being repaired by peecemeale, albeit in proceffe of time there be no one stick remaining the same, yet doth it continue still the same ship, although the Philosophers, saith Plutarch, are not yet fully agreed of the point, ἢ μὴ ὡς τὸ αὐτό, ἢ δὲ ὡς ἔτι αὐτὸ, διαμίνει λεγόντων. That is, Some defending it to remaine the same ship still, some denying it. Theseo.

* Target fence] Testudo. The manner of Testudo and the vtilitie is very well declared by Liuius lib. 44 in these words. Quadrato agmine facto scutis super capita densatis stantibus primis, secundis summissioribus, tertijs magis et quartis, postremis etiam genua nixa fastigiatam, sicut tecta edificiorum sunt, testitudinem faciebant. relij armati superstantes propugnatoribus muri fastigio altitudinis aquarentur. Soli tamen in fronte extrema et ex lateribus non habebant super capita elata scuta, ne nudarent corpora, sed praetenta pignantium more: ita nec ipsos tela ex muro missa subeuntes laeserunt, et testitudini injecta imbris in modum lubrico fastigio innoxia ad imum labebantur. Plutarch Antonio. οἱ θυρεοφόροι καὶ πάντες εἰς γόνα ὡς ἐκείλους τοῦ θυρεοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὀπίθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ ὅπλου, καὶ κείνων ὁμοίως ἔτεροι. τὸ δὲ ὅπλον ἀπληροῦς ἐρέσει μιν ὁμοῦ ὅτιν τε δεατεικὴν παρέχει, καὶ ἢ ὡς ἐκείλους τῶν τετραγώνων ὅτι ὡς τοῖς οἰσὶν ἀπληροῦς. That is, The target bearers, kneeling on their knees hold before them their targets, those which next follow couer them with theirs, and others them againe, the forme is very like the couering of a house, somewhat also resembling a theatre, and of all other defences is most sure against arrows sliding downe vpon it. Now in case one Testudo would not serue to set their armed men high enough to match them on the trenches or walles, they made as I thinke, a double Testudo, one vpon another. Tacitus in the words following super iteratam testudinem scandentes; albeit those wordes may receiue also another construction. The strength of targets so compacted together is declared by Arrianus ἀναβάσ. 1. When as Alexander had to ascend the mount Hæmus, the top whereof was occupied by the enemies, who turned downe mighty great carres vpon his armie, he willed such as could not open their ranks, & so giue passage to their violence, ἐκινδύνισαν καὶ πόνον εἰς γὰρ συγκλείσαι εἰς ἀκρίβειαν τὰς ἀσπίδας, τὰ, κατ' αὐτῶν φερούμεναι τὰς ἀμάξας, καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ὑποκινῶσαι ἀβλαβῶς ἐπιδεῖν. καὶ ὅτω ἐκείνη, ὅπως παρήγετο τὸ ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ εἴλετο. That is, To couch and fall to the ground, that the carres coming downe vpon and carried ouer them anaine as it was likely, with their owne force might passe away without doing harme, and as Alexander guessed, so it came to passe.

* Of a disdainfull traitour] Xiphilinus seemeth to say that vpon hanging out of their velamenta and insulæ obtaining not pardon, they loosed Cæcina, and sent him in his Consular robes ἀντ' ἰκατεμείας; καὶ ἐπὶ χὼν ἡμῶν. That is, To intreat for them; and by his meanes obtained mercy. Iosephus 4. ἀλώσ. cap. 41. saith that Antonius loosed Cæcina after his entry into the towne. By Tacitus heere it should seeme he went not to Antonius til after the souldiers had yeelded.

* This end had Cremona] In this battell, saith Iosephus ἀλώσ. 4. cap. 41 were slaine of Vitellius side thirty thousand and two hundreth: of Antonius souldiers foure thousand and five hundreth. Ziphilinus saith that in Cremona, with those which were slaine in the field, died fifty thousand persons. The time was about the latter end of October, about which time also, as it appeareth by Tacitus, the newes were brought to Rome of Cæcinaes reuolt.

VII. Fabius Valens setteth forward. Vitellius blockish behaviour. The death of Iunius Blæsus.

BV T Vitellius, hauing within few daies after Cæcinaes departure set foorth Fabius Valens also to the warre, as if nothing else were now to be done, layd aside all care of affaires, and betooke himselfe to his riotous life. He made no prouision of armour, confirmed not the souldiers with comfortable speeches, or militarie exercises;

exercises; he conuerſed not in publike in the face of the people (like thoſe ſluggiſh creatures, which if you ſupply with foode lye careleſly ſtretched along) lurking in harbours and places of pleaſure, he had caſt off all memory alike, of paſt, preſent, and to come. Thus wallowing in ſloth, and languishing in the groues of Aricia, the heauie newes came vnto him of the treaſon of Lucilius Baſſus, and of the reuolt of the nauie at Rauenna: ſoone after the ſorrowfull tidings mixed with ſome ioy concerning Cæcina came, both that he had reuolted, and that he was put in bands by the armie. His blockiſh and dull diſpoſition apprehended more the ioy then the care, inſomuch that with great triumph he made his returne vnto the citie, and therein a ſolemn aſſembly commended, and highly extolled the dutifull affection of the ſouldiers. Then he commanded Publius Sabinus captaine of the Garde, becauſe he was inward with Cæcina, to be committed, ſubſtituting Alphenus Varus in his roome: immediately going to the Senate hee made there a ſtately and magnificall oration vnto them, and was requited of them againe with all kinde of exquisite flatteries. Then proceeded a heauie ſentence againſt Cæcina, ^a pronounced firſt by Lucius Vitellius, and ſo by the reſt of the Senate in order: who was in the Princes behalfe uttering their owne griefe aggrauated his fact with tearmes of affected indignation, That a Conſull ſhould betray the common wealth, a Generall his ſoueraigne Lord, and a man ſo greatly aduanced in riches and honour his ſole aduancer and maker; without any touch at all or iniurious ſpeech againſt any of the Flauian captaines but onely blaming the error, and ouerſight of the armies: and for Veſpaſians proceedings, with great caution touching that ſtring, and alwaies ſparing his name. Then Roſcius Regulus preſented petition, and by humble ſuite obtained, a ridiculous thing both to giue and to take, the Conſulſhip for one onely day which remained behind of Cæcinaes time, and ſo the laſt day of October he entred and reſigned his office. It was obſerued by men ſkilfull that way, that neuer before was there any ſuch ſubſtitution ſcene, but either vpon error in the creation, or an expreſſe law for that purpoſe enacted. For ^b Caninius Rebilus had likewise beene Conſull for one day alone, at the time when Caius Cæſar was Dictatour, ^c and the ſeruiſe of many in the ciuill warre required much ſpeed in rewarding. About the ſame time the death of Iunius Blæſus was openly knowen and much talkt of abroad: the circumſtances whereof, as we haue receiued them are theſe. Vitellius lying ſicke of a grieuous diſeaſe in the Seruilian gardens, chaunced to eſpie in a turret not farre off many lights burning in the night ſeaſon, and demanding the cauſe, they about him made anſwere, that in Cæcina Tuſcus houſe there was a ſolemne feaſt, and much company met, whereof Iunius Blæſus was the principall gueſt; amplifying the ſumptuousnes of the entertainment, and the mirth, and the wanton ſolacing themſelues, and ſuch other matters farre aboue truth: yea and ſome ſtucke not directly to accuſe Tuſcus himſelfe and others; but aggrauated moſt againſt Blæſus, that had ſo good leysure and luſt in the Princes ſicknes, to banquet and paſſe the time ſo merrily away. When they found Vitellius humour once ſharpened, and it was cleere to them, that ſee deeply into Princes diſlikes, that Blæſus might be ouerthrowen, the promoting and proſecuting againſt him was committed to Lucius Vitellius: who vpon a ſiniſter emulation malicing Blæſus (becauſe hee was ſo famous a man, and himſelfe by deſert ſo infamous) entred into the Emperours chamber, and taking his little ſonne in his armes fell downe at his feete. When his brother demanded the cauſe of this his confuſion, I come not (quoth he) for any feare or care of mine own, but my humble ſuite is, and theſe teares are ſhed in your owne behalfe, and your childrens. In vaine do we ſtand in feare of Veſpaſian, whom ſo many Legions as we haue

^a In amplifying the great boun-
tifulnes of Vitel-
lius, towards a mā
in all reſpects ſo
unworthy as Cæ-
cina, they vttered
indeed their own
griefe, that ſo
lewd a perſon
ſhould be ſo high-
ly preferred, and
yet ſeemed to
complain in Vi-
tellius behalfe.

^b Of whom that
ieſt of Tully is re-
membred: *Quam
vigilantem habe-
mus conſulem, qui
toto conſulatus ſui
tempore ſonnum
oculis non vidit.*
^c Or, who be-
ing beholding
to many, had ma-
ny to pleaſure.

haue of our side, so many prouinces of valour and trust, and so great and infinite distance by Sea and land doth withhold and keepe off: wee had more neede to take heede of an enemy at home in our bosome, who vaunts of the ^c Iunij and ^c Antonij for his proge nitours, and maketh all demonstrations of curtesie and bountifullnesse toward the souldiers, as one descended of the imperiall blood: that way all mens minds beginne now to bend: whilest your maiesty in the meane time, carelesse of the estate both of your friends and foes, nourisheth a concurrent, that taketh delight out of his banquetting house to behold his Princes sicknesse and griefes. Vouchsafe, I beseech you, for his vnseasonable mirth, to render him a sad and sorrowfull night, whereby he may both know and feelee, that Vitellius liueth and ruleth, and if ought should befall him but good, hath a sonne to leaue in his place. Vitellius standing in dread betweene the feare of differring, and the open auowing so wicked a fact, lest the one might breed his destruction, the other procure great enuy and slander, finally resolved to attempt it by poyson: the suspicion whereof was strongly confirmed, by his going in great ioy to visite Blæsus as he lay a dying; and moreouer a most savage speech of his was ouerheard, wherein he vaunted (for I will report his owne very words) that he had fed his eies in beholding his enemies death. Blæsus besides his honourable birth and courtly conditions, was loyall and fast to Vitellius. For before Vespasian put vp, when as matters were yet entier, being sollicitated by Cæcina and the chiefest of the side, who began now to waxe weary of Vitellius, he stiffly resisted; a man of vpright conuersation, not turbulent, not desirous of hasty rising, and so far from ambitious aspiring to the Empire, that in many mens opinions he was esteemed not vnworthy of it.

^c By reason of both which names he might claime to be lineally descended of Octavia, sister to Augustus Caesar, as by their pedigree it may appeare.

VIII. *The proceedings of Fabius Valens, and his taking.*

IN the meane season Fabius Valens marching forward, more slowly then was conuenient in going to warre, with a great and effeminate traine of concubines and eunuches, was aduertised in post of the treason of Lucilius Bassus, with the losse of the nauie at Rauenna: and if he had followed with expedition his purposed journey, he might either haue preuented Cæcinaes falling away, or ouertaken the Legions before the battaile was giuen. And some perswading him to take a few of his trustiest friends, and so auoiding Rauenna by secret bywaies to go in all speed to Hostilia, or Cremona: others were of opinion to send for the Prætorian cohorts out of the Citie, and so by strong hand to make passage. But Valens vsing delay, to the great hurt of the cause, spent the times of action in consultation: and then reiecting both the aduises, and taking a middle course, which in cases of danger and doubt of all is the woorst, he neither was venturous enough with the one, nor prouident inough with the other, but onely wrotte lettets to Vitellius for some supply. Whereupon^a three cohorts were sent with the Brittish wing, a number neither fit to passe secret withall, nor sufficient to breake thorow by force. But Valens euen then, amidst so great danger, abstayned not from his olde vntemperate liuing; but was disfamed, and noted to take by force his lewd pleasures, and pollute his hosts houses, wheresoeuer he came, with adulteries, and other vnlawfull lusts: he had both might and money, great means to induce; and the last lusts fortune beginning to fall, now at the farewell shewed themselves most outragious. When the horsemen and footmen were come, then appeared the weakenesse and fault of that counsaile. For neither could hee with so small a company, though he had beene most trustie, passe thorow the enemies, neither yet were they fast and trustie indeede: but for a while

^a Of Prætorians it should seeme: and yet we finde 14. more Prætorian, and there were but 16. in all. 2. Hist.

shame, and the reuerence of their Generall being present, restrained them, bonds of no long continuance with men² greedie of dangers, and carelesse of credit: vpon feare whereof Valens sending the cohorts before to Arminium, and appointing the wing to garde them behind, with a few in his company, whom aduersitie had not altered, turned aside into Vmbria, and from thence into Etruria. Where vnderstanding the euent of the battaile at Cremona, he entred into a notable determination, & if it had succeeded, of great consequence; to betake himselfe to the sea, & setting on land in some part of the prouince of Narbon, to raise Fraunce and the nations of Germanie, and so sturre vp a new warre. As soone as Valens was gone, Cornelius Fuscus came with an army vpon them at Arminum, and bestowing his shippes not farre from the towne forced the souldiers for feare to yeelde, and made himselfe master of the plaine of Vmbria, and the countrey of Picenum all along the sea side: and so all Italy on the one side of the Appennine mountaines was vnder the subiection of Vespasian, and on the other side vnder Vitellius. Valens hauing embarked himselfe in the bay of Pisa was driuen by the violence of the sea, or contrary windes, into the port of Hercules Monœcus. Not farre from thence Marcus Maturus Procuratour of the sea Alpes remained, a man very faithfull and constant in Vitellius cause, notwithstanding all thereabout had declared themselues for the contrary side; who intertaining Valens with all kind of courtesie, and warning him, not rashly to enter into the prouince of Narbon, with this admonition strooke a terrour into his minde, and with all the rest of the company began to faint for feare, and stagger in their allegiance. For Valerius Paulinus a^b Procurator, a valiant souldier, and a friend of Vespasians before his aduancement, had sworne the cities round about vnto him, and gathering all those, which being^c dismissed by Vitellius of their owne accord resumed armes, kept the colonie of Forum Iulij, being the key of the sea, with a garri- son: his dealing therein carrying the more credit, because hee was borne in that towne, and was highly esteemed among the Prætorian souldiers, whose Tribune sometimes he had beene; and the townesmen also vpon fauour to their countrey- man, and hope of greatnes hereafter, endeuoured to further the side. This strong preparation being reported in the amplest sort to the Vitellianists, who already were wauering in minde, Fabius Valens retired in all speed to the shippes, accompanied onely with foure^d Spearemen, three of his friends, and as many Centurions: Maturus and the rest were at their liberty to stay behinde, if it liked them, and sweare to Vespasian. But as the sea was safer to Valens then the shoare, or towne, so floating thereon vnresolved, and seeing rather what to shun then what to follow, he was at the length by contrary weather cast vpon the Stœchades Ilands, vpon the coast of Marseils; from whence Paulinus sending out of his ships fetched him in.

^b Belike in *Gallia Narbonensi*.

^c Ment as I take it of *Otho*es olde *Prætorian* souldiers onely. other dismissed by *Vitellius* I finde not: and mention is made by and by expressly of the *Prætorians*.

^d *Spiculatores*.

^a A middle course] It may seeme that Valens for his part resolved vpon the first opinion, that was *accitū in urbe cohortibus valida manu perumpere*, but the fault was in Vitellius who sent no more.

^b Men greedy of danger] *Apud auidos periculorum*. So be the words in our copies, the meaning I know not; & the narration following I finde in my conceit to be somewhat vnperfect. as wherefore Valens did send the power rather to Arminium into the enemies month, then backe to Vitellius, if he meant not to follow then himselfe vpon what intent and purpose he went into Vmbria and Etruria, and what he would haue done, if hee had not had aduertisement of the battell at Cremona, vnlesse it were to take the secret way now, which before he refused, toward Hostilia and Cremona. Which circumstance surely would not haue beene omitted.

IX. The estate of the prouinces abroad vpon the troubles in Italy.

AS SOON as Valens was taken, all the prouinces turned themselves to Vespasians side, the matter beginning in Spaine at the first Legion surnamed Adiutrix; which vpon the memory of Otho was enemy to Vitellius, and drewe with it the tenth and sixt Legion also. Neither did the prouinces of Fraunce make any stay. And for Britanny, the great fauour and reputation in warlike affaires, that Vespasian had gotten being Lieutenant thereof the second Legion vnder Claudius, did easily win that Legion vnto him, albeit not without some sturre of the rest, whereof many Centurions and souldiers, who had beene aduanced by Vitellius, were vnwilling to change the Prince, whom they had prooued already. By meanes of which dissention and continuall rumours of ciuill warres, the Britains tooke hart and rebelled, through the procurement^a of Venusius; who beside a naturall fiercenesse of courage, and hatred of the Roman name, was incensed particularly, by a priuate vnkindnesse betweene him and the Queene Carthismandua. Carthismandua was Queene of the Brigantines, of high and noble linage, who vpon the deliuerie of King Caratacus, whom she tooke by^b fraud, and sent to furnish and set out the triumph of Claudius, wan fauor with the Romans, & greatly increased her strength: whereupon ensued wealth, and of wealth and prosperity riotous and incontinent life: insomuch that casting off Venusius, who was her husband, shee ioyned her selfe in marriage with Vellocatus his harnish-bearer, and crowned him King: which fact was the ouerthrow immediately of her house. The good will of the countrey went generally vpon the lawfull husband: but the Queenes vntemperate affections were peremptory and violent in maintaining her minion. Whereupon Venusius by the helpe of his other friends, and the reuolt of the Brigantes, made warre vpon Carthismandua, and brought her into great extremities: then praying aid at our hands, our cohorts and wings were sent to defend her, which after sundry skirmishes with diuerse euent, deliuered her person out of perill, but the kingdome remained to Venusius, and the war vnto vs. About the same time our affaires in Germany through the insufficiencie of our captaines, and seditiousnesse of our Legions, forreine force assailing vs, and our allyes betraying vs, were reduced to those desperate termes, that we stood in danger of leeing the countrey: but that warre together with the causes, and particular euent thereof (for it continued long) I^c will heereafter declare. The Dacians also stirred, a nation neuer louing vs, and as then our army being withdrawn out of Moesia, not fearing vs neither. When the first alterations & troubles began, they held themselves quiet, and looked but on: but when as they perceiued Italy to be all in armes, and betweene the sides euery where open hostilitie, forcing the standing camps of the cohorts and wings, they put themselves in possession of both the bankes of Danubius, and were now at the point to haue razed the camps of the Legions, had not Mutianus, hauing knowledge before of the victorie at Cremona, opposed the sixt Legion against them, lest two forrein powers should haue broken in at one time, the Germans and Dacians, from two diuerse coasts. As often heeretofore, so now specially fortune was fauourable to the Romans, bringing Mutianus with the power of the East to arriue there at that instant; and that in the meane time the matter was so dispatched at Cremona. Mutianus departing away left Fonteius Agrippa, who had beene one yeere Proconsull of Asia, Lieutenant Generall in Moesia; assigning him sufficient forces out of the

^a Jugentum et. m. 12. Annal.

^b 12 Annal.

^c lib. 4.

d In Neros
time.

e Ἀντίπαπλιστα
στῆναι, καὶ ὅταν
αἰθροῦται πάντα
καὶ ἔκαστος διχόμα-
να σπᾶνται διὰ τρι-
ακοντα δ' ἑκατά
ἐκείναι πᾶσαι δύνα-
μεις καλοῦσι δὲ
αὐτὰ οἱ Ἕλληνες
καμάρας. Strabo
lib. 11.

Vitellian Legions, whom it was thought a point both of policie and peace to disperse abroad in the provinces, and keepe occupied in forraine warre. Neither were other nations at quiet. In Pontus a barbarous bondman, which sometime had been Admirall of the kings nauie, raised vp a sodaine warre in the countrey: his name was Anicetus a freedman of the late King Polemo, somtime of great credit and power, and now since the kingdome was^d reduced into a prouince displeased and greeued with the change. Whereupon hauing associated vnto him in Vitellius name the nations that dwell vpon Pontus, alluring the poore and neediest sort with hope of bootie and spoile, he became in short time Commander of competent forces; with which he sodainly inuaded and brake into Trapezus, a very ancient citie built by the Græcians, in the vttermost borders of Pontus: where a cohort was slaine, which in time past was in the seruice there of the king, but being afterward made citizens of Rome, had taken ensignes and armour after our maner, retaining the slothfulnesse and dissolute life of the Greekes notwithstanding. Hee burned also the nauie there, doing his pleasure on that sea, which as then was vngarded, by reason that Mutianus had giuen order for the best of the galleyes, and all the souldiers to meete him at Byzantium: vpon occasion whereof^e the barbarous people also of the country ranged abroad, and robbed without fear of checke or controlement; building them boates on the sodaine, which they call^e *Camæræ*, of narrow sides and broad bottoms, wrought and ioyned together without any brasse or iron, & when the sea goeth high, as the waues rise they raise also the sides of the vessell with boordes, vntill they close and couer it aboue like a house, and so the boates tumble vp and down in the middle of the waues, hauing a prow alike on both sides, and ready to row either way without any danger, as it shall fall out for their purpose. These things mooued Vespasian to assigne vnto those parts some Vexillary soldiers out of the Legions, and Virdius Geminus for captaine, a man of good prooffe in seruice: who setting vpon the enemies being in disarray, and dispersed in seeking of spoile, draue them to their boates, and then causing some galleyes to be built in haste, pursued and ouertooke Anicetus in the mouth of the riuer Cohibus, being there vnder the protection of the king of the Sedochezi, whom he had won by money and gifts to vndertake his defence. And indeede at first the king threatned to protect his suppliant with force of armes: but when as he saw himselfe put to the choise, to accept either rewarde for yeelding him, or warre in defending him, as an vnconstant and disloyall barbarian, vpon composition he surrendred Anicetus to die, and deliuered the fugitiues, and so end was made of that seruile warre. Vespasian being ioyfull vpon the obtaining of this victorie, all things succeeding vnto him aboue his owne wish, was certified soon after being in Ægypt of the battaile at Cremona, which caused him to make the more haste to Alexandria, that seeing Vitellius armie was defeated and broken, he might presse also with hunger the citie of Rome, standing altogether vpon forraine prouision. For so likewise hee made preparation to inuade Africke, situate on the same coast, both by sea and land, meaning to cut off the two storehouses of come from the enemies and so procure famine, whereof consequently dissention would grow.

a Lib. 11.

^a Barbarous people also of the countrey] Others as I thinke beside those which associate themselves with Anicetus: namely the Achæi, Heniochi, and Cercæi dwelling of the other side of Pontus Euxinus; and according to Strabo^a living, as they are heere described, by pyracie.

X. Antonius

X. *Antonius Primus marcheth from Cremona to Fanum Fortuna.*
His iarring with Mutianus.

WHILEST in these generall alterations, thorow out the whole world, the state thus altered and passed, Antonius Primus leauing Cremona, left also his former care of well carying himselfe, supposing the warre to be at an end, and no difficulty in that which remained: or else peradventure prosperity, in a man of that disposition, discovered the secret and inward faults of his minde, as couetousnesse and pride, and other vices that were suppressed before. Italie he harried as a conquered countrey: the Legions with all kinde of courtesie he sought to assure to himselfe: in summe by all speeches and deeds hee made the way to his owne greatnesse. And to giue the souldier the more his owne will, and leaue him the bridle at large, of his meere motion he graunted vnto the Legions the choise of Centurions in their roomes that were slaine: by which kinde of election the busiest and troublesomest fellowes were chosen; and generally the souldier was not gouerned by the direction of his captaine, but the captaine drawne by the violence of the souldier. After these points tending to faction and corrupting of discipline, hee conuerted himselfe to the pray, nothing dreading Mutianus at hand, which was a more hainous offence, then to haue contemned Vespasian himselfe. Neuerthelesse the army marched on, without cariages, because the winter was neer, and the fields ouerflowen with the Po. The ensignes and standers of the conquering Legions, and the aged or impotent souldiers, with many sound also, were left at Verona. It seemed sufficient, now the warre was in so good a forwardnesse, to take onely the cohorts and wings, and certaine chosen men out of the Legions. vnto this companie the eleuenth Legion also adioyned themselues, who at the first had made some delay, but seeing the good successe of their fellowes were sorry it was their ill hap to be absent: with it there came also sixe thousand Dalmatians newly leuyed. Poppeus Siluanus was Lieutenant generall: but the whole direction of matters rested in Annius Bassus Lieutenant of the Legion, who with great industry and quietnesse disposed of all that was to be done, and vnder colour of obedience gouerned Siluanus peaceably, being a man of no action in militarie seruice, and trifling out the times of doing in talking. To this power were adioyned the best of the mariners at Rauenna requiring Legionary seruice, and in their roomes the Dalmatians were sent to serue at sea. At Fanum Fortuna the army and the leaders were at a stop, being in doubt concerning their principall purpose, because they had heard the Prætorian cohorts were already set foorth out of Rome, and presumed that the passages of the Apennine hilles were fortified and garded against them. But that which caused most feare was want of prouision, in a countrey wasted and consumed by warre, and the seditious cries of the souldiers demaunding *Clauarium (which is the name of a donatiue) of them who had neither provided money nor corne: and the too much hast of the souldiers hindered greatly, whilest that which in due order might haue beene taken and serued some while, was in a moment spoiled in snatching. It is reported by most credible writers, that among the winners there was such a contempt of common honesty, and such vnnaturall dealings against all lawes humane and diuine, that a common souldier among the horsemen was not ashamed openly to professe, that he had slaine his owne brother in the last battell, and to require recompence for the same at the captaines hands: who neither willing to reward the fact in regard of common humanitie, nor daring to punish it in respect

*Clauarium, a donatiue to buy them caligares clauas Calcearium in Suetonius Vespasiano. cap. 8. to buy them shoes.

respect of the nature of the present warre, differed the matter, pretending that he had deserued much more, then they were presently able to giue: how it was ended I finde not recorded; notwithstanding in former ciuill warres I finde the like to haue happened. For in the battaile fought against Cinna at Ianiculum, one of Pompeyes souldiers slew his owne brother, and when he saw what hee had done, slew himselfe also, as Sisenna reporteth: so much our ancestors haue exceeded vs, not onely in glory of their vertues, but in grieve for their faults. These and the like drawne out of ancient history it shall not be amisse to remember, where the place and matter requires to set downe either * example of that which is good, or comforts for that which is bad. Now Antonius and the Flauian captaines being at Fanum, thought it expedient to send some horesemen before, and search all the coast of Vmbria, to finde some easie and gentle passage ouer the Apennine: and withall they determined to send for the standerds and ensignes, and all the souldiers that remained at Verona, and to replenish the Po and the sea with store of prouision. There were of the Commaunders which sought all meanes to delay: for Antonius was * growen now too intollerable, and * better hope was conceiued of Mutianus: who being inwardly vexed that the victory was so speedily gotten, and fearing vnlesse he were present at the taking of Rome at the least, he should haue no part, neither of the warre, nor the honour, wrote vnto Primus and Varus ambiguously, sometime perswading to follow with instance, and sometime discoursing of the profitableness of delaying; framing his speech in such sort, that if things fell out ill, hee would clearely disclaime them; if well, he might take them vpon him: but to Plotius Griphus, whom Vespasian had lately made Senatour and Liuetenant of a Legion, and the rest of his trusty friends he gaue plaine direction to stay till his comming: all which persons returned vnto him a plausible answer, and greatly blamed the heady proceeding of Primus and Varus. Those letters Mutianus sent to Vespasian, and so procured that Antonius deuises and doings were not accepted according to his expectation. Which thing Antonius tooke very impatiently and imputed the fault thereof vnto Mutianus, by whose calumniations he conceiued his dangers had growen: neither did he forbear to vse hard speeches against him, as a man of an intemperate tongue, and not accustomed to acknowledge any superiour. Hee wrote also letters vnto Vespasian in a more hawty and arrogant stile, then beseemed a subiect to his Prince, with secret glances and nips at Mutianus: That it was Antonius and no bodie else, who first put in armes the Legions of Pannonia, and brought them into the field: that by his procurement and working the captaines of Moesia were first stirred vp to the warre: by his resoluteness the Alpes were passed, Italie possessed, and the aid of the Rhetians and German nations cut off: then, that Vitellius Legions being at discord and disperled the vantage was spyed, and they ouerthrown first by a furious charge of horsemen, afterward by a power of foote-men for a whole day and a night together; that was indeede the brauest point of the seruice, and his onely doing: as for the mishap of Cremona, it was a mischance of warre; and that the deciding of other ciuill dissensions in other ages had cost the common wealth much deerer, euen the subuersion of many great townes. that he serued his Prince not with sending of messages and writing of letters, but with his person and weapon in hand: neither did hee enuy or hinder their glory, that in the meane time had quieted Moesia: they regarded the peace of Moesia, and hee the conseruation and safety of Italie. by his perswasions France and Spaine, the most puissant parts of the Empire, were ioyned to the side: but all his paines and trauaile were in vaine, if they alone should reape the rewards, which had no part in the perill.

* exempla recti
aut solatia mali.

* nimis iam An-
tonius.
* certiora de Mu-
tiano speraban-
tur.

perill. Mutianus was aduertised of all this proceeding, and thereupon enſewed great enmitie, which Antonius proſecuted ſimply and ſouldier like, but Mutianus cloſely, and therefore the more irreconcileably.

XI. *Vitellius proceedings and behau'our after the loſſe at Cremona. The reuolt of the nauie at Miſenum.*

BV T Vitellius hauing receiued ſo great a blow at Cremona, concealing the newes, and fooliſhly diſſembling the matter, differed the remedies of his euils, not the euils themſelues. For if he would haue plainly confeſſed it, and taken aduiſe thereupon, he had both hope and ſtrength inough and too much remaining: but when as contrarily he faigned that all went on his ſide, by that vntruth he marred his owne caſe, and cut off from himſelfe all meanes of recouery. In his preſence there was no mention of warre, but a woonderfull ſilence that way: in the citiy all ſpeeches of it were forbidden, which cauſed the more: and they, which if it had been lawfull would haue talked nothing but truth, being reſtrained gaue out much more then it was. The captaines alſo of the Flauian ſide helped to increaſe the ſame, carying Vitellius ſpies, as they chanced to take them, round about the campe, to ſee and view the ſtrength of their victorious army, and ſo diſmiſſing them back to their maſter. All which at their returne Vitellius, after ſecret examination had, commanded to be made away. But aboue all other the^a conſtancie and reſolutenes of the Centurion Iulius Agreſtis was moſt notable; who after much ſpeech tending to incite Vitellius to vertue in vaine, at length obtained that himſelfe might be ſent to view the forces of the enemy, and ſee what had paſſed at Cremona. For the performing whereof he ſought no corners, but addreſſed himſelfe directly to Antonius, and openly profeſſing what charge he had from his Prince, and what was his intent, he required he might be permitted to take a perfect ſuruey of al things. ſo ſome were ſent with him, which ſhewed him the place where the battel was fought, the ruines of Cremona, the conquered Legions. Agreſtis went home againe, and making relation, when as Vitellius would not beleue his report, but charged him with vntruth, and further that hee was hired thereto: Seeing then (quoth Agreſtis) no meane prooſe will ſerue, and neither my life nor my death can now ſtand you in any other ſteede, I will giue you an aſſurance which you may beleue; and ſo departing from him, he ſealed his ſayings voluntarily with his bloud. Some write that he was ſlaine by Vitellius commaundement, but of his fidelitie and conſtancie they report the ſame. Now Vitellius being as it were awaked out of ſleepe, commanded Iulius Priſcus and Alphenus Varus with fourteene Prætorian cohorts, and all the wings of the horſemen to keepe the ſtreits of the Appenine. after them followed a Legion of Seamen; a power both for number and goodneſſe of men and horſes ſufficient (if another had beene Generall) to make warre offeſiue, not onely to ſtand vpon their defence. The reſt of the cohorts were committed to Lucius Vitellius his brother to garde the Citie withall. Himſelfe abating nothing of his wonted riot, and haſtie through diſtruſt, hudled vp the election of officers, wherein hee declared Conſuls for^b many yeeres to come. Moreouer^c new treaties and more gracious were concluded with our allyes, and the right of Latium conferred vpon ſtrangers. To ſome he releaſed their tributes, to others he granted immunities, without all care of poſteritie mangling and mayming the Empire. But the common ſort accepted theſe fauours that ſeemed ſo great, and the fooliſheſt bought them with money, which

^a Suetonius Othone. c. 10. Xiphili- nus, and after him Zonaras, reporteth this in the ſtorie of Otho, in the former war, with ſome ſmall difference of circumſtances.

^b Suetonius Vitellio c. 11. comitia in decem annos ordinauit ſeq. perperam conſulatum.

wiſe

wise men accounted but voide, being such as could neither be giuen nor taken with the safetie of the state. At the last through the instant request of his army lying in Meuania, with a great traine of Senatours assumed, partly vpon suite and most vpon feare, he repayred to the campe irresolute of himselfe, and obnoxious to vnfaithfull counsailes. As he was speaking to his souldiers in publike assembly, it fell out so many vnluckie birds to flie ouer his head (a monstrous matter) that the day was overcast, as it were with a blacke cloud: and another no² lesse ominous and of euill presage, that a bull which was appointed to be sacrificed, brake away from the altars, ouerturned the furniture of the ceremony, and was knocked downe farre off from the accustomed place. But the greatest monster was Vitellius himselfe, a Prince without skill in the profession of armes, and deuoid of direction & counsell, demanding estsoones of others in what order to march, what diligence was requisite in making discoueries, what meane was to be obserued in vrging or delaying the warre, and vpon euery flying report apparently fearefull in countenance, and trembling in gate, and beside all this most commonly drunken. At the length growing weary of the campe, and vnderstanding of the reuolt of the nauy at Misenum, he returned to Rome, euer fearing most the blowe that came last, and carelesse in the meane time of the maine chance. For whereas it had been a course most cleare in reason, and euident in sight, to haue passed the Appenine with his army, which then was in hart and strength, and so to haue assailed the enemies almost consumed with hunger and colde, he on the other side fell to^c dispersing his forces, and so abandoned his best and faithfullest souldiers, whom he left thereby to the enemies mercie, and deliuered them as it were into their hands; contrary to the opinion of the most expert Centurions, who disliked greatly the disuniting, and if their aduise had beene asked, would haue tolde plainly their minde: but Vitellius inwardest friends hindered them from accessse, the Princes eares being so framed, that he accounted all sharpe that was wholesome, and liked of nothing but that which was presently pleasant, and afterwards hurtfull. But the nauie at Misenum (so much the audaciousnesse euen of one single man in ciuill dissentions may worke) was brought to reuolt by the meanes of Claudius Fauentinus, a Centurion ignominiously cassed by Galba, who counterfayting letters from Vespasian, with hope of reward induced them to change their alleageance. The Admirall thereof was Claudius Apollinaris, a man that neither constantly kept his fidelitie, nor stoutly maintained his treason: and Apinius Tiro, who had beene Pretor; and was then by chaunce at Minturnæ, offered himselfe a head to them which reuolted; by whose meanes the colonies and free townes were drawne to the side, the Puteolani shewing themselves most forward that way. But Capua on the other side, persisted firme to Vitellius: whereupon there passed, vnder colour of the publicke cause, much priuate choler between the two townes. To the pacification of these troubles Vitellius chose out Claudius Iulianus (who had lately beene Admirall of the nauie at Misenum, and gouerned himselfe in that charge with great mildnesse) as the meetest man to appease the souldiers mindes; assigning vnto him a power of one citie-cohort, and the^c fencers which were vnder his charge. As soone as the camps approached the one to the other, Iulianus without any great stay turned to Vespasians side, and so iointly they tooke Tarracina, a place of great strength in regard of the wals and situation, if the men within had beene faithfull and good. Vpon knowledge whereof Vitellius leauing part of his forces at Narnia, with the captaines of his Guard, sent his brother Lucius Vitellius away with sixe cohorts and fise hundreth horse, to manage the war of Campania. Himselfe being greatly perplexed in minde was yet somewhat reuiued

* Taking some with him to Rome, but principally in that he sent away with his brother, as appeareth anon, sixe cohorts and fise hundreth horse into Campania out of this armie.

^c Gladiatores.

ned with the earnest good will of the souldiers, and clamours of the towne people requiring armour and weapons; whom being nought else but a cowardly company, whose boldnesse neuer went beyond words, he called by the false title of armies and Legions. At the perswasion of his freedmen (for of his friends the greatest men were least trusty) hee commanded the tribes to bee called, and sware them which gaue in their names: too many presenting themselues, he diuided the charge of the muster betweene the two Consuls, and assessed the Senators at a certaine number of bondmen, and quantity of siluer. The Gentlemen of Rome made offer both of their seruice and money, euen the Libertini requiring of their owne motion they might be admitted to doe also the like. This counterfet forwardnes made the offices, that were done for feare, be thought to proceede of good will. And indeed many pittied not so much the man, as the place he sustained: & Vitellius himselfe ceased not by his countenance, speech and teares to prouoke compassion and pittie, promising largely, and (as the nature is of men in great feare) without measure. Moreouer he tooke then vpon him (which he had refused before) the stile of^d Cæsar, vpon some superstitious conceit of the name, and because in a time of feare, the counsels of wise men, and pratlings of the people are heard and respected alike. But as all actions entred into vpon heat without consideration are strongest in the beginning, and afterward fade and decay, so here the Senators began by little and little to shrink, and the Gentleman likewise; at the first with some respect and in Vitellius absence, but afterward more openly, being afraide and pensieue for the danger which was like to ensue; till in the end Vitellius seeing the attempt not feasible, for shame was contented, not to demand that he could not obtaine.

Suetonius Vitellio c. 8. seemeth to say otherwise. cognomen Germanici delatum ab vniuersis cupide receptum. Augusti distulit, Cæsaris in perpetuum recepit.

^a New treaties: *Fœdera socijs, Latium externis* that is, to our socij their *fœdera* were renewed with a further increase of exemptions and priuiledges; and to forrainers that priuiledge was graunted, that those which had borne annuall office with them should by that meanes become *cives Romani*: for that is the maine point of *ius Latij*. App. 2. Ερμούλ. πάλιν δὲ Νεβέρωνος δ Κεῖταιρ. εἰς Λατίν διαγοῖον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλπεῶν τοκίαι, ὧν ὅσοι κατ' ἐν τῷ ἡρῶν, ἐγγίγοντο Ρωμαίων πολῖται. τὸ δὲ γέγονεν τὸ Λατίνον. That is, Cæsar had founded the colonie of *Novum Comum* in the Alpes and endowed it with *ius Latij*; so that whosoever had borne annuall office there, by vertue thereof became citizens of Rome. for so much *ius Latij* importeth.

^a No lesse ominous the breaking away of the beast at sacrifice was among Romans an ominous matter. Titus a little before his death *Sabinos petit*, saith^a Suetonius, *aliquanto tristior, q̄ od sacrific. int̄i hostiæ aufugerat*. *Idem^b Iulio. Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia, tamen profectiōem non distulit.* and^c Galba. *Taurus securis ista confestus rupto vinculo effugit eius inuasit. Festus. Piacularia vocabant, quod sacrificantibus tristia porredebant: cum aut hostia ab ara profugisset, aut percussus mugitus dedisset, aut in aliam partem corporis quam oportet decidisset.* Plin. lib. ^d 8 Notatum est vitulos ad aras humeris luminum allatos non litare, sicut nec claudicante, nec aliena hostia deos placari, nec erahente se ab aris.

^a Cap. 10. ^b Cap. 19. ^c Cap. 18. ^d Cap. 49.

XII. The Flavianists passe ouer the Appennine. the Vitellianists at Narnia yeeld themselves. the death of Fabius Valens

AS the possessing of Meuania by the Vitellianists had wrought great teftrou in Italie, seeing another warre as it were sprung vp afresh by that meanes, so of the contrary side the departure of Vitellius in so fearefull manner procured great credit, and good to the Flavian cause. For presently thereupon the Samnites, and Peligni, and Marſi reuolted; and vpon emulation that Campania had preuented them, to recompence their slacknesse, as men newly come to a new master, shewed extreme diligence in furthering the seruice. But in passing the Apennine the armie by the fowlenesse of the winter weather was greatly distressed, and marching with all liberty and quietnes could hardly wrestle out of the snow, so that it was cleare to be seene, what danger they must needs haue sustained, if iortune, to which

which the Flavian Captaines were more often beholding, then to their good guiding and skill, had not turned Vitellius backe home againe. In the mountaines Petilius Cerealis met them, who in clownish apparell through knowledge of the countrey had escaped Vitellius hands. Cerealis was of neere affinity with Vespasian, and of some name for matters of warre, and therefore was assumed among the Leaders. Many write that Flavius Sabinus and Domitian might also haue easily escaped, and certaine it is, that diuers messengers sent by Antonius by sundry cunning sleights came to their speech, pointing the place, and offering them means for their safety: but Sabinus alleadged that his crazy body was not to vndertake a matter of that paines, and such an audacious attempt. Domitian would gladly haue ventured, but he feared the keepers whom Vitellius had set about him, although they offered to accompany him in his escape, lest peradventure it had beene a snare to intrap him: and indeed Vitellius himselfe, in regard of his owne kinsfolkes, intended no crueltie against Domitian. When the Flavian captaines were come to Carfula, they stayed there a few daies to repose their army, till their Legionary power should ouertake them: and the place of the campe in it selfe was delitefull, with a large goodly prospect, and very safe for the prouision of vittailles, hauing so many of the wealthiest Cities, as it were store-houses behinde them. And besides they were in some hope that the Vitellianists, which were not distant aboue tenne miles would fall to some parle, and so from a parle to a reuolt: which thing the souldiers could not abide to heare of, but desired an end rather by conquest, then by peace: euen their owne Legions they were vnwilling to stay for, loath to haue more fellowes in the spoile, when they needed none in the danger. But Antonius calling them publicly together, shewed vnto them, that Vitellius had yet some forces remayning, wauering perhaps and vnconstant if they might haue time to consult, but of fierce stomacke if they were driuen to despaire: that the beginnings of ciuill warres were to be permitted to fortunes deciding, but the accomplishment of the victorie was to be gouerned by reason and wisdom: that the nauie of Misenum, and the most flourishing countrey of Campania were already reuolted, and there remayned nothing of all the world vnto Vitellius, saue onely so much as lay betweene Tarracina and Narnia: and surely they had wonne honour sufficient in the battaile at Cremona, and blame too much by destroying the towne. therefore they should not now desire to take Rome, but rather to saue it: their reward would be greater, and their glory most great, if they wrought the safety of the Senate and people of Rome without bloudshed. With these and other like speeches their mindes were mollified, and soone after the Legions came. The Vitellian cohorts terrified with the fame of the armie so much increased, began to wauer, no man animating them to the warre, but many to reuolt, who desired to make a present of their bands and cornets vnto the conquerour, to purchase fauour heereafter; and gaue also aduertisement, that fast thereby at Interamna was a garrison of foure hundreth horse. Wherupon immediately Varus was dispatched with a band of men lightly appointed, and slew some few that made resistance: but the most part laide downe their weapons, and yeelded themselues to his mercy: some fled to the campe at Narnia, and filled all there full of feare and terror, extolling aboue truth the forces and valour of the enemies, to diminish their owne dishonour in losing their fort. Neither was there any punishment for offences among the Vitellianists; on the other side the rewards were apparent of those that reuolted: so that from thence forth the contention was, who should be most traitour, and daily some of the Tribunes and Centurions fled to the enemy: for the common souldier was obstinately bent for Vitellius,

Vitellius, vntill Priscus and Alphenus Generales forsaking the Campe vpon feare, and returning to Vitellius, discharged the rest from all blame of treason. About the same time Fabius Valens was put to death in the prison at Urbine. His head was openly shewed to the Vitellian Cohorts to put them out of all hope: for before they beleeued that he was escaped into Germany and putting in armes both old and new souldiers there: but when they saw he was dead, they began to despaire. The Flavian Army also tooke a wonderfull conceit as if his death were vndoubtedly the end of the warre. Valens was borne at Anagnia, of a Gentlemans house, loose in conditions, and not without grace in seeking by wanton ieaftes the name of a pleasant conceit. In the games of Iuuenalia in Neroes time he * plaied a part, first as it were by compulsion, then voluntarily, with more dexterity then credit. Being created Lieutenant of a Legion he both sought to prefer Verginius to the Empire, and then to discredit him. Fonteius Capito his Lieutenant Generall, either because he was entred into treason, or because he could not induce him to treason, he murdered and made away. A traitour he was no doubt to Galba, and true to Vitellius, a vertue in him so much the more eminent, because so many others were false. Now the Vitellian souldiers seeing all their hope cut off, going to yeeld themselues to the contrary part, euen in that also had a care of their honour, and came downe into the plaine vnder Narnia vnder their enseignes and banners displaied: the Flavian Army stood armed with their weapons bent, as in battell, in thicke ranckes along the way side. So the Vitellianists were receiued in the middle, and being so inclosed about, Antonius entertained them with comfortable and gracious words, and appointed some of them to abide at Narnia, and some at Interamna, leauing some of his owne Legions withall, without molestation to them if they were quiet, and yet of force sufficient to repress them if they rebelled.

XIII. *Vitellius vpon composition with Flavius Sabinus Vespasians brother offereth to resigne vp the Empire. Sabinus by the souldiers is driuen into the Capitoll, and there besieged.*

The Capitoll is burnt: Sabinus taken and slaine.

DVRING their abode at Carsula, Antonius and Varus sent continually messages vnto Vitellius, offering him, if he would surcease Armes, and yeeld himselfe and his children to Vespasians mercy, life, mony, and what secret place he would chuse of Campania to retire himselfe into: to the same effect Mutianus wrote also vnto him: and Vitellius oftentimes gaue eare thereunto, entring into speech about the number of his seruants, and the choise of the place. So great a senselesnesse had possessed his minde, that if other men had not remembred, that he had beene once Prince, and therefore was not to looke for security in priuate estate, hee himselfe would haue quickly forgotten it. But the principall men at Rome secretly incited Flavius Sabinus being Prouost of the City, to put himselfe into the cause, and vndertake part of the victory and of the honour: making remonstrance vnto him, that the City Cohorts was his owne peculiar souldier, the Cohorts of the Watch-men would questionlesse take his part, and their owne retinue of bond-men should be at his disposition, beside the fortune of the side, and the easie course of proceeding they finde, that be in traine of winning: that he should not yeeld the honour of the Action of Antonius and Varus: that Vitellius had but few Cohorts in number, and those discouraged and trembling at the euil newes that came out of all quarters:

quarters: the common people was fickle and changeable; and if Sabinus would present himselfe for a head, they would vse the same flattering tearmes for Vespasian, which now they did to the other: as for Vitellius he was a man not able to gouerne himselfe in prosperity, much lesse sufficient to weild and winde out of his declining estate: that the honor of finishing the war would be his who first should take possession of the Citie; and so were it fit in all congruity, both for Sabinus to reserue the Empire to his brother, and for Vespasian to esteeme of all other mens seruice secundarily to Sabinus. These warlike speeches made but a slender impression in his feeble old minde and some did secretly suspect and charge him that thorow enuy and emulation he sought rather to hinder his brothers good fortune. For Flauius Sabinus was the elder brother, and exceeded Vespasian both in riches and authority, whiles they were both priuate men and was thought to haue saued his credit and kept him from breaking by lending him mony, but taking in morgage his house and lands for repayment thereof: wherupon albeit in outward shew they continued frindes, yet some secret ielousies were feared between them. But the better interpretation was, that being a milde man he abhorred from slaughter and blood, and therefore treated diuers times with Vitellius of a peaceable composing of matters vpon conditions. And after diuerse meetings at his house, at the last a capitulation was concluded vpon (as the fame went) in the Temple of Apollo, only two persons, Cluius Rufus and Silius Italicus being^a witnesses of their words: their countenances were noted a far off by the beholders: Vitellius seemed abiect and base, Sabinus not insulting, but pittying rather. And if Vitellius could as easily haue perswaded his friendes, as he was ready to yeeld himself, Vespasians Army had entred the City with out blood-shed: but the loyall and faithfull seruants of Vitellius flatly reiected all speech of peace and conditions, declaring the danger and dishonor thereof, and that the performance consisted only in the winners good pleasure. Nay said they, Vespasian will not be so confident, as to suffer Vitellius to liue, though in a priuate estate: or if he would, yet your very owne souldiers and friends will not abide it: and so thorow their pittie your life shall come in danger. You are old, and therefore for your part, as one that hath had his fill of both fortunes, are content to accept of conditions; but what title and state shall your litle son Germanicus haue? now they offer mony, seruants and the pleasant places of Campania to solace you in, but when Vespasian shal once be settled in the Empire, neither he, nor his frindes, nor his souldiers will thinke themselves safe, while so great a concurrant doth liue. Euen Fabius Valens, whom they had in prison, and reserued in store if ought should goe wrong, was too heauy for them to indure: much lesse are we to thinke, that Antonius and Fuscus and the chiefe flower of the side Mutianus, will otherwise deale with Vitellius then to make him away. Caesar left not Pompey aliue nor Augustus Antonius, vnlesse perhaps Vespasian cary a brauer mind, the meanest among many of your fathers followers and clyents, when he was fellow in office with Claudius the Emperor. Nay rather as it beseemeth you being son of a thrise Consul and Censor, as it becommeth so many honorable titles of your most noble house, let despaire at the least arme you to courage and boldnesse. The souldiers persist still for you: the good wil of the people continueth yet very feruent: in sum no greater harme can happen, then that which we run into voluntarily, die we must, if we be ouercome and die we shal, if we yeeld: the difference only is this, whether we should end our liues vertuously and with honour, or with shame and perpetuall reproch. But Vitellius eares were stopped against all manfull counsels: his minde was ouercome with care and pittie, lest with too long resisting he should leaue the conqueror lesse merciful to his wife and children. A^b mother also he had of great yeeres

^a Salustium fili-
milius H.S. a Fla-
uio Sabino Vespasiani fratre pepi-
gis saith Suet.
Vitell. capit. 15.
that is, 781250.
lib.

^b Sueton. Vitell.
c. 14. Suspectus &
in mortem matris
fuit, quasi egra
præberi cibum pro-
hibuisset, vaticinante Catta mi-
lere, cui velut o-
raculo acquiesce-
bat, ita demum fir-
mior ac diuissi-
me imperaturum,
si superstes paren-
tis existeret. Alij
tradunt ipsam, et
die præsentium, &
imminentium mo-
ris, venenum a
filio imbutasse
hanc sanè diffi-
ciler.

but she died some few daies before, very seasonably not to see the ruine of hir house, hauing gained nothing by her sonnes preferment, but sorrow and a good name. Vpon the eighteenth day of December, hearing of the reuolt of the Legion and cohortes at Narnia, hee departed out of the Palace in mourning weede, with his seruants all sadde and weeping about him, and withall in a small ^{* LeBictald.} chaire was caried his little yoong sonne, as it were to his buriall. The people in passing vsed their accustomed flatteries, being as then out of season: the soldier kept silence, but seemed to carry wrath in his countenance: neither was there any man so senselesse, or vnmindfull of humane instabilitie, which was not moued with that sight. An ^{c Suetonius l. 1. c. 15. lome. what otherwise.} Emperour of Rome, a little before Lord of the whole world, to abandon the seat of his state, and thorow the people, the city to go out of the Empire! The like was neuer seene, neuer heard of before. Sodaine violence oppressed Cæsar the Dictator, and secret conspiracie Caius: night and the obscure corner of a countrey house couered Neroes flight: Piso and Galba died as it were in the field: but Vitellius in the assembly of his owne people, amidst his owne souldiers, women also looking out of their windowes, after he had vttered some few speeches agreeable to his present heauines; that he gaue place in regard of quietnes, and the good of the weale publike, onely desiring them to retaine some remembrance of him, and take pity of his brother & his wife, & the harmeles age of his yoong children; presenting withall his son vnto them, & recõmending him somtimes to particular persons somtime to the generall assembly: at the length overcome with teares he loosed his sword from his side and offered it vnto Cæcilius Simplex the Consull that stood by, surrendring thereby as it were the power of life and death ouer the citizens. Which when the Consull refused to accept, the whole assembly also clamourously gainsaying it, he departed protesting he would in the temple of Concordia lay downe all his regalities, and so as a priuate man retire himselfe to his brothers house. But there the multitude began to cry more then before, not suffering him to enter into a priuate house, but calling him to the Palace stopping vp the other passage, & leauing that only open which led to Via sacra. Whereupon not knowing what to do, or whither to turn him, he returned in the end to the Palace again. Now the fame was gon before the fact that he had resigned the Empire: & Flavius Sabinus had written to the Tribunes of the cohorts, to keepe their souldiers in order. And now as if the whole common wealth were fallen into Vespasians armes, the chiefe of the Senators with many gentlemen, and all the Citty-souldiers, and the watchmen flocked to Sabinus house. There they vnderstoode of the peoples constant affection towarde Vitellius, and the threatnings of the German cohorts: but Sabinus had proceeded too farre now to drawe backe; and euery man vpon his owne particular feare vrged him being otherwise loath to goe out and take armes, lest the Vitellianists should meete with them afterward when they were seuered, and so of lesse strength. But as it falles out in such cases, all gaue counsaile, but few tooke part of the perill. About Lacus Fundani the armed men of Sabinus were encountred by some of the most resolut Vitellian soldiers: there a small skirmish was fought, as in a sodain tumult; wherein the Vitellianists had the better. Sabinus seeing his side go down, as the safest way vpon the present, seized vpon the Capitol with his soldier, & some Senators & gentlemen, whose names it is not easy to set down, bicause very many when Vespasian was prince pretended to haue done that seruice to the side. Some womē also retired into the Capitol, & there were besieged: amongst whom the most famous was Verulana Gracilia, drawen neither with respect of children, nor kinsfolke, but only bicause she would be of a party. The Vitellianists hauing pinned them vp, set the letinels so negligently

ligerly, that about midnight Sabinus set forth and brought into the Capitoll his owne children, and Domitian his brothers sonne, and dispatched out other messengers to the Flavian captaines, shewing them how they were besieged, and vnlesse succour came, were in great danger, and passed the whole night in that quietnesse without any attempt from the enemy, that he might haue easily escaped without any perill. For the Vitellian souldiers as they were fierce, and stout against dangers, so in labour and watching they were not diligent; and withall a great shower falling on the sodaine hindred both their sight and their hearing. When the day appeared, before any act of hostilitie was begun by either, Sabinus sent Cornelius Martialis a principall Centurion with instructions to Vitellius, complaining and charging him with breach of couenants, and that it was but a colourable matter in him, and a fayned shew of resigning the Empire, onely to intrap so many noble personages: for if otherwise, why withdrew he himself from the Rostre, into his brothers house standing neare to the Forum, and full in the sight of the world, and not rather to his wiues in mount Auentine out of the way; for so had it beene meetest indeed if he had ment to haue liued as a priuate man, and auoyded all shew of a Prince: whereas contrarily he returned againe euen into the Palace, the very seate of the Empire, and from thence he sent forth a company of armed men, who had polluted the most famous part of the cittie with the blood of innocent persons, not forbearing the Capitoll it selfe: for his part he continued vnarmed, and liued in all respects as an other Senatour, whiles in the meane time the matter was tried betweene Vespasian and Vitellius by maine battels of Legions, taking of townes, and yeelding of cohorts: yea when Spaine, Germanie and Britannie were reuolted, yet did he being Vespasians brother continue still in allegiance, till Vitellius began first to motion a parle; who surely should find in the end that peace and composition is indeeed for the glory of the conquerours, but for the vtility of the conquered: or if it repented him of his bargaine, let him not make war against him, whom he had with falshood beguiled, nor against Vespasians yoong sonne (for what woulde the death of an olde man and one childe auaille?) but let him go out and encounter the Legions, and there trie the maine matter: other things would follow the euent of that battaile. To his charge Vitellius in great feare made answere, with some words in excuse of himselfe, & laying the blame vpon his souldiers, whose too much vehemencie, his modestie, he saied, was vnable to bridle: and withall aduised Martialis to conuey himselfe out of the house by a priuy way, least the soldiers should murder him as a negotiatour of the peace, which they so greatly detested: and indeede Vitellius was now but a cipher, neither able to commande nor forbid, not Prince in effect, but onely matter of warre. Martialis was scarce returned into the Capitoll, when as the Vitellian soldiers, in a great fury were also at hand, without any leader or captaine, but euery man of his owne head: leauing with speede the Forum and temples vpon it behinde them, they set themselues in array and marched vp the hill, euen to the first gate of the Capitoll. There were in old time certaine open galleries vpon the side of the cliffe, on the right hand as a man goeth vp; from the tops whereof the defendants with stones and tiles beat the Vitellianists downe, who had in their hands nothing but swords, and to staie while engins and shot were fetched seemed lost time: wherefore they tooke firebrands and hurled them into the vttermost gallerie, and following the fire were at the point to haue entred the gate of the Capitoll being halfe burned, had not Sabinus pluckt downe all the images and glorious monuments of our progenitours, and in the entrance of the gate made as it were a countermure of them. Then they assaied to make their entrie on the other
side

f Or the lower,
 sustinemies fasti-
 - gum. *Aquila*.
 peradventure so
 called, because
 they were caue
 to the likenesse
 of Eagles.
 f The foundation
 of it according
 to *Dionysius*
 lib. and li. 4. was
 πετο δ' αἰε. κ. τῆς
 Ηρώς κ. τ. ε. Α-
 θωαῖς κατ.
 i In bello civili
 Syllano anno ur-
 bis cond. 12671.
 Scipione & Nor-
 bano coss. *Appian*
 1. Εμφ. αἰς ἡμε-
 ραις κ. π. κατ-
 τωλιν εἰς πε-
 πησεν, κ. τ. ἡρ-
 πης ἰλογοποιεῖν
 Κέρβερος ἢ τῆς
 ἰσοάτων, ἢ Σόλ-
 πης ψαιτες εἶναι
 τοῦ ἀκριβῆς ἀ-
 δηλον ὡς, κ. ἡ
 χω τῶναι τῆς ἐξ
 συμβαλεῖν δι' ἣν
 αἱ ἑταῖρες ἐξέτετο.
 b *Dionysius* d. 3
 Luy lib. 1.
 i Threycares
 after, *Dionysius*
 lib. 5. Luy lib. 2.
 putceth the dedi-
 cation in the first
 Consulship of
Horatius. in the
 first yeere of the
 free state, con-
 trary to *Dionysius*
 and *Tacitus*
 here.
 k Anno urbis
 cond. 671.
 I Occiso den ūm
 C Nat. of felici
 nomen adfuerit
 Sylla *Velleius* l. 2.
Appian. 1. Εμφ.
 ὡν ἡ αἰτὸν αἰ-
 κηλαῖς διδοτυ-
 χῶν ὅτι τῆς ἰ-
 χθῆρος αὐτῶν καὶ
 κ. ἀνῆλθεν εἰς
 βίβαν ὄμμα ἢ
 κολακίαν. *Pharar*
Sylla. κ. πῆρας
 ἐκλήνυσεν αὐτὸν
 ὅτι τῆς εὐτυ-
 χῆς ἀπογορεύει-
 δαι. τὸ τοῦ δ' ὁ
 οὐλῆς βίβαν κα-
 λῆσαι δηλῶν.

flee, and Quintius Atticus the Consull, a man of speciall make by reason of his office, and through his owne vanitie and follie, hauing published edicts in honour of Vespasian, and to the disgrace of Vitellius. The rest made sundry shifts to escape, some in bondmens apparell, others were hidden by their clients, and conueyed away amongst the stufte: some there were also that had learned the Vitellianills watch-word; whereby one of them knew another, and so asking and answering accordingly vsed boldnesse in lieu of a hole to lurke in. Domitian at their first breaking in was hid in the sextens house, and there by the policy of his freedman put in a linnen garment, as the ministers of the temple did weare, & so escaped vknown, and lay secret at the house of Cornelius Primus, one of his fathers followers, neere to the Velabrum. Afterward when his father came to the state he pulled down the sextens lodging, and builded there a little chappell in honour of *Iupiter his Preseruer*: and also erected an altar and caused this history to be cut in marble: and when hee came to the Empire himselfe he built a great temple to *Iupiter his Keeper*; and consecrated himselfe in the lap of the god. Sabinus and Atticus being loaden with irons, and brought to Vitellius, were neither receiued with ill speech, nor ill countenance; wherat they which challenged to kil them, & reward for their seruice, fretted and chaffed: and so the next beginning the cry, the rascall sort of the people demanded Sabinus death, mingling threats and flatteries together. And as Vitellius presented himselfe vpon the staires of the palace to intreate for his life, they forced him in the end to desist: then they stabbed and mangled him, and cutting off his head trailed the body into Gemonia. This was the ende of Sabinus, a man surely not to be contemned. He had serued in publicke place thirtie five yeeres, and was greatly renowned both for matters of peace and of warre: for integritie and vpright dealing no man could touch him: somewhat he was too full of wordes; the onely thing blamed in him during the seauen yeares that he ruled in Moesia, & the twelue yeares that he was prouost of the Cittie: in this last act of his life some iudged him cowardly, others moderate rather and sparing of his citizens bloud; but of this all men agree that before Vespasian was Prince, the reputation of the house rested in Sabinus. It was thought that Mutianus was glad of his death: and many were of opinion, that it fell out not ill in respect of quietnes, all strife and emulation being therby taken vp betweene two, whereof the one was the Emperours brother, and the other caried himselfe as his fellow. But Vitellius when the people required also Atticus the Consuls death plainly withstood them himselfe, being somewhat appeased, and in some sort to requite him, for that being examined, who had first fired the Capitoll, he tooke vpon him the matter himselfe, and by that confession, whether it was true indeed, or fained onely to serue the present purpose, seemed to take vpon him the blame of the fact, and cleere Vitellius and his adherents.

¹ As a pledge of the Empire] Liuius. lib. 1. *secutum aliud magnitudinem imperij portendens prodigium est. caput humanum integrum a facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse: quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperij caput quae rerum fore portendebat. idque ita cecidere rates quiquae in vrbe erant, quosque ad eam rem consultandum ex Etruria acciuerat.* Dionysius li. 4. reporteth the words of the answer made to certain messengers sent from Rome purposely into Etruria. *ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, λέγετε πρὸς τοὺς ἐαυτῶν πολίτας, ὅτι κεφαλὴν εὐρέτε. ἥτις αὖτε συμπαροῦς ἱταλίας τὸν τόπον τούτον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν κεφαλὴν εὐρέτε.* That is, Men of Rome, tell your Citizens that the Gods have decreed, that where this head was found, that place should be the head of all Italie. Varro lib. 4. de Ling. Latina. *Capitolium dictum quod hic, cum fundamenta foderentur aedis Iouis, caput humanum inuentum dicitur. hic mons ante Tarpeium dictus a virgine Vestali Tarpeia quae ibi ab Sabinis necata. arma & sepulta: eius nominis monumentum relictum, quod etiam nunc eius rupes, Tarpeium appellatur saxum.* And this head so found I take to be that pignus imperij here in Tacitus.

² Porsenna when the Cittie was ycelled] It must be that either Tacitus followed some other tradition in this storie then we haue, as in deede by Liuy it appeareth there were other, or else had forgotten himselfe in reporting it. Of hostages given to Porsenna Dionysius lib. 5. and Liue lib. 2. make mention: of surrendering the Cittie I finde no word spoken by any other we haue extant saue Tacitus, to my remembrance.

³ Who laid also] According to Dionysius Halic. Tarquinius Priscus did bu: only leuell the ground: Tar-

quinius

quinius Suetonius laied the foundations and builded most of it vp, but did not communicate the worke ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναστάσει αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι τῶν τελευτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν σωτέων ἐκείνων. That is, but the Temple was finished under the annual ministrates, the third yeare after they came in. Read the same Dionysius lib. 4. and lib. 5. But it may seeme that Tacitus tooke hold of these words in Luy lib. 1. *Ta quinius Priscus aream ad alem in Capitolio Iouis occupat fundamentis.* which notwithstanding is not otherwise ment, but of leuelling the ground, and making it ready for the laying of the foundation. For Suetonius, as it appeareth by the same Line, was the man that layed the foundation. Of Seruius Tullius in this building I haue not found mention eliewhere to my remembrance.

XIIII. *Lucius Vitellius taketh Tarracina.*

IN the meane season Lucius Vitellius pitching his campe at Feronia, pressed sore vpon Tarracina to take it, hauing shut into the towne the “fencers and mariners, who durst not come out of the wals, nor hazard themselves in the felde. Their captaines (as we haue remembred before) were Iulianus ouer the fencers, and Apollinaris ouer the mariners, men both in a dissolutenes, & insufficiency more like fencers then captaines: obseruing no order in watching and warding, nor repaying the weake parts of the wals, but passing both nights and daies in wantonnesse and melodie, vpon those pleasant sea-shoares, and dispersing the souldiers abroad to make prouision for their riot, neuer talking of warre, but in banquet. Apinius Tiro was departed some fewe daies before, and with his extortions and sharpe dealing in the free townes, purchased more ill will then strength to the side. In the meane time a seruant of Virginius Capito fled out of the towne to Lucius Vitellius, promising him, if he wold allow him sufficient men, to deliuer secretly the castle being vnmanned, and accordingly in the dead of the night he brought certaine light armed cohorts, into the place standing vpon the top of a hill, ouer the enemies head. From thence the soldiers ran down rather to a butchery then a battell, killing some vnarmed, others beginning to arme, some newly awaked out of sleepe distracted and confounded with feare, darknesse, and sound of trumpets and noyie of enemies. A few of the “fencers made resistance, and were slaine, albeit they sold their liues deare: the rest ran headlong to the ships, where through to like feare all things were in the like confusion; or so much the more because the townesmen were gotten in amongst them, whom the Vitellianists also did kill without any difference. Six ships vpon the notice of the surprise escaped, and with them Apollinaris the Admirall of the nauie: the rest were either taken vpon the shore, or else suncke in the sea, being ouercharged with the company that leapt into them. Iulianus was brought to Lucius Vitellius and scourged, then slaine in his presence. Diuers haue accused Triaria Lucius Vitellius wife, that girding herselfe with a sworde like a souldier, she should haue demeaned herselfe cruelly, and insolently amidst the pittifull cries, & lamentable destruction of the poore towne. Lucius himselfe sent a lawrell in token of victory to his brother, requiring withal his further pleasure, whether he should returne presently to Rome, or stay and subdue the rest of Compania: the interposing of which little time fell out greatly for the good both of Vespasians side, and of the state. For if the souldiers presently after their victory had directly repayed to Rome, whiles they were in courage and hart, by reason of their late good successe, beside a naturall obstinatenes in them, the matter would not haue beene ended so quickly without much ado, and the euident destruction of the Cittie. For Lucius Vitellius albeit he were infamous otherwise, yet was he industrious, and powerable nor as good men by vertues, but by vices as the worst sort.

“Gladiatores.

“Gladiatores.

XV. *The Flavian armie entreteth the citty. The Praetorian campe is taken by force. Vitellius is slaine.*

^a Saturnalia began the 17 of December, and continued till the 24. of the same moneth.

WHILES these things were a doing of Vitellius side Vespasians armie remooved from Narnia to Otriculum, and at good leysure celebrated the ^a Saturnalia there. The cause of this harmefull delay, was to stay for Mutianus: some impute it to Antonius, as done with a traiterous intent, vpon letters receiued from Vitellius, wherein he offred vnto him the Consulship, and his daughter in mariage with a great dower, if he could reuolt, in reward of treason: others affirme, that all this was falsely surmised, and maliciously spred to please Mutianus withall. Some are of opinion, that it was the purpose of all the Commanders rather to put the Cittie in feare, then to seeke to take it by force, seeing the most and principall cohorts had already relinguished Vitellius; and now al the strength being cut off, it was likely he would resigne the Empire without further coaction: but all that course was crossed, first by Sabinus haste, and then through his cowardlinesse; who rashly taking armes was not afterward able to keep a fortresse of that strength, and which euen great armies could not haue taken, against three onely cohorts. But the fault cannot well be imputed to one, which was common to all. For both Mutianus was some occasion of stay, by meanes of his doubtfull letters, and Antonius by his preposterous obeying, or in seeking to auoide enuie, deserved great blame, and the other Commanders presuming the warre to be finished, made the ende of it more notorious. Neither did Petilius Cerealis (who was sent before with a thousand horse, to coast through the countrey of the Sabins, and so to enter the citty by Via Salaria) make that haste as the matter required, till in the ende the newes of the siege of the Capitoll made him stirre all at once. Antonius came forward by the Flaminian way to Saxa rubra late in the night, and too late to succor. For there he vnderstood that Sabinus was slaine, the Capitoll burned, the city in great feare, and all things went ill: it was also declared, that the people and bondmen were arming for Vitellius. And besides Petilius Cerealis had receiued a blow in a skirmish of horsemen, by running headlong and charging rashly vpon the enemye, presuming them conquered persons: but the Vitellianists, with horsemen and footemen interlaced together, valiantly receiued the charge. This skirmish was not farte from the citty, among the buildings, and gardens, and crosse lanes, wherewith the Vitellianists were well acquainted, the other not; which was an occasion to dismay them the more: and besides all their horsemen were not of one minde and affection, some being of those that hauing lately yeelded at Narnia kept aloofe, meaning afterward to close with the winner. Tullius Flauianus captaine of a wing was taken prisoner, the rest ranne away dishonorably: but the Vitellianists pursued no further then to Fidenæ. By this successe the affection of the people was greatly augmented, & immediately the townesmen tooke armes: few had many military targets, but the most tooke vp whatsoeuer weapons came to their hands, & forthwith required the signe of the battell. Vitellius thanked them hartily, and willed them to issue out with all speed in defence of the city. Then he called a Senate wherin Embassadors were appointed to the armie, which as in the name & vnder the colour of a common weale, should perswade them to peace and agreement. The hap of the Embassadors was not all alike: For they which met with Petilius Cerealis incurred extreme daunger, the souldiers refusing vtterly all conditions of peace, and Arulenus Rusticus the Pretor was wounded, which beside the enormity of the fact, in the person of an Embassador

fadour and a Pretor, was also more hainous, in regard of the woorthines of the man. His traine was dispersed, and one of his sergeantes next before him slaine, for presuming among armed men to make way thorow the prease for his master: and vnlesse they had beene defended by a band that the captaine assigned to garde them, the right and priuiledge of Embassadors, reputed sacred euen amongst strangenations, had through ciuill furie beene violated by murder, euen at the very gates and wals of the cittie. But they which came to Antonius found more courteous entertainment, not because those soldiers were ciuiller, but because the General was of greater authority. Into the company of these Embassadors Musonius Rufus inserted himselfe, a gentleman of Rome addicted to the study of philosophie after the way of the Stoicks, who thrusting himselfe among the companies of the souldiers began to discourse of the good of peace, and danger of warre, and to schoole men in armes: at which many scoffed, more grew weary of it, and some forbore not to push and spurn him away, till in the ende by the aduice of the discreeter sort, and the threats of the other he was perswaded to desist from his vnseasonable wisdom. The Vestall Virgins also were sent with letters from Vitellius to Antonius, requesting him to differ the battaile for one day: by meanes of that little delay with more ease would all points be agreed vpon. The virgins were sent home with honour, and answere was made to Vitellius that by the murther of Sabinus, and the burning of the Capitol all parle of peace was cut off, and all extremitie to be looked for: notwithstanding Antonius calling his armie together assaied to pacifie them thus farre, that they would be content to encampe themselves for that present at the Miluian bridge, and not to enter the towne before the next day: the reason of the motion was, lest the souldier hauing his bloud heated in skirmish, should afterwarde spare neither people nor Senate, no not the churches and temples of the gods. But they misliked and suspected all delay as a hinderance to the victorie: and withall certaine banners glittering vpon the side of the hils, albeit followed by none but towne-people, and men of seruice, made a shew of an armie. Whereupon the Flauianists diuiding themselves into three companies, made their approach to the towne: one part as it stood along the Flaminian way, another close by the bancke of the Tiber, and the third by Via salaria toward the Gate called Collina. The towne-people was immediately broken by the horsemen, but the Vitellian souldier made head, diuiding^b also themselves into three seuerall bandes. Many skirmishes passed betweene them before the towne, & with diuers euent, but more commonly to the aduantage of the Flauianists, who had more sufficient men to their captaines. They onely of that side were distressed, which turned vpon the left hand toward the Salustian gardens, through narrow lanes and slippery waies: where the Vitellianists standing aloft vpon the wals of the gardens, with stones & iauelins repulsed them, till it was towards the euening, when as the horsemen that in the meane time had entred at Collina were at their backes and surprized them. In Campus martius also there were hoat skirmishes betweene them. The Flauianists had the fauour of fortune, and the vantage of so many victories: the Vitellianists ran headlong and furious, supported with onely despaire: and albeit they were defeated and broken, yet did they rally themselves againe in the cittie. The people stood by and looked on as they fought, and as in a pastime or game clapped their hands, & encouraged sometime the one, and sometime the other: and when either side turned their backes, and hid themselves in houses or shops, they cryed to haue them pluckt out and killed, and so attained themselves the greatest part of the prey: for whiles the soldiers minded nothing but slaughter and bloudshed, the spoile fell to the common peoples share. Over all the
cittie

b. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

cittie a cruell spectacle and shamefull was to be seene : in one place fighting and wounding, in other tippling and bathing : here streames of bloud, & heapes of dead bodies, & hard by it strumpets & strumpets fellowes: in sum all the licentiousnes of a dissolute and riotous peace, & the misery of a most cruell captiuitie : so that a man plainly would iudge one & the same towne, bothe extremely furious and raging, & extremely drowned in pleasures. There had afore times passed great conflicts between armed powers in the citie, twise when Sylla, & once when Cinna ouercame, & the cruelty then was no lesse: but this was an vnnaturall brutish security, that men for one moment of time wold not intermit their accustomed pleasures, but as if this had given them further occasion of ioy amidst their festiual daies, clapped hands & reioiced, without care of sides, at the publick calamities. But the greatest difficulty of al was in taking the Prætorian campe, vnto the which the valiantest amongst the Vitellian soldiers had betaken themselves, as to their last refuge; & therefore the Flavianists were the more earnest to assault it, especially the old Prætorian cohorts, employing all means deuised for the taking of most fortified towns, as the target fence, engins of battery, mounts, & firebrands, crying aloud that that one worke was the accomplishment & perfection of all the trauels and dangers, which they in so many battailes had passed; that the city belonged to the Senate and people, and the temples to the gods, and both were restored to their owners : but the souldiers honour was in the campe, that was his countrey, and his dwelling place, which vnlesse they could straightwaies recouer, they must and would lye all night in their armour. On the other side the Vitellian soldiers, although inferiour both in number and fortune, disturbed the course of the victorie, hindred the peace, polluting the houses and altars with bloud, and embracing the last comfort to conquered persons. Many lay gasping and died vpon the towers and battlements of the walles. When the gates were broken vp, they that remained aliue presented themselves to the conquerors, and died all with their face toward the enemy, and wounded vpon their foreparts : such care they had, seeing they must die, to die in most honourable maner. Vitellius when as the citie was taken, conueyed himselfe in a carying * chaire, by the backegate of the Palace, into his wiues house in the mount Auentine intending if he could haue lye secret that day, to haue fled by night to Tarracina to his brother and the cohorts there. Anon changing his minde, and as it fallies out to men in a maze, fearing all things, and most disliking the present, he returned into the Palace againe now vast and desolate, euen his basest seruants being either fled away, or else purposely shunning his presence. This great solitarinesse, and silence in those places astonished him : whereupon he assayed to open that which was shut, and was amazed finding all voide. After much pittifull wandring about, being wearied he cast himselfe into a ° base corner : whence Iulius Placidus Tribune of a cohort pulled him out, and led him along thorow the citie with his hands bound behinde him, and his garments all torne, a most ignominious spectacle, many reuiling him, and no man pittying his case: the dishonourableness of his end had taken away all compassion. Being led in this maner, one of the German souldiers aimed a blow, whether intending to strike at Vitellius vpon some quarrell, or because he would sooner rid him from shame, or else at the Tribune it is vncertaine, certaine it is that in striking he cut off the Tribunes eare, and was forthwith slaine himselfe. Then forcing Vitellius with the points of their swordes sometimes to looke vp and abide all indignities, some times to see his owne images breaking their neckes, and many times to beholde the Rostra, and the place where Galba was slaine, they haled him along, and at the last thrust him into the Gemoniæ, where the body of Flavius Sabinus had

* *Sellula. Suet. Hist. c. 16. gestatoria sella.*

° *In Cellulam innotis, scilicet Suetonius. c. 16. re-ligato pro foribus cane, lectoque et c. in turri obellu.*

had lien. One word he was heard vtter not proceeding from an abieſt minde, in answer to the Tribune who insulted ouer him : That he had yet sometime beene his Prince : and so after many wounds receiued he fell downe dead : and the common people as much without reason railed vpon him when he was dead as they flattered him being a liue. He was sonne to Lucius Vitellius : about seauen ^a and fifty yeares old when he died : the Consulship and sacerdotall dignities, with a name and place among the chieft of Nobility, he attained vnto, not thorow any sufficiency of his owne, but by his fathers great fame and renowne : the Empire was conferred vpon him by those which knew him not ; and yet neuer man found so constant good will of his souldiers by vertuous meanes as this man with all his cowardly sloth : notwithstanding there was in him plaine meaning and liberality, which without discreet handling turne often to a mans ruine: faithfull friends he deserued rather then found, because he sought them more by great gifts, then vertuous behauiour. It was a singular benefit to the Common-wealth, it cannot be denied, that Vitellius was put downe ; but they which betrayed him to Vespasian ^b haue small reason to reckon it among their good deedes to the State, being the same men that had also reuolted from Galba before. That day the Senat could not be called, because it was already farre spent, and the Magistrates and Senatours vpon feare had withdrawn themselves out of the City, or else lay hidden in their Clients houses. Domitian when all feare of hostility was past, presented himselfe to the Flauian Captaines, whom the souldiers straight-waies saluted Cæsar, and armed accompanied him to his fathers house.

^b Especially some of them who were afterward traitors to Vespasian also, as Cæcina by name. Suetonius, Titus, cap. 6. Xiphilinus, &c.

^a Seuen and fifty yeere old] Vitellius was borne, saith Suetonius, ^a Druso Cæfare & Nobano Flacco Coss. which was *ab vrbe condita* the 768. yeere, the 24. of September, or as some say, the seuenth of the same moneth. The day in which he went out of the Palace with intention to resigne the Empire, was according to Tacit. the 18. of December in anno 822. the day following being the 19. of December the Capitoll was burned, the ^b twentieth of December Antonius entred into the towne, and the death of Vitellius ensued. All which doth appeare plainly by the courſe of the Story of Tacitus. So that from his birth to his death we haue no more by iust account but fifty foure yeeres, and as much as is betweene the seuenth or foure and twentieth of September, and the twentieth of December.

^a *Vit cap. 3.*
^b Beside the circumstances in Tacitus, Iosephus 4. *alia cap. 42.* expresse saith, *μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν (of the burning of the Capitoll) ἐσθλάσαν ἀντίπυρρον, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ λαίαν.*

THE

THE FOU RTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The behauiour of the Flauian souldiers in the Citie, after the death of Vitellius.*



ITELLIVS thus being slaine, the warre was rather ended then peace begun. For the conquerours with implacable hatred, pursued the contrary side thorowout the City in armes : the streetes were strawed with dead carcases, the Temples and common places embrued with bloud ; euery one lying slaine, where it was his chance to be ouertaken, without distinction of place : and anon licentiousnesse growing, they began to search houses, and fetch forth such as were hid : if they saw any man looke like a souldier, personable of stature and of yeeres not disagreeing were he souldier or Citizen they murdered him : satiating themselues at the first, whilst their malice was fresh, with nothing saue bloud. But anon the heate of their choler asswaging, they conuerted their cruelty into couetousnesse : suffering no Closet to escape vnrisled, no hidden place any where to be secret, pretending the Vitellianists lay hidden therein : that was the colour to breake vp mens houses, or if resistance were made, an occasion to slay them. Beside the souldiers, the rascals and beggerly scumme of the people, now with the foremost, helped to sacke and to spoile : and some of the lewdest bond-men voluntarily described their wealthy masters ; some were detected by their owne friendes : euery where lamentations and outcries were to be heard, and the miserable state to be seene, and face, as it were, of a City taken by the enemy : insomuch that the insolent and riotous souldier of Otho and Vitellius, so much detested before was now in comparison much wished for againe. The Commanders of the side were indeed sufficiently able to kindle a ciuill war, and vnable to moderate the victory. For to stirre vp dissensions and troubles, the woorst man most commonly beares greatest stroake ; but peace and quietnesse are not establisshed, but by men of rare gifts, and excellent vertues. Domitian ^a had already possessed himselfe both of the title, and lodging of Cæsar : not bending his studies as yet to matters of state, but in adulteries and dissolute demeanour behauing himselfe as an Emperours sonne. Arrius Varus was Captaine of the Guard : but the whole power, in effect, and direction of affaires, rested in the hands of Antonius Primus ; who at his pleasure tooke mony, and seruants out of the Palace, with the like liberty, as if it had beene the spoiles of Cremona. The rest, either for modesty or because they were not of name, as in war they passed vntenowned, so at this time they went vnrewarded.

^a Transferring himselfe belike, *è paterni penatibus*, whether he was conducted by the souldiers in *Palatium*.
^b Tac. in *vita Agricola. admodum iuueni Domitiano, & ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante.*

II. *Lucius Vitellius yeeldeth himselfe, and his souldiers to the Flauianists.*

THE City fearing new troubles, and ready to submit themselues to the present possessor, required that Lucius Vitellius, as he with his Cohorts returned from Tarracina, might be surprized, and so all remnants of ciuill warres vtterly extinguished.

III. *Lucilius Bassus sent to quiet Campania, the servant of Verginius Capito hanged.*

12. Hist. Capna
Virellio fida &c.
This affliction
suddenly was very
short for it could
not begin before
the very latter-
end of Decem-
ber, and in the
beginning of Ja-
nuary, *urina legio,*
familiaris Arno
Vare miles, in *Sy-*
riam remissa, *Tar-*
citus elsewhere:
vulsthe he forgot
himselfe in the
one place or
the other.

NOW at Rome, whatsoeuer honours and preeminences were vsually vnitd to the Emperors person, the Senate^a bestowed vpon Vespasian, ioyfully, and conceiuing assured hope of future tranquillitie. For seeing the contagion of ciuill diffention, beginning in^b France and Spaine, had passed to the German souldiers, then taken a course to Illyricum, and lastly infected Ægypt, Iudæa, and Syria, in summe, all prouinces and armies: they were to presume reasonably, the whole world being thus purged and clenfed, that the humour was spent, and ciuill warres and calamities were at an end. Which hope and gladnes of theirs was increased by certaine letters receiued from Vespasian, endited as if the warre had yet beene on foot; for so they shewed at the first sight: notwithstanding he spake in all points as their Prince; modestly indeed of his owne person, and of the weale-publicke magnifically howbeit the Senate was not slacke in declaring their obedience. To himselfe with Titus his sonne was awarded the Consulship, to Domitian the Pretorship and* Consulare authoritie. Moreouer Mutianus had written letters to the Senate, which thing ministred matter of speech: If he were a priuate man, why should he write thus in publicke to the Senat? he might haue spared his pen, and within few

a A fragment of
this *Sennarius cons.*
fulcrum is extant
ad verbis among
the decayed anti-
quities of Rome.
b In the warre of
Galba & Vindex
against *Nero*.

* Consulare impe-
ratorum Dio. lib. 54.
specifieth two
prints of it, to
wits $\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\omega\chi\epsilon$
 $\chi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\iota\ \kappa\iota\ \sigma\iota\mu\mu\epsilon$
 $\sigma\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\epsilon\iota\ \iota\sigma\tau\alpha$
 $\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\chi\alpha\iota\ \delta\eta\iota\ \tau\eta$
 $\sigma\iota\mu\mu\epsilon\ \delta\iota\ \phi\alpha\upsilon$
 $\kappa\alpha\delta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$

daies after haue vttered the same there in person, as one of the house. likewise his inueying against the Vitellianists was misliked, as comming too late, and carying no shew of liberty now: but especially that seemed arrogantly spoken against the common weale, & contumelious against the Prince, where he vaunted, that the Empire was in his disposition, & by him was collated vpon Vespasian. Neuertheles couering their disdain in secret, they flattered openly, & in most ample & honorable termes awarded him triumphall ornaments; indeed in respect of his seruice in the ciuill warre but an expedition against the Samaritan^a was pretended: then to Antonius Primus were decreed Consulare ornaments, and Prætorian to Cornelius Fuscus, and Arrius Varus. After these things, deuoutly remembring the gods, they enacted that the Capitoll should be builded anew: all which points were specified first and comprised in Valerius Asiaticus the^c designed Consuls oration; to whom the rest assented, the greater part with countenance and wagging of hands, some few either chiefe in place, or chiefly exercised in the art of flatterie, with set orations and speeches. But when the course came to Heluidius Priscus, who was designed Pretor, he vttered his opinion, in termes honourable inough to a good Prince, yet without all flattery or glozing: a thing much commended and allowed of greatly by the Senate: and this was the day which especially procured vnto him, both great offence and great glory. The matter seemeth to require, seeing we are^d once againe fallen to mention him, whom many times hereafter we shall haue cause to remember, that we should at this time briefly record what life he had led, what studies he had followed, and what fortune he had prooued. Heluidius Priscus was borne in the first region of Italy, in the free city^e of Tarracina: his fathers name was Cluius a principall Centurion. Being very young he applied his rare and excellent wit to those profound studies, not, as the most part to cloke sloth, and idleness with so glorious a name, but that he might proceed to manage publike affairs being first by that meanes better armed against all mischance of fortune. In the studie of philosophie hee followed the learning of those^e masters, which define that onely to be good which is honest; that onely ill which is dishonest: other qualities not inherent in the mind, as powerableness, nobility and such like, neither good nor euill. When he had onely beene Questor; Petus Thrasea made choise of him for his sonne in lawe. Of his father in lawes conditions hee borrowed nothing so much as libertie: in qualitie of citizen, Senatours husband, sonne in lawe, friend; in all parts and offices of life he was alwaies one, and the same man, a contemner of wealth, stiffe in a good cause, not remoouable for any feare: to some men he seemed too desirous of glory: and indeed that passion, amongst all other, euen of wise men is last layed away. At the fall of his father in law he was^f driuen into banishment, and returning vnder Galba he called Eprius Marcellus, who had informed against Thrasea, to his answere. This attempt, of so great and so iust a reuenge, notwithstanding diuided the Senate into parts: for if Marcellus were ouerthrowen, then whole troupes of others, which were in the same case, must needes goe to wracke. At the first the contention was hoat and fierce, and maintained of both sides with notable orations: but when Priscus perceiued that Galba was doubtfull in the point, at the intreatie of many Senatours, he desisted from following the suite; diuerse men, according to their seuerall dispositions, diuersly interpreting his fact, some commending his moderation, others misliking his vnconstancie. But that same assembly when the Senate confirmed the Empire to Vespasian, with all an embassage was agreed vpon, to be sent to the Prince. Heere vpon arose taunting and bitter words betweene Heluidius and Marcellus Heluidius opi-

^b Consul designatus was ordinarily such first that did be daye to the Senatet proled by the Consul in Senate.

^d 2. Hist. for otherwise in the *Annales* he is mentioned often beside.

The Stoiker. out of whose schoole these opinions had their beginning. Laert. *Zenone*. lib. 7. Cicero *Paradoxis*, and others.

Tac. 16. *Annal.*

tion

nion was, that the Embassadors should be elected, and named by the magistrates being first sworne to chuse of the fittest. Marcellus required they might be chosen by lot, to which purpose also the designed Consull had spoken before: but the principall cause, which pricked Marcellus so forward that way, was the shame which might redound to himselfe, fearing, lest other being chosen, he should seeme to be, as vnwoorthy reiected. And so, after some few brawling words interchangeably vsed, by little and little they fell to continuall, and bitter orations: Heluidius demanding, what caused Marcellus so much to feare the iudgement of the magistrates, seeing he excelled many other, both in eloquence, and wealth, things which might easily mooue them to that choice: vnlesse peradventure the remembrance of his own manifold misdeeds draue him to distrust thē: that the lot made no difference between the good & the bad, but suffrages & the iudgment of the Senat were deuised to enter into euery mans fame, & behavior that it greatly appertained both to the comodity of the common wealth, & to Vespasians honour, that those of the Senat should be sent to meere him, which were best accounted of for innocencie, and integritie of life, who might season (as it were) the Emperours eares, with good and vertuous speeches: that Thrasea, Soranus, and Sentius had beene of Vespasians old friends, and acquaintance, whose accusers, if they must not be punished, much lesse sent and shewed in places of credit: and that by this choise of the Senate, the Prince should, as it were be admonished whom to like & whom to eschue. For no greater instruments, or helps of good regiment can there be, then good friends: that Marcellus had done for his part sufficiently, hauing induce d Nero to the destruction of so many innocents: let him enioy his rewards and impunitie, and leaue Vespasian to better directors. Marcellus replyed, that not his opinion, but the opinion of the designed Consull was impugned, and the ancient precedents, which committed the choise of Embassadors to lot, to take away al occasion of suiting and debate: that there was no new cause, that he knew, why so olde a custome should now be abolished, or why this honour done to the Prince should be turned into a dishonour to any, considering that euerie man was sufficiently able to carrie that message and do a low reuerence to him in the name of the Senate: nay rather they were to beware, lest through the peruerfnes of some the Princes minde might be offended, being now at his entry full of iealousies, and marking not onely words, but also all gestures and countenances. That, for his part, he well knew the qualitie of the times wherein he was borne, and what forme of gouernment our fathers, and grandfathers had established: & beyond he honored and admired, but professed to follow the present estate. That he prayed and wished indeed for good Princes: but if it were otherwise, would tolerate such as they were. As for the ouerthowe of Thrasea, why should he giue account of accusing, whenas the Senate gaue none of condemning? not his orations, but their voices wrought his vndoing: but so was Neros maner, with such shewes to colour his cruell proceedings; whose fauour and friendship anguished his minde peradventure as much, as banishment did some other mens. Finally, that well might Heluidius in constancy, and courage be equall to Cato and Brutus: for his owne part, he was one of that Senate, which were but seruants, as well as himselfe, and would likewise counsell Heluidius, not to seeke to cline aboute the Prince himselfe, nor like a tutour to bridle with his precepts Vespasian * hauing attayned to those yeeres, and that honor, & hauing beside so goodly an issue. For as wicked Princes loue to rule, and raigne without limitation: so euen the best would haue their subiects vse a mean in their liberty. These things, argued thus to and fro with great heat, distracted the Senate into diuerse opinions;

That is, the time of the free state.

* Seneca triumphalem, for his service in Britanny in Claudius time Vespasian had obtained triumphalia ornamenta. See Suetonius Vespasiano. cap. 4.

Syria felus priuato nomine P. Spastanum salutauerat, & in prætura omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione vlla transmissit; non ante succensuit quam altercationibus insistentibus penè in ordinem redactus. Hunc relegatum primò, deinde interfici iussu, missis qui percussores reuocarent, seruasset, nisi iam perisse falso nuntiatum esset. Probus. Eluidius Priscus post damnationem socii Papii Thrasæ, interdicta sibi Italia, Apolloniam concessit, sed post interfectum Neronem restitutus à Galba, non aliter quam libero ciuita is stauit. See Arrian also libro primo, cap. secundo disert. Epicteti.

* P. Celer] Publius Egnatius Celer a chiefe witnesse produced against Barea Soranus. Tac. 16. Ann. Cliers hic (speaking of Egnatius) Sorani, & tunc emptus ad opprimendam amicū auctoritatē in Sticæ sicla præferebat, habitu & ora ad exprimendam imaginem honesti & exerciti, ceterum animi perfidiosus & subdulus, auaritiā ac libidinem occultans, quæ postquam pecunia reclusa sunt, dedit exemplum precauendi, quomodo fraudibus inuolutus, aut flagitijs commaculatus, sic species bonarum artium falsas, & amicitias fallaces. Iuuenalis.

Sticæ occidit Baram delator amicū,

Discipulumque senex --

The Scholiast vpon Iuuenal toucheth another particularitie. Egnatius philisophus filiam Barea Sorani, cum ipsius ad magicam descendisset hortatu, Neroni dedit.

V. The entrie of Mutianus into the citie, and his actions there.

THINGS being in this state, the Senators iarring one with another, the conquered part being full of malice, the conquerors wanting authoritie, no lawes regarded, no Prince present to gouerne the itate, Mutianus made^a his entrie into the citie, and with a maine course drew the whole manage of affaires into his owne hands. Antonius Primus, and Varus were soone out of credit, when it was perceiued, that Mutianus loued them not, although in countenance he pretended otherwise: but the citizens hauing a quicke eie to see into secret dislikes, espying the truth, turned themselues quickly about, and went to Mutianus: he alone was courted, and followed of all. Neither was he, for his part, negligent in vsing all meanes to retaine his souerainty, being continually guarded with souldiers, and for his pleasure changing of houses and gardens; in his prouision, his gate, his traine, and warders, keeping the state of a prince, although he forbare the title and name. And first he commanded Calpurnius Galerianus to be slaine, which strooke an exceeding great terrour into mens hearts. Hee was sonne to Caius Piso, and had not entred into any attempt, but being of a noble house, and a comely young man, hee was greatly talked of by the common people: and as in a citie vnsetled, and among a people gladly imbracing new tales, some there were, which vainly named him to the princes place. Wherefore, at the commandement of Mutianus, hee was committed to a gard of souldiers: and lest his death in the face of the citie should haue beene more offense, forty miles off, in the Appian way hee was put to death, by letting the bloud out of his veines. Iulius Priscus, who had beene captaine of the garde vnder Vitellius, killed himselfe, rather for shame, then vpon necessity. His fellow Alphenus Varus ouerliued his honour, and sawe himselfe counted a cowarde, and a person infamed. Asiaticus, for his lewde credit vnder his master, made satisfaction now as a freed-man with a seruile death.

Josephus ad. 4. cap. 42. maketh Mutianus entrie on the very next day to Antonius, which is contrary to the circumstances in Tacitus, yet entering before the beginning of Ianuary he was not many daies behind and Tacitus, paucos post dies.

VI. The rebellion of the Batauians and Caninefates through the instigation of Iulius Civilis.

AT the same time the newes of the ouerthrowe in Germanie was rise in the citty, and the citty nothing troubled thereat (Euery man talked how the armies were slaine, the standing campes of the Legions taken by the enemy, how France had reuolted,) as if it had been newes of a strange countrey, not a calamity that touched themselues. That^a warre, vpon what causes it arose, and with how great banding it was maintained, both of our allies, & of forraine nations, I will now declare from the beginning. The Batauians, whilest they dwelt beyond the

^a This warre is shortly set downe by Josephus ad. 4. 7. cap. 11. and touched by Frontinus strateg. 4. cap. and Salust. riuensipolyeratic.

Rhene, were a part and member of the Catti; and being throwen out by ciuill sedition, they seated themselves in the vttermost limits of France, which then lay voide of inhabitants, and tooke in with the iland that is situate in the flattes, and hath the Ocean before, behinde and on either side the riuer of Rhene. And albeit they were confederate with the Romans much mightier then themselves. yet were they not, as it happeneth in such ouermatches, spoiled of their riches and wealth, but only bounde to minister men and armour to the behoofe of the Empire, and so for a long time they were employed in the German wars. Afterward they became more famous by reason of certaine cohorts of them sent ouer into Britannie by the Romans, vader the leading of certaine noblemen of their owne nation, according to their ancient order: and beside, there remained behinde in the cuntrey a company of chosen horsemen practised especially in swimming, so that they would in whole troupes passe ouer the Rhene in harnesse, and gouerning their horse in their handes. The principall men among them, and farre excelling all other, by reason of their royall parentage, were Iulius Paulus, and ^b Claudius Ciuilis, whereof Paulus was lately put to death by Fonteius Capito vnder colour of a falsly surmised rebellion: Ciuilis was sent in chaines vnto Nero, and acquitted by Galba, and againe vnder Vitellius ^c escaped narrowly, the armie instantly demanding his death. Vpon these causes his anger was founded, and vpon our troubles his hope. But being of a crafty and suttile wit, aboue the ordinary of those barbarous people, and carying himselfe rather like a Sertorius, or an Hanniball (as indeed in the maime of his face he was not vnlike) fearing lest if he should make open defection, our armies would aduance themselves against him as an enemye, he couered his dealing with loue to Vespasian, and fauour toward the side. And in truth ^d Antonius Primus had sent certaine letters vnto him, wherein he willed him to diuert away the aides ^e sent for by Vitellius, and vnder shew of trouble in Germany to stay the Legions there. The same aduise also Hordeonius Flaccus had giuen him by worde of mouth, partly vpon goodwill to Vespasian, and partly vpon a care of the state, which seemed to be in euident perill of vtter destruction, if a new warre should begin, and so many thousands of armed men passe into Italy. Thus Ciuilis being resolved to breake, and yet concealing his purpose, as meaning to gouerne himselfe in the action by the euent, began after this maner to worke innouation. At the commandement of Vitellius, the able men of the Batauians were summoned to be pressed to the warre: which being of it selfe a burdensome thing, was made much more insupportable, by the auarice and lewd disposition of the officers, who billed chiefly such as were old or impotent persons, and then for money released them: againe such as were vnder age, and faire (as many of their youths are of a comly tal stature) them they caried away to abuse their bodies. At these dealings the cuntrey being highly offended, certaine factious heads were suborned, to perswade them to refuse to be pressed. Wherupon Ciuilis assembling into a sacred wood vnder pretence of a banquet the nobility of the nation, and the chiefe of the communalty, when he saw them, at farre in the night, merrie, and warmed with wine, he beginneth a solemne oration, recounting first the praises, and glorious acts of the nation, and then discourseth vnto them of the iniuries, insolencies, and other miseries wherunto they are subiect, that are subiect vnto a strange nation: for that now they were not with the Romans in state of friends and alleies, as in former times, but flat seruants and slaues; and that not vnder a Lieutenant general, which were more tolerable; albeit they come with a chargable traine; and a proud and disdainfull kind of commanding: but they were deliuered into the hands of pettie captaines, and Centurions, whom when they had filled

^b Tacitus himselfe, i. Hist. Plut. Egeonius, Frontinus and Sabinus call him Iulius Ciuilis. but howeuer their names were, it seemes by Tacitus that Paulus and Ciuilis were brethren.
^c i. Hist.

^d By this circumstance wee may gather, that the German rebellion began about the beginning of winter, for Tacitus in noting both places and times, is in my sense too negligent.
^e Tac. 2. Hist.

with

with spoiles and bloud, then were they remooued, and straight waies fresh hungry masters set ouer them, and new deuises of polling inuented. that now the day of the muster approched, when children should be drawne from their parents, brethren from brethren, neuer to see one another againe: and that, which might the rather encourage them, the Romans were neuer in so poore a case, hauing nothing in their standing campes, but a rich spoile, and old men to garde it: wherefore they should onely lift vp their eies, and not be afraide^a at the naked and bare names of Legions. that they had strength of their owne, both of footemen and horse, the Germans were allied vnto them in bloud, the French likewise affected: that euen the Romans themselves would not greatly mislike of this warre, the losses whereof, if any were, they might impute to Vespasian, and if they went through and conquered, they should not be called to their account. Hauing ended his speech with great approbation of the audience, he bound them with barbarous ceremonies and adiurations vsed by them in like cases, in a firme association together. Straightwaies messengers were dispatched to the Caninefates, to induce them also into the league. The Caninefates inhabite a part of the Iland, of the same language and race, in valour equall to the Batauians, but inferiour in number. Then Civilis sent secret messages to sollicite the^f Batauian cohorts, which had serued as aydes in Britannie, sent into Germanie, as before^g we haue shewed, and at that time remaining at Magontiacum. Among the Caninefates there was one Brinio, a wilde and foolehardy braine, howbeit of a high and noble stocke, whose father, hauing sundry time inuaded our borders, and done many actes of hostility, boldly contemned those mocke-expeditions of Caius the Emperour: wherefore being descended of so rebellious a kindred, in that respect they liked him best of all others. And thereupon setting him, after their countrey manner, on a target, and bearing him rounde about on their shoulders, they elected him Generall: and he forthwith associating vnto him the^h Frisians, a nation beyond the Rhene, inuaded the standing campe ofⁱ two cohorts adioyning to the Ocean. The Roman souldiers, neither foresawe this sodaine inuasion of the enimie, neither, if they had, were of sufficient force to repell it: so the campe was taken and spoiled, and the vittailers and marchants, wandering securely abroad as in peace, cut off. Then they drew forth, to make their approaches to the castles, and holdes, which by the captaines of the cohorts were set on fire, because they were not defensible: the ensignes, and bandes, and such souldiers as were left, gathered themselves, vnder the leading of Aquilius a chiefe Centurion,^k into the higher part of the Ilande, composing an armie, rather in name then in power: for Vitellius at his departing drew away the chiefe strength of the cohorts, and for supply tooke out of the neere villages, of the Neruians and Germans, a rawe companie, whom he had loaded with armour. Civilis, supposing it surest to worke by fraud and deceite, blamed the captaines, for that they had forsaken their castles; assuring that he alone, with the cohort vnder his charge, would easilie repress the tumult of the Caninefates: and therefore willed them to returne euery man to his own place. It was perceiued, that his counsaile proceeded not of good meaning, but tended onely to this end, that the cohort being seuered might be ouerthrowen with greater facilitie: and by many apparent arguments, and speeches of the Germans themselves, a nation ioyfull of warre, and not concealing long their owne ioy, it was discovered daily more and more, that Civilis, not Brinio, was the head and contriuer of this conspiracie. Wherefore, seeing his secret plots tooke none effect, he fell to plaine force, and cast his power consisting of Caninefates, Frisians, and Batauians into three pointed battels, ech nation by themselves. The Romans opposed their forces

^f Whereof mention is made 1. Hist. 2 Hist. 8 2. Hist.

^h Tacit. de morib. German.

ⁱ For within the Iland no Legion was encamped, but only some cohorts.

^k Neerer to Viterra, where two Legions lay, quinta & quintadecima.

forces against him, not farre from the riuer of Rhene, directing also their shippes, which after the burning of the castles, they brought to that place, against the enimie. After a little skirmishing, a cohort of the Tungrians fled to Ciuilis: whereupon our souldiers, discomforted with the iodaine treason, were on all sides beaten downe, both by their false fellowes, and enemies: the like perfidiouseffe was also on the water. A great part of the rowers (being Batauians borne) taining vnskill in handling their oare, hindred both the mariners, and souldiers in doing their dutie: anon without dissimulation they wrought directly against them, and forced the ships to the enemies side, killing the Masters and Centurions, that would not condescend to their treason. And so the whole fleete, of fower and twentie barkes, either fled to the enimie, or was taken by force. This victory both presently wanne great reputation, and afterward stood in great steade: for they got both armour and ships, which before they wanted; and throughout France and Germanie, they were highly renowned as the authors of libertie. The Germans by and by sent Embassadours offering them aide: and Ciuilis, by policie and gifts, endeoured to win the hearts of the French, sending the captaines, whom he had taken, gently home, and giuing the cohorts free choice, either to abide with him, or at their pleasure to returne to their cuntrey: if they would tarrie, he offered them honorable reward for their seruice; if otherwise, at their departure he bestowed vpon them the spoiles of the Romans, withall admonishing them in secret of their calamities sustained so many yeeres, and of their miserable thraldome falsely intituled a peace; shewing them how the Batauians, though not charged with tributes, as they, had notwithstanding taken armes against them, which tyrannized ouer them both. that the Romans, at the first encounter, were put to the flight by them, and discomforted: what were then to be hoped, if all France shoulde ioyne to shake off the yoke? Italie was disarmed, and could of it selfe, neither conquire nor keepe; but with the prouinces bloud were the prouinces won. that they should not be discouraged with the remembrance of Vindex misfortune: for the Batauian horse were the men, which defeated him and his armie; And among the Aides of Verginius there were beside some French out of Belgica, and in true account France was ruined by her owne forces. But now if it pleased them to ioine with him in this action, they both should make but one partie: beside that they had seene and learned the best of the Romans militare discipline: moreouer those old experienced Batauian cohorts, before whom Othoes Legions could not stand, no doubt would goe with him. let Syria, and Asia, and the East, vsed to serue kings, be slaues if they list; in France many men were yet aliue borne before tributes¹ began: neither could it be denied, that Germanie of late, by the ouerthrow and death of Quintilius Varus, had giuen a checke to the Romish vsurpers, banished seruitude, and prouoked to the field, not a Vitellius, but a Cæsar Augustus. that libertie was granted by nature to dumbe beasts also, but vertue and valour were peculiar ornaments of mankind, and to the valiant alone the gods gaue their assistance. Wherefore, since they were at good leisure, and fresh, he willed them to set couragiously vpon their busily occupied and tired enemies: whiles some leaned to Vespasian, some claue to Vitellius, vndoubtedly harme might be wrought against both. Thus Ciuilis, laying the plot for France and Germany, aspired, if his purpose tooke effect, to the monarchy of those most mightie, and most wealthie countries.

¹ And Tribunes began about sixe score yeeres before so that many in France belike were long liued.

¹ At the naked and bare names of Legions] At this time were six vnperfect Legions, or rather names of Legions, as he termeth them heere: in high Germanie, at Magontiacum, two, quarta Macedonica & octauadecima alias duoetvicesima, beside eight Batauian cohorts. In lower Germany, at Bonna, prima legio: beneath it at Nouesium

sum *sextadecima*; and lowest of all, at *Vetera quinta & quintadecima*, both vnder *Mummius Lupercus*. The two last were in this warre utterly destroyed, and their campe razed. Tac. *Sextadecima & prima*, after *Hordeonius* death yeelded themselves to the enemy, and were by the enemies appointment remoued to *Triers*; then of their owne accord they went to the *Mediomatrici*, and from thence were sent for *Cerealis* and receiued into grace. The two Legions also at *Magontiacum* yeelded themselves to the enemy at the same time, & were not remoued from their campe, who vpon *Cerealis* comming returned againe to the Romans, Tacit. The eight *Batauan* cohorts reuolted at the first beginning of the warre to *Ciuilis*. Now in supply of these so reuolting, yeelding themselves, and being slain, there were assigned vnder the leading of *Petilius Cerealis* seuen Legions, saith *Tacitus*, to wit *sexta Victrix*, which came with *Mutianus* out of *Syria*, and *Octaua Augusta*, one of the *Mælian* Legions (for so it should be read, not *Octaua decima*, there being none of that name *inter victrices*) *vnac vicesima Rapax*; *secunda*, surnamed as I thinke *Flauia*, *recens conscriptis*; *quartadecima Gemina* out of *Britanny*; *sexta Ferrata*, & *decima Gemina* out of *Spaine*. For whereas the common copies of *Tacitus* haue *tertia ac prima ex Hispania accita* there was no *tertia* in *Spaine*, and that the *Spanish sexta* was in this action, we finde expressly set downe *lib. 5. Hist.* True it is, that a *prima* surnamed *Adiutrix* was in *Spaine*: but seeing we finde, *lib. 5.* twise mention of *decima*, a *Spanish Legion*, we must say, that either all Legions of *Spaine* were called away, against probability, or else that *prima*, should be read *decima*. So that following these corrections, in the latter end of this warre against the *Germans* and *French*, we haue not at one time eleuen Legions employed by the Romans.

Superioris Germania { *Quarta Macedonica.*
Octaua decima aliâs Duotvicesima: Didius Vocula legatus.

Inferioris Germania { *Prima: Herennius Gallus Legatus.*
Sextadecima: Numisius Rufus legatus, as I thinke.

Sexta Victrix, è Syriacis.
Octaua Augusta, è Mælicis.
Vnac vicesima Rapax, è Pitellianis.
Secunda Flauia, è recens conscriptis.
Quartadecima Gemina, è Britanicis.

Sexta Ferrata
Decima Gemina { *ex Hispanicis.*

a *Quarta*, as it seemeth was without Lieutenant, at least in this story none is named, and peradventure *Vitellius* had taken him away but surely *Didius Vocula* although by office but only Legate of the *xxii* alias the *xxii* executed no doubt both the charges.

VII. *Hordeonius Flaccus*, Lieutenant generall of both Germanies, lying at *Magontiacum*, commaundeth *Mummius Lupercus*, who with two Legions the first and fiftenth lodged at *Vetera*, to go forth against *Ciuilis* and the *Batauians*: but the Romans lost the battell and fled backe to *Vetera* their standing campe.

BY *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who at the first by conuenience nourished *Ciuilis* attempts, now receiuing fearefull aduertisements, that the * *campes* were surprized, the cohorts defeated and slaine, not one Roman left in the whole *Batauan* Iland, commanded *Mummius Lupercus* the Lieutenant, who gouerned the standing campe of two Legions, to go forth against the enemy. *Lupercus* taking the Legionaries about him, and the *Vbians* at hand, with certaine horsemen of the *Treueri* not far off, led them out in haste, taking also with him a wing of *Batauians* which being long since secretly corrupted, notwithstanding made shew of fidelitie; to the end that in the very instant of ioyning, betraying the Roman, they might slip away with more dammage to the one, and better welcome to the other. *Ciuilis* placed round about him the ensignes of the late taken cohorts, that his souldiers might be encouraged in beholding the monument of their late glorie, and the enemy dismayed with the memory of their ouerthrowe. Moreouer he caused his mother, and sisters, together with the wiues & young children of all his souldiers, to stand at their backes for an encouragement to the victory, or a shame if they happened to flee. In the ioyning of the two armie, the singing of their men, and howling

* *Castra. sc. ca. horum.*

ling of their women, farre exceeded and drowned the feeble showte of our Legions and cohorts; and the Batauian wing fleeing to the enemy, and straightway turning vpon vs, bared the left flank of our battell: notwithstanding the Legionary souldiers, as in a case of such danger, yet retayned their weapons in their hands, and themselves in array. The Aydes of the Vbians and Treueri ran most shamefully away, and brake euery where, which chase the Germans pursued and gaue by that meanes leysure to our Legions to retire themselves into their campe called Vetera. Claudius Labeo captaine of the Batauian wing, who had followed at home a contrary faction to Ciuilis, lest that either his death should offend the countrey, or his presence minister cause of dissention, was quietly sent out of the way into Frisia.

^a Mummius Lupercus] Belike Vitellius left the Legions onely bare of men, and as it were halfe Legions (for in these two Legions were not aboue fise thousand men) but disarmed of captaines also, leauing heere but one Lieutenant ouer two Legions, and yet as though he had forgotten himselfe, we find another *tanquam ex machina*, to wit Numisius^a Rufus. Of whose coming into Vetera as we find no reason, so we find him in another place out of Vetera with lesse reason. If he were there from the beginning, why doth Tacitus tell vs heere, that Lupercus alone *duarum Legionum hibernis praerat*? if not, how and when came he? and specially how and when went he out? But in the setting downe of this German warre there are in my opinion many little imperfections and negligences, whereof part we will touch, as occasion shall serue, but most of them we haue supplied and explained in the contents of the chapters, and by inserting sometimes a word or two in the text, as by comparing the books it will appeare.

^a Legati legionis
Mummius Lupercus
& Numisius
Rufus vallum
murosque firmabant.

VIII. *The eight Batavian cohorts, which had serued the Romans so long in Britannie, against Otho, and elsewhere, solicited by Ciuilis for-
sake Magontiacum, make their way at Bonna
by the sworde, and so ioine
to Ciuilis.*

IN the meane season the messenger sent by Ciuilis to Magontiacum, to sollicite the cohorts of the Batauians and Caninefates, came thither, and found them in readinesse, by Vitellius commaundement, to march toward Rome. Vpon that message receiued, forthwith they waxed prowde, and intolerable, crying out (or els refusing to march) for their donatiue, for double wages, for an augmentation of the number of their horsemen, things indeed promised by Vitellius, but demanded by them, not in hope to obtaine, but to picke an occasion of mutinee: and Flaccus, yeelding to diuers of their demaunds, gained nought els, but that they more instantly craued those things which they knew he could not but denie. So setting Flaccus at naught they took vp their ensignes, and marched toward low Germany, to ioine themselves with Ciuilis; Hordeonius calling the Tribunes and Centurions also to coucell, debated the matter, whether he should by maine strength seeke to inforce them which so contemptuously brake away: anon, partly of his owne cowardly nature, partly through the timorousnesse of the officers, who trusted neither the faith of their Aides, nor the force of their^a Legions, being gathered in haste of men vn- skilfull in seruice, he resolved to keepe his souldiers within the trenches, and let the Batauians passe. Afterward, repenting himselfe of that resolution, they also blaming it, which were chiefe Authours thereof, as if he ment to pursue them, he wrot to Herennius Gallus gouernor of Bonna, and Lieutenant of the first Legion which wintered there, that he should stop the Batauians from passage, promising that he with his whole power, would not faile to be on their backes. And so verily they might haue beene defeated and slaine, if Hordeonius of the one side, and Gallus of the other, had brought forward their power, and enclosed them in behind and before:

^a At Magontiacum then with Hordeonius were abiding two Legions; quarta & duodevicesima abas duodevicesima

fore: but Flaccus changed his purpose againe, and in other letters of later date willed Gallus, not to stay their passage. Whereupon suspicion arose, that the Lieutenants of set purpose stirred vp and fostered these warres; yea all the mischiefes, which either had chanced already, or were feared heerafter, were imputed, not to the cowardlinesse of the souldier, or strength of the enemy, but onely to the fraude and falsehoode of the Leaders. When the Batauians drew neare to the campe at Bonna, they sent before certaine messengers, to declare to Herennius Gallus the intention of the cohortes: that their meaning was not to make warre with the Romans, in whose behalfe they had so oft borne armes; but forasmuch as, they were wearied with a long and fruitlesse seruice, their desire was, quietly to liue at home in their countrey. And therefore if no man made opposition, their passage should be harmelesse: but if any hostilitie were offered, they would make their way with the sword. Whilest the Lieutenant stood deuided in minde what to doe, his souldiers urged him to put it to the fortune of a field. There were in his campe three thousand^b Legionary souldiers, and certaine tumultuary cohorts of Belgians, and with all a number of pezants, and followers of the campe, braue men before the danger approche, in the danger but cowards. Out they issue at all the gates of the campe to enclose the Batauians, whom they knew to be farre inferiour in number. The Batauians mindfull of their olde order in seruice, set themselves in array in pointed battels standing on euery side close together, and hauing their front, their flankes, and their backe surely garded, & so with great facilitie brake thorow our thin companies. The Belgians first gaue ground, and then our Legionaries were beaten backe, and ran for feare toward the trenches, and gates of the campe, There the most slaughter was committed: the fosses we filled vp with dead bodies, and many died in the throng, by tumbling one ouer another, and running vpon their own weapons, as well as slaine by the enemy. After this victorie the Botanians went forward, leauing Coleyn of the right hand, & attempted no act of hostilitie in the rest of their iourney, but excusing the battaile at Bonna as a thing done by constraint, and for their owne safety, when as they intreated for peace and it would not bee granted.

^b Whereas the full and iust number of a Legion should be 6000. or 5000. at the least.

^a The cohorts of the Batauians and Caninefates] These are the *octo cohortes Batauorum quartadecima legionis auxilia*, so oft mentioned in the first and second of the History, & now remaining at Magontiacum, whither Civilis sent secret messengers to sollicite them to the party, as it appeareth in this booke. And albeit in none of the places before remembred there is any mention of Caninefates, yet by this place it is to be intended, that those eight cohorts consisted of both people, onely the Batauians caried the name, as being the greater and more knownen people; and to say trueth Caninefates were but a kinde of Batauians, dwelling in the Batauian Ilande, vsing the same speech and descended of the same race, as Tacitus sayeth a little before: and therefore, as I thinke, in his booke *de moribus Germanorum*, he nameth onely the Bataue, either because the other were intended also by that name, or because they were not greatly worth naming.

IX. *Civilis colourably sweareth is men to Vespasian: then with his Batauians, and the assistance of certaine German nations, he besiegeth Vetera; giveth an assault, and is repulsed:*

CIVILIS, vpon the comming of those olde cohorts, had now vnder his conduct a full and complete armie: neuerthelesse wauering in minde, and standing irresolute, considering the puissance of the Roman Empire, he caused all his men to sweare to Vespasian, and sent forth with Embassadours to the two Legions, which being defeated by him in the former battaile were fled to Vetera, requiring them also to take the like othe. Their answer was, they would not be aduised
neither

*μνημονὸν α-
ριστοῦ: for Lu-
perus alone dua-
rum legionum pi-
bern is praerat. &
that Mousius
was not in Vete-
ra, but rather was
Lieutenant of the
sixteenth Legi-
on whose stan-
ding campe was
at Nouelium, it
may be gathered
elsewhere by
Tacitus.
b For the Hiber-
na, or standing
camps of the
Legions, wherein
these latter times
walled as townes
c To wit, the
Batavians.*

neither by Traitor, nor enemy; that Vitellius was their Prince, to whom alone they owed their faith, and should stand for him in armes, to their last breath: wherefore let not a fugitive, and faithlesse Batavian cary himselfe as vmpier of the Roman affaires, but rather looke for condigne punishment for his desert. Ciuilis being greatly incensed with this answer, bringeth the whole Nation of the Batavians into the field. The Bructeri and Teucteri associats themselves, and messengers were sent into Germanie, who raised the whole Country, some to win honour, and some to gaine spoile. Against these great threatnings and bandings of so many enemies, Mummius Lupercus, and ^a Mumifius Rufus, Lietenants of the Legions, fortified their trenches and ^b wals, and razed the buildings, which in so long a peace were erected, not farre from the Campe, in manner of a towne, least they should be a harbour for the enemy. But through oversight they omitted to conuey the vittraille, and other prouision therein into the Campe, suffering it to be taken at discretion: and so in few daies that was riotously consumed, which by good order would haue relieved their needes a long time. Ciuilis led the middle battell himselfe, wherein was the flower and strength of Batavia: and on both sides of the Rhene, to the end the fight of his army might strike in the greater terrour, he caused the regiments of the Germans to march, the horsemen galloping about the fields: and withall the ships were brought vp the streame. So on the one hand the ensignes of the old cohorts, on the other the pictures and images of the wild beasts taken out of their woods and consecrated groues, according as every Nation useth to beare in the field, amazed our men, and terrified them doubly, with the shew both of an externall, and civill warre. Moreouer the great compasse of the trench made the attempt of the besiegers more feisable and increased their hope, For whereas it was made to containe two Legions, at that present it had scarce fīue thousand armed men to defend it, beside the followers of the campe, which vpon the breaking vp of the peace gathered thither and there remained doing them some service in the war. A part of the camp was situate vpon the pendant of an easie hill, and part stood vpon the plaine ground. That standing campe Augustus settled there, supposing it sufficient to watch ouer, and as it were, to besiege the countreyes of Germany, neuer imagining that the world could go far otherwise, as that they should presume to begin and assaile our Legions: whereupon the lesse cost was bestowed, either to helpe the site of the place, or the strength of the bulwarks: men and armour alone were thought a sufficient defence. Now to the ende, that being seuered in place, the prowesse of ech nation might more distinctly appeare, and be seene, the Batavians, & the Germans which dwelt beyond the Rhene; tooke standing ech by themselves & began to dart at our men a farre off: But when as they saw most of their weapons sticking in vaine in the turrets, and pinnacles of the wals, and many of them serues wounded with stones throwen from aboue on their heads, leauing that kind of oppugnation, they suddenly with great forces and outcry assailed to scale the trenches, the most part by setting vp ladders, others climbing ouer the heads of their fellowes vpon a target fence. And as some were now clamering vp, they were beaten downe headlong with swords and push of pike, and so with clubs, and darts ouerwhelmed, being men otherwise hoat in the beginning, and too too couragious when fortune fauoureth, but then for desire of prey they tolerated all hardnesse also; yea and that which with them is vnusuall, they endeoured to prooue with engins, whereof they had of themselves neither experience nor skill, onely some fugitiues and captiues taught them to frame timber ^{*} in [†] maner of a bridge, and to driue it forward on wheels, whereon certaine standing aboue might skirmish with them on the wals,

wals, as it were from a mount, and others within secretly vndermine the foundations. But the defendants, with great stones shot out of * engines, battered downe their rude and ill framed worke. And when as prouision was made of * hurdles, and planckes to couer them in giuing the assault, our men shot burning speares, and fired the workes; assaying with fire euen their assayers; who despayring at length to effectuate any thing by force, deliberated to lay a lingring siege thereunto, knowing that they had but few daies vittaile within, and many vnprofitable mouthes to consume it, and hoping withall, that of want of foode treason would ensue: that the faith of bondmen alwaies fickle would now be fleeting, beside the casualties, which vsually happen in warre.

* In maner of a bridge] Vegetius, lib. 4. in the description of Turris ambulatoria maketh mention of Pons in hæc verba. Turres sunt machinamenta ad ædificiorum speciem ex trabibus tabulisque compacta, tanta proceritate, ut non solum muros, sed etiam turres altitudine superent. his plures rote mechanica arte subduntur, quarum lapsu magnitudo tam ampla mouetur. In inferioribus habet arietem, cuius impetu destruit muros. circa mediam partem accipit pontem factum de duabus trabibus, quem subito prolatum inter turrim murumque constituunt, & per eum egredientes de machina milites occupant muros & incivitem transeunt. In superioribus partibus contati & sagittarij collocantur, qui propugnatores depellant, &c. In this place Tacitus seemeth to take Pons for the whole engine of Turris ambulatoria, and not onely that speciall part which Vegetius calleth by that name.

X. *Hordeonius dispatching Vocula before remooueth from Magantiacum with his power to Bonna: and thence to Coleyn. where he resigneth the execution of his charge to Vocula; following notwithstanding the armie from thence to Nouesium, where, as it seemeth, he staid till his death. At Nouesium Gallus is ioyned in commission with Vocula: and so they remooued forward to Gelduba. where being encamped, Vocula wasteth the Gugerni, and Gallus is beaten by the Germans.*

IN the meane time Flaccus, hauing vnderstood of the siege of Vetera, and sent into France to leuy aides, selected out of his Legions a company of chosen men, and committed them to the leading of Dillius Vocula. Lieutenant of the eighteenth Legion, willing him to hasten, and make all possible speede along the banck of the riuer; himselfe followed slowly, and drooping for feare, being mortally hated of his souldiers. For they openly charged him, that he had suffered wilfully to scape from Magontiacum the cohortes of the Batauians, or rather purposely sent them away: that Ciuilis rebellious attempts were by his conniuece fostered, and by his meane the Germans called to the party. that neither Antonius Primus, nor Mutianus, had so strengthened Vespasians side, as Flaccus by this kinde of dissembling dealing: for open enemies and armes might openly and with armes he repelled, but fraude and deceite were matters hardly espied, and therefore could not be auoided. that Ciuilis stooode in the fielde embattelled against them, but Hordeonius out of his bed chamber gaue order, and directed as was most for the enemies behoofe: and why then should so many armed companies of valiant souldiers bee gouerned by a sicke and filly old man? nay why should they not rather dispatch such a traitour, and free their fortune and vertue from the ill chance of so vnluckie a leader? As they were in these speeches one with another, letters came from Vespasian which incensed them more, the which Flaccus, because he could not conceal, caused openly to be read before the assemblie, and sent the bringers thereof bound to Vitellius.

Vitellius. By this meanes the souldiers mindes were somewhat appeased : and so they came to Bonna the standing campe of the first Legion : the souldiers whereof were more displeased with Flaccus than the other ; laying the fault of their late ouerthrowe wholly vpon him : auerring that they at his commaundement marched forth against the Batauians, assuring themselves, vpon his promise, that his Legions from Magontiacum should assaile them behinde ; and so no supply comming from thence they lost their liues through his treason : that these matters had neuer beene notified to the rest of the armie, nor to the Prince, or else by the helpe and assistance of so many countreyes this sodain rebellion might haue beene quenched in the beginning. Whereupon Hordeonius caused the copies of all the letters, which hee had sent into France, Britanny and Spaine, requesting their helpe, to be read to the armie, and began a very ill example, that all letters sent from abroad should be deliuered to the stander-bearers of the Legions, who red them to the souldiers, before they came to the Generals hand. Then he commaunded one of the most factious to bee apprehended and bound, rather to put his right in vre, then because the fault was but of one man alone ; & so he ^a remooued with his army from Bonna to Coleyn, where many Aides resorted vnto him of the French nation, which at the first with all their power assisted the Romans, till afterwards seeing the Germans preuaile, many of them tooke armes against vs in hope of freedome, and that point attained, for desire of soueraintie. But the wrath of the Legions still increased, neither could one souldiers imprisonment terrifie them : nay euen the party imprisoned impeached the Generall of treason ; alleaging that he had been messenger between Ciuilis & him, and therefore a colour was sought to make him away, least he should declare and testifie the truth. Then Vocula, with maruellous stoutnesse ascending into the Tribunall, commanded the souldier, as he exclaimed and cried, to be apprehended, and caried away to execution : which thing so terrified the bad and seditious, that the soulder sort without impeachment fulfilled his commandement, and anon by common consent they demanded Vocula to be their Generall : which place Flaccus willingly resigned vnto him. But their minds were already mutinously affected, and many new occasions of more rage were presented ; as want of pay, and prouision of corne ; ^b France refusing to yeeld souldiers and tributes ; the Rhene also by reason of drought vnusuall in that countrey hardly able to beare any vessell ; scarcitie of vittailles ; garrisons of men placed along the bancke to keepe the Germans from passing the riuer ; and so lesse corne, and more men to consume it. Among the ignorant and simpler sort the lowenesse of the water was held for a prodigious matter, as if the riuers also, and the ancient defences of the Empire had now forsaken vs, and that which in peaceable times would haue beene counted chance, or proceeding of naturall causes, at that time was called a fatall matter, and Gods indignation and wrath. At Nouesium they assumed the sixteenth Legion ; and Herennius Gallus Lieutenant of the first Legion was ioined with Vocula in part of the charge : yet durst they not go to finde the enemy, but encamped themselves at a place called Gelduba. There they trained, and practised their souldiers in ordering of battels, in fortifying, entrenching, and other militare exercises. And to the end that they might by booties and spoiles take courage and hart, Vocula led forth part of his army into the countrey of the Gugerni adioyning, who had allied themselves with Ciuilis : part remained behinde with Herennius Gallus. And as by chance, not farre from the campe, a barge loaden with corne, was runne vpon a shelve, the Germans espying it laboured to draw it to their side of the water ; which Gallus would not endure, but sent a cohort to the reskew : the Germans also increa-

^a Taking along with him the first Legion, or a great part thereof, as it doth appeare elsewhere.

^b And yet not ten lines before he writeth, *affluentibus auxilijs Gallorum, quae primò rem Romanam auxilium inuabant.*

sed

sed their number, and so by little and little, supply resorting on both sides, a battaile was fought: wherein the Germans, after the slaughter of many of our men, by force haled the boate away. Our souldiers, being thus put to the worse, according to their custome there, blamed not their owne cowardinesse, but the treason of the Lieutenant, whom they drew out of his tent, tare his clothes, & bet his bodie, commanding him to tel vpon what price, and with what complices he had thus betrayed the armie. But ^c Hordeonius was charged with the whole enuie of the fact; him they termed the contriuer of the mischiefe, Gallus only the instrument, til at length Gallus, being terrified with their threatnings of his destruction, to saue his owne life, was content to charge Hordeonius also with treason. Then was hee put in bands, and afterward, at the returne of Vocula loosed, who the next day following put to death the autors of the sturre. So strange diuersitie there was in that armie, both licentiously to commit all enormities, and patiently to abide all corrections. The common souldier was firme to Vitellius; the principall men more enclined to Vespasian. Hence came it, that successiuelly, and by course as it were, they offended, and suffered for their offences; that furie and rage were interlaced with obedience, and they easily punished, which could not be gouerned.

^c Who, as it seems, slayed behind at Nouesium.

^a In the meane time Flaccus] Hordeonius Flaccus remaining at ^a Mentz, where the standing campe was of quarta & octauadecima alias duoetuesima, vnderstanding of the siege of Vetera, sendeth Didius Vocula Lieutenant of the octauadecima alias duoetuesima before with the choise men picked out of the two Legions. whom Hordeonius, leauing sufficient power to garde the campe at Mentz, seemeth immediately to haue followed and overtaken at Bonna, a towne likewise vpon the riuer, eleuen miles aboue Coleyn, and threescore aboue Vetera, according to Antonius in Itinerario, and Tac. 1. Ann. and so ioyntly to haue remoued to Coleyne: where at the instance of his mutinous army, and vpon infirmitie of body, he resigned his Generallshippe, at least the execution to Didius Vocula: and yet notwithstanding remooued with them to Nouesium, now called Nuiss, a towne sixteene miles below Coleyn, according to Antonius. At Nouesium Flaccus as it seemeth stayed, and there was, as appeareth anon, slaine by a mutinee of drunken souldiers. But Vocula with a great part of the armie marched further downe, and nearer to Vetera, encamping himselfe at Gelduba, a castell likewise vpon the Rhene, *vbi ciceris generositas precipua*, saith Pliny. And thus much for the declaration of some circumstances, in my opinion, not so plainly and particularly set downe, as they ought, by our Autour.

^a Magontiacum.

XI. *Ciuilis combineth himselfe with the Germans, wasteth the French side, vrgeth the siege of Vetera, and giueth diuerse assaults in vaine.*

CONTRARILY all the Germans extolled Ciuilis exceedingly, and combined themselves with him in league, yeelding of their noblest men for pledges.

Whereupon he gaue commandement to them which lay neereft, to waste the Vbij and Treueri, and with another companie to passe the riuer of Mosa, and forrey the Menapij and Morini, and frontiers of France. In both places a spoile was made, and with greater rage amongst the ^a Vbij, because being originally descended from the Germans, renouncing their countrey, they called themselves Agrippinenses after a Roman denomination: whose cohorts through negligence and carelesnesse, as being farre from the bancke of the Rhene, were slaine in the village of Marcodurum. In reuenge whereof the Vbij fetched continuall booties out of Germanie; which they perfourmed at the first without losse, afterward they were ouertaken and slaine, in all that warre more faithfull to vs, then fortunate for themselves. The Vbij being thus beaten, Ciuilis growing more hard to be delt with, and hautilie minded, by reason of the prosperous successe of his actions earnestly vrged the siege of the Legions setting strait watch, least any secret messenger might happely enter in, to bring them word of the succour comming. The engins and making of the works he assigned to the Batauians, appointing the inhabitants be-

^a Agrippina (uxor Claudij) quo vim suam socijs quoq; nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Vbiorum, in quo gentia erat, veteranos conlataq; deduci imperat, cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius Tac. 12. Ann.

yond the Rhene, who were desirous of battaile, to go and breake vp the trenches, and being beaten backe, eftsoones to giue a fresh assault, nor caring to leese many of those, whereof he had so many to spare. Neither did the night bring an end to their trauaile: but heaping vp woode round about and setting it on fire, they fell to feasting together, and as they were heated with wine, ran rashly and desperately to the assault: which attempt of theirs was altogether without effect. For their darts, as being throwen into the darke, fell voide without any doing of hurt. The Romans with great dexteritie lenelled at the Barbarians standing in the light, and especially at such as were boldest to presse forward, or glistered most in their furniture: which thing Ciuilis perceiuing commanded the fire to be put out, and to fight pell mell in the darke. Then there arose confused clamours, and noises, variable chances, and vncertaine aduentures: no foresight in striking or warding; on what side soeuer the cry arose, thither they would turne their bodies, and direct their arrowes: valour profited nothing, chance ruled all; and the most valiant men oftentimes were slaine by the most cowards. The Germans ranne with vnaduised rage: but the Roman souldiers acquainted with dangers, hurled their clubs headed with iron, and heavy stones, not at a venture: where they heard any labouring to break in, or setting vp ladders within their reach, they thrust them backe with the pikes of their bucklers, and followed them with darts, and many which had got on the wals they stabbed with daggers. The night being thus spent, the next day discovered a new kind of assault. The Batavians had builded & brought forward a tower^a of two heights, which as it approched neere to the Prætorian gate (for that part of the campe was of easiest access) our souldiers brake it in peeces with mighty planks runne against it, and logges cast vpon it, with great dammage and slaughter of them that stood thereupon. At which accident the enemies being dismaied, our souldiers sodainly issued out, and cut off many of their men, with all the Legionarie souldiers, being expert and skilfull that way, deuised, many warlike engins; but that which was the most dreadfull, was a ^{*}moouable and wagging engin, in maner of a crane, which being sodainly let downe snatched vp one or more of the enemies, and hoised them aloft in the sight of the rest, and so the beame turning about let them fall into our campe. Ciuilis laying aside all hope of winning by force determined to change that course, and by tract of time to effect the same purpose, seeking in the meane season by messages and promises to corrupt the faith of the Legions.

XII. *Montanus a Captaine of Vitellius side, and borne at Triers, bringeth word to Nonesium of the euent of the battell at Cremona: whereupon they there and the rest at Gelduba sware to Vespasian: and sent Montanus to declare the same to Ciuilis, willing him to desist from hostilitie: but contrarily Ciuilis wrought Montanus to his purpose, and layed the plot of the rebellion of France, which shortly after ensued.*

^a Which was fought about the latter end of October, as it is declared elsewhere.
^b Who as Consul published belike some edict in fauour of the Flavian side.
^c Sent by the Flavianists. 3. Hist.

THIS was the effect of that which passed in Germany before the ^a battell of Cremona: the euent whereof Antonius Primus signified by letters directed vnto them, sending withall ^b Cæcinaes edict: and ^c Alpinus Montanus Captain of one of the vanquished cohorts, by word of mouth, confessed the ouerthrow of the side. Hereupon ensued diuersitie of affections. The Auxiliarie souldiers of France, which serued without all partialitie, and neither hated nor loued the one faction nor the other, at the perswasions of their Captaines, were content forthwith

with to forsake Vitellius: but the old souldier stucke at it, till vpon Hordeonius tendering, and the Tribunes vrging they tooke the oath; albeit neither in countenance, nor mind seeming to be fully resolued, but pronouncing roundly the rest of their oath, and at the name of Vespasian either stopping, or tripping it lightly ouer, or skipping it quite. Then were the letters of Antonius to Ciuilis read in open assembly, which raised many suspitions in the souldiers heads, because they seemed to be written as to one of the same faction, and spake hardly of the German armie. Anon word was caried to the campe at Gelduba, where the like was both spoken and done; And thereupon Montanus sent with charge to Ciuilis, to warne him to desist from making of warre; and that he should not cloke any longer open rebellion with the colour of following sides. if he sought to helpe Vespasian, his desire now was accomplished, and his purpose perfourmed: To these allegations Ciuilis replied, first in futtle and craftie tearmes: afterward perceiuing Montanus to bee of a hoat and fierce disposition, and ready to accept any new impression, he beginneth with a complaint of the manifold perils, which for twenty five yeares space he had endured in the Roman seruice: A woorthy, and iust reward (quoth he) haue I had of my trauailes, the death of my brother, mine owne imprisonment, and the bloody words of this army, of whom being demanded to the slaughter, by the law of nations I do, and may iustly seeke my reuenge. But as for you^d Treueri, & the rest of seruile soules, what reward expect you of your bloud so often shed for their sakes, but fruitlesse seruice, continuall Tributes, whips, gibbets, and flauerie vnder proud insolent masters? Behold I a Captaine of one cohort; and the Caninefates and Batavians, a small portion of^e France, haue destroyed and ouerthrowen those vast and vaine camps of theirs, and doe^s besiege them with famine and sword, to conclude, if we venture, we shall either recouer our libertie, or if we leese, be in the same state we were in before. Ciuilis hauing thus incensed Montanus, dismissed him away, howbeit willed him to make a more fauourable report, who accordingly at his returne onely signified, that he had not sped in his embassage, dissembling the rest which straight after brake out.

^d For *Alpinus* was borne at *Tri-*
ers 3. *Hist.*
^e *Tacitus* in some other places, seemeth to copize them vnder the name the *Germani*.
^f Those in *Holland* & *Ment of Veters*.

XIII. *Vocula ouerthroweth two Captaines of Ciuilis, sent against him as he lay at Gelduba.*

Ciuilis retayning part of his host, sent the olde cohorts, and the forwardest of the Germans against Vocula and his armie, vnder the leading of Iulius Maximus, and Claudius Victor his sisters sonne. In the way they tooke vp and spoiled the standing campe of a wing sited at Asciburg, and so sodainly assaulted the enemies campe at Gelduba, that Vocula had no leysure to speake to the souldiers or to display the rankes. thus much onely as in a tumult, he warned to strengthen the middle battell with Legionary souldiers, and the Auxiliaries to cast themselves about on euery side. Then our horsemen brake forth, and seeing the enemy in good order and array to receiue them, they turned their backs, and fled toward their footemen: whereupon a slaughter ensued and no fighting. The cohorts also of the Neruij through feare or falsehood fled, and barred the sides of our men & so way was made to our Legionary souldiers, who began now to be ouerthrowen within the trenches, and to lose their enseignes, when as sodainely with a new supplie the fortune of the battaile was changed. For certaine cohorts of Vascones le-^a uied by Galba, and then^a sent for, comming neare the campe, and hearing the noise as they fought, assailed the enemies backes being intentiue another way, & caused

^a From whence? *Neufsum, Bonna, Mogontiacum*, or from what coast of the world?

a greater terrour then so small a number could otherwise haue done, had not the enemy beleueed, some of them, that the rest from Nouesium, and some, that the whole power from Magontiacum was come. That error also increased the Romans courage: and whilest they presumed vpon other mens strength they recovered their owne. The most valiant of the Batauan footmen were slaine, the horsemen escaped with the ensignes and captiues that were taken in the first conflict: on our side that day were slaine mo in numbet, but men of small seruice; the Germans lost the very flower, and strength of their armie. Both the Generals by like default deserued the euerthrow in reason alike: and winning were negligent both alike to follow their fortune. For if Ciuilis had furnished his side with greater forces, they could neuer haue beene by so few cohorts enclosed about: and the campe of the Romans being, as it was, by force broken vp, had doubtles beene vtterly razed. Vocula likewise lacking scowts abroad to signifie the enemies approach was sodainly surprised; and so in one moment went out to fight, and was ouercome: afterward winning more by lucke then desert, and not trusting his owne victory nor vsing the benefit thereof, he vainely trifled out many daies before he would march towarde the enemy; whom if he had presently followed and pursued the course of his victorie effectually, he might at that blowe haue raised the siege of the Legions at Vetera

XIIII. *Vocula putteth Ciuilis to flight, and entreth Vetera.*

CIVILIS in the meane time had assayed to induce the Legions to surrender, as though the Romans had beene quite ouerthrowen, and his men obtained an entier victorie. For prooffe whereof he commanded the Roman ensignes, and banners to be caried about, & the prisoners produced in sight, wherof one ventured worthily, and declared aloud how the whole matter had passed, and was killed in the place by the Germans, which thing caused them within to beleue his relation the better, and withall by wasting and burning of the villages they might discern that their owne victorious armie was comming. When Vocula came neare vnto Vetera he commanded the ensignes to be pitched in the sight of the campe, and a ditch and trench to be cast round about: that laying aside their baggage and needlesse furniture in place of safetie, they might fight more lightly and lesse encombred. Whereupon the souldiers began to exclaime, crying to goe to the battaile, and now they were growen to that custome to threaten their Leader. So without taking so much time as onely to set the battaile in array, disordered, and tired, they began the fight; for Ciuilis was readie to present them the battaile, reposing no lesse affiance in the follies and faults of his enemies, then in the vertue and valour of his owne people. Of the Roman side the matter went doubtfull and hard, and the most mutinous prooued the most dastards: some there were which mindeful of the victory lately obtained kept their standing, galled the enemy, and animated themselves and their fellowes. The battaile being thus brought backe againe, which erewhile in a maner was lost, they held vp their hands to them in the campe, that they should not neglect to vse the opportunitie, who beholding all things from the wals issued forth at all the gate, and by chance Ciuilis being by the fall of his horse ouerthrowen, of both sides was thought to bee wounded or slaine; which greatly dismayed his men and caused them to breake, and contrarily put courage in ours. But Vocula pursued not the chace, but entring Vetera onely augmented the rampiers, and towers of the campe, as against a newe siege, being had in a iealousie, by

by this kinde of cold dealing, to desire the continuance of the warre: and not without cause, hauing so often marred the victorie for want of good following.

XV. *Vocula vittailed Vetera, and returneth to Gelduba, and thence to Nouesium.*

where Hordeonius in a mutinee is slaine. Vocula with his power goeth to

relieve Magontiacum besieged by the Germans. The faith-

fulnesse of the Treueri to the Romans at the be-

ginning of these troubles.

NOTHING distressed our souldiers so much, as lacke of prouision and foode. Whereupon the cariages of the Legions, with a weake and vnseruiceable companie, were sent to Nouesium, that from thence by land they might furnish the armie with vittailles; for the enemies were masters of the river. The first conuoy passed peaceably without molestation, Ciuilis being not yet recovered of his hurt: but anon vnderstanding another company was sent to Nouesium, and certaine cohorts assigned to conduct them, marching as in time of great quiet carelessly, not keeping themselves to their ensignes, but casting their armour and weapons into the wagons, and rousing about licentiously, he sent before to take vp the bridges and straites, and then in good order charged vpon them. The *battaile was fought with troupes displaid out thinnely in length, and continued doubtfull, vntill the night tooke vp the quarrell. The cohorts proceeded forward to Gelduba, the campe standing there as it was, garded by the souldiers which Vocula had left. There was no question what perill there would be in the returne, the forragers being but fewe, and heauily loaden: whereupon Vocula determining to go out and relieve them, increased his armie with a thousand men chosen out of the two Legions, which were besieged at Vetera, the first and fifteenth, a stubborne and headstrong souldier, and hating his captaines. More went then were commanded, at their going openly murmuring, that they would no longer endure famine, nor be obnoxious to the secret practises of the Lieutenants: but those which remained behinde complained, that they, by carying away so many men, were forsaken, and left as a pray to the enimie. Whereupon a double mutinee grew, the one part recalling Vocula seditiously, and the other in like sort refusing to returne againe to the campe. In the meane season Ciuilis besieged Vetera. Vocula marcheth to Gelduba, and leaving Gelduba (which Ciuilis straightway tooke vp) from thence to Nouesium, not farre from whence, shortly after, his horsemen skirmished with the enimie prosperously. But prosperitie and aduersitie inflamed alike the souldiers to seeke their captaiues destruction; and the Legions being augmented, by that increase out of the fift and fifteenth Legion, more insolently required their donatiue, vnderstanding that money was sent from Vitellius. Whereupon Hordeonius, without further delay deuided the money amongst them in Vespasians name, which was the principall thing that ministred matter, and fed the mutinee which followed. For the souldiers, hauing idle spending money, gaue themselves to ryot and banquetting, and assemblies by night, and by that meanes renewed their former wrath and displeasure against Hordeonius, whom they haled out of his chamber and slew, none of the Lieutenants or Tribunes daring to gainsay, or withstand them being hardened, by reason of the night season, against all modestie and shame. The like was intended against Vocula, if he had not in a bondmans attire escaped vnknownen in the darke. As soone as the heate of their furie was past they fell to consider the danger wherein they did stand, and sent by and by Centurions with letters to the cities of France, desiring

*Pagnatum
longo agmine.

desiring supply of money and men, themselves when Ciuilis approached, as the common sort without head is headlong, fearefull and sluggish, rashly tooke vp their weapons, and soone laying them downe ranne away. Aduersitie bred discord, those of the vpper armie disioyning their cause from the others. Notwithstanding the images of Vitellius were set vp againe in the campe, and in the citties of Belgium adioyning, whenas Vitellius himselfe was now downe. Then the souldiers of the first Legion and the fourth and eighteenth vpon repentance came in, and submitted themselves vnto Vocula, at whose hands receiuing againe the oath to Vespasian, they were led forth to raise the siege at Magontiacum. The army which besieged it (consisting of Catti, Vsiptij and Matiaci) was alreadie departed away loaden with spoiles, and being by our men met with on the way scattered and at vnawares, was in part put to the sword. Moreouer the Treueri along their confines cast a trench with a *parapet, and with great slaughter on ech side skirmished against the Germans, vntill shortly after reuolting, by that odious fact, they defaced all their good seruice doné heretofore to the Romans.

XVI. *The disposition of the common people of the Citie, at the beginning of the yeare. The ordinarie Senate vpon the first day of Iannarie. Mutianus supplanterh Antonius Primus.*

IN the meane season Vespasianus second time Consull and Titus in absence entered their office, the citie being in great anguish and diversly perplexed, besides the miseries which presently they felt, vpon a false alarme of the reuolt of Africke, and the rebellion of Piso proconsull there, a man of milde and quiet disposition: but because through the tempestuousnes of the winter the ships came not home, the poore people which day by day were accustomed to buy bread, and cared for nothing els of common affaires but corne, feared that all the ships of that coast were purposely staied, and the corne detained, and fearing quickly beleueed it. In which imaginary conceit the Vitellianists also confirmed them, who had not as yet wholly left of their former affections and humours. Neither was the rumour displeasing vnto the winners, as hoping to make their profit thereby, whose insatiable lust and desires no forraine warre, much lesse any ciuill victorie could euer fill or content. The first of Iannarie the Senate was assembled by Iulius Frontinus the

Citty-pretor, and solemne thanks with praise concluded vpon to the Lieutenants and armies, and kings which friended the cause. The Pretorship also was taken from Tertius Iulianus, because he had forsaken his Legion applying it selfe to Vespasians side, and bestowed vpon Plotius^b Griphus. Hormus was made a Gentleman of Rome, and straightwaies Frontinus resigning Domitianus Cæsar tooke the place. In his name all letters were written and edicts published, but the power and direction of affaires rested in Mutianus, saue that Domitian either pricked forward by his friends, or vpon his owne pleasure, & lust presumed to do many things of himselfe. But Musianus principall feare was of Antonius Primus and Arius Varus, whom, beside that they were greatly renowned for their late famous exploits, & in great credit with the souldiers the common people also loued wel because they had slaine none but in the field. Moreouer it was giuen out by some, that Antonius had solicited Scribonianus Crassus, a man of great honour, both in respect of his worth they ancestours, and of his late *brothers high place, to take vpon him the state, assuring him of a sufficient number of complices to vphold and maintaine it, had not

Scribonianus

*Loricam, val-
lumq.

The yeare of the
Cic. 823.

^a To whom it be-
longed, in the ab-
sence of the Cæs-
sars, to assemble
the Senate.
^b One of Muti-
anus fauorits. 3.
Hist.

*Piso, whom Gal-
ba adopted.

Scribonianus refused the offer: a man so greatly fearing vncertainties, that euen an assured certaintie could not easily haue sturred him. Therefore Mutianus, because Antonius openly could not be put downe, spent vpon him many good wordes, and great commendation in the Senate house, and secretly laded him with promises, putting him in hope of nearer Spaine, which by the departure of Cluius Rufus lay voice, and bestowed vpon his friends Tribuneships, Captainships liberally. And when Mutianus had filled with these windes of hope and desire his emptie vainglorious minde, he proceeded suttelly to infringe his power, and vtterly put him out of his strength, by dismissing vnto their wintering place the ^c seuenth Legion, which did most earnestly affect Antonius. The third Legion also that depended vpon Arius Varus was sent away backe into Syria: another ^d part of the army was carried into Germanie. So the cittie being disburdened of those which were prone to breed trouble, recouered her former estate, the lawes tooke their due course, and the magistrates resumed their charge.

^c Septima Galbiana.

^d Sexta & octaua de uictoribus Tac.

XVII. *Certaine matters which passed in the Senate.*

THE day that Domitian, after his newe honour came into the Senate, he made a brieft and curteous speech concerning his fathers, and brothers absence, and of his owne greene yeeres and lacke of experience, with a comely grace and decent behauiour: his often blushing and being out of countenance, his qualities being not yet knowen abroad, was reputed modestie and bashfulness. When as he proposed that Galba should be restored to his honour and dignitie, Curtius Montanus was of opinion, that the memorie of Piso should be solemnized, the Senators allowed of both: howbeit concerning Piso it tooke none effect. After this, certaine were allotted to see restitution made of those things, which had beene by force taken away in the warre, and some others, to view and set vp the brasen tables of the lawes, which by ^a tract of time were decaied; & other to reforme & purge the publike records, & registers, which by flatterie of times were corrupted, & to moderate and stint the publicke expenses. Tertius Iulianus was restored to his Pretorship, after it was knowen that he fled to Vespasian: notwithstanding Griphus kept his roome too. Then the Senate awarded, that the cause betweene Musonius Rufus, and publius Celer should be reuiued and determined: and so Publius was condemned, and satisfaction made to the soule of Soranus. In this daies worke as the publicke seuerity of the Senate was notable, so priuately Musonius wanted not his due commendation, for hauing iudicially prosecuted so iust a reuenge: as contrarie ^b Demetrius the Cynicke was generally blamed, for that ambitiously, and without regard of his credit, he had lent his hand to protect a manifest offender: for Publius himselfe had neither spirite nor tongue to pleade his owne cause. When the signe was giuen, and flagge of reuenge, as it were, set out against the accusers, Iunius Mauricus requested Domitian, that it would please him to communicate a coppie to the Senate of the Princes recordes & papers, whereby they might be certified particularly, who had required to haue the accusing of whom. Answer was made, that the Princes aduise was to be asked in a case of that waight: whereupon the Senate, the principall personages, beginning the example, conceiued a forme of oath, which all the magistrates sware, contending who should be foremost, and the rest, as their voices were seuerally asked, solemnely protesting, and calling the gods to witnesse, that they had neuer attempted nor done any act against the life of anie, nor reaped commoditie or honour by the calamities of others, they which were

^b By the burning of the Capitoll melted saich Suetonius Vespasiano. c. 8.

^c Annal. 16. Sueton. Vespas. 13. Xiphil.

guiltie

guiltie that way pronouncing it faintly, and mincing the oath, but diuersly wresting and changing the words. The Senatours allowed of them which sware truely, and openly reprobued the others periurie: which reproofe lay most heauily vpon Sario-
lenus Vocula, and Nonius Actianus, and Cestius Seuerus, persons infamous for their often accusings vnder Nero: and beside, which aggrauated his case, Sariole-
nus had lately attempted the like with Vitellius: so that they bent their fists against him, and ceased not to offer violence, vntill he departed the house. From him they
went to Paetius Africanus, seeking to throw him out likewise, because he had giuen information against the Scribonian^e brethren, renowned both for their wealth and mutuall agreeing together, and procured their destruction with Nero. Africa-
nus neither durst confesse the matter obiected, nor could well deny it: but turning himselfe to Vibius Crispus who pressed him neereft with his interrogatories, he on the other side challenged him of the like, seeking to shift off the odiousnesse of that, which he could not directly defend, by ioyning the plantiffe in the same crime. That day Vipsanius Messalla wanne himselfe great credit, both for eloquence and good nature, vndertaking, being vnder Senatours age, to make intercession for his brother^d Aquilius Regulus. Regulus was extremly hated, because he had wrought the ouerthrowe of the noble houses of the Crassi, and of Orphitus. he was at his owne suite appointed by the Senate to be their accuser, and vndertooke that odious charge voluntarily being very yoong, & not, as some others, to auoid danger that in refusing might grow to himselfe, but in hope of rising higher thereby. And Sulpitia Prætextata wife of Crassus, with fower of his children presented themselues in a readinesse to prosecute the matter, if it would please the Senate to take knowledge thereof. Messalla, neither iustifying the cause nor the man, but opposing himselfe against the perils of his brother, had mooued some to compassion. Then Curtius Montanus replied with a bitter oration, proceeding so farre, that he charged Regulus with giuing of money after Galbaes death to him that slew^e Piso, with biting of Pises head being dead. these things (quoth he) I trow Nero neuer constrained you to doe: neither saued you either your life, or your honour by such sauage crueltie. Let vs graunt their defence to be tollerable, which chose rather to bring others in- to ruine, then themselves into perill, for your part you had nothing to leese: your father going into banishment left you voide of all danger that way; his goods were parted amongst his creditours and your age as yet not capable of honour: you had nothing that Nero should either desire from you, or feare in you. Nay it was your owne bloudthirstie humour, and gaping for gaine, which caused you to employe your gifts, being as yet not knowen nor tried in defendig any mans cause, to the destruction of the nobilitie: when at one blow you ruined and ouerthrew innocent children, & reuerend old men, honorable women, & by this good seruice in destroy- ing the common wealth merited Consulare spoiles, ^f seuen thousand thousand se- sterces, and an honourable Priesthoode: when you blamed Neroes slacke and re- misse kind of proceeding, that he went house by house and tired out both himselfe and the whole company of the accusers, whereas he might with like facilitie and speaking of a word subuert the whole Senate. Keepe I pray you (my Lords) and make store of a counsellor of so good a dispatch, that euery age may be furnished: and as our old men imitate Marcellus and Crispus, so our young may doe Regulus. Dishonestie euen when it thriueth not, findeth followers, what will it do then when it doth prosper and flourish? and whom we dare not offend hauing beene but Que- stor, what shall we doe when he shall haue passed the higher offices of Pretor and Consul? or doe ye thinke that Nero shall be the last tyranne? indeed so they also
beleueed

^a Xiphilin. Nero-
ne, ὁ δὲ λαοὶ τὴν
ἐλπίαν τῆς ἐξου-
σίας οὐκ ἔχοντες,
ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἑστέ
αὐτὸν ἀλλήλων
ἀποφθάνοντες, ἀλλ'
ὡς περὶ τοῦ γένους
οὐ τῶν καὶ τῆς παρ-
αίτησις τῆς
ἐξουσίας συμπρο-
κότες καὶ τὰς Γερ-
μανίας δι' ἀμφο-
τέρων ἐπὶ πολὺ
ἀμα διέκλυσαν
ἡλθόντι εἰς τὴν
ἑξουσίαν ματαί-
αυτοι οὐκ αὖ-
τὴν αὖ Νέρονος
ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐκ κλη-
μάτων οὐκ ὁ καί-
ρος ἐκείνος ἐφάρ-
λαστοντες ἐπὶ τῇ
τισιν τὰς οὐλὰς
αὐτῶν χάσαντες
ὁ Οὐμνίου bipediū
nequissimus, as
Pliny the youn-
ger called him,
a most pestilent
instrument of ty-
rannie in Nero &
Domitians time.
lib. 1. ep. 5. c. c.
^e And yet he got
a legacie at Ve-
ranides hand, Cu-
ius marito sayeth
Pliny. lib. 2. ep. 19.
immanissimus ipse
immanissimus fua-
rit.

^f That is, 54687.
lib. 10 s. sterling.

beleueed, which ouerliued Tiberius and Caius when in the meane time arose another more cruell and detestable then either. We feare not Vespasian; his age warranteth vs, and his moderate disposition: but precedents dure longer the dispositions. We are waxen cold (my Lordes) neither are we now the same men, that assoone as Nero was slaine required these promooters, and all other instruments of tyrannie to be punished *more maiorum*. After the decease of an ill Prince the first day is alwaies the best. With so great applause and liking of the Senate Montanus was heard, that Heluidius conceined hope of the possibility of ouerthrowing Marcellus also. Therefore beginning his speech with the commendation of Cluius Rufus, who being as rich, & as famous for eloquence, had notwithstanding in Neroes time neuer procured any mans danger, he pressed Marcellus both with his owne fact, & with the others example, and the Senatours fingers euen tickled against him. Which when Marcellus perceined, making semblance of departing the house, We are gone Heluidius (quoth he) and leaue to you a Senate of your owne: take your pleasure, and "exercise your kingdome in the presence of the young Prince. After him followeth Vibius Crispus both well warmed and netled: Marcellus with a threatening countenance, Crispus halfe smiling, but at the entreatie of friendes they came againe to their place. And so the contention growing hoater, and of the one side many & good, on the other few and mighty banding together, & inueighing despitefully one against the other, that day was consumed in brawlings. The next meeting Domitian beginning to perswade, that old griefes & grudges should not bereuiued, but buried together with the memory of the late times, wherein men were forced to do many things against their owne minds, Mutianus continuing the speech opened at large in fauour of the accusers, gently admonishing withal, and as it were entreting them, who seemed to resume their actions which they had discontinued. The Senatours, when they saw they were crossed in following their liberty, medled no further, and Mutianus, lest the iudgement of the Senate should seeme to be little regarded, & a generall pardon as it were proclaimed of all crimes committed vnder Nero, commanded Octavius Sagitta & Antistius Sossianus, Senatours by calling, which were without leaue returned from exile, to be reduced into the same Ilands again. ^{8 Tac. 13. Ann.} Octavius had frequented with Pontia Posthumia another mans wife adulterously, & because she refused after to mary him, he slew hir vpon extreme passion of loue: Sossianus by his leud qualities had bin the ruin of many: both of the had bin cōdemned & banished by a heauy sentence of the Senat, & others being restored they were left still in the same penalty. But Mutianus could not with all this wipe the ill opinion away of his former dealing: For Sossianus & Sagitta were men vile & of no account, neither mattered it where they liued: but the accusers great gifts, great wealth and great power, being men so well seene in all lewde practises, were feared not without cause. The Senatours minds were anon in part reconciled by meanes of a certaine cause heard in the house, and decided according to ancient custome. Manlius Patricius a Senatour made complaint, that in the colonie of Siena he was beaten of the multitude at the magistrates commandement, & not contented with this outrage they *mourned and wailed, and made shew of celebrating his funerals in his owne sight, with many skornefull and reprochfull speeches redounding vpon the whole Senate. The parties accused were called, & vpon due examination conuicted and executed, and an act made to admonish the people of Siena to behaue themselves in modester maner heereafter. At the same time Antonius Flamma was condemned of extortion, at the suite of the Cyrenenses, and exiled for his cruell behauiour, and shedding of innocent bloud.

"Or, exercise your kingdome when the Prince returneth. regna praesente Caesare.

8 Tac. 13. Ann.

* Nec sine iniuria hic fletisse: planctum & lamenta & supremorum imaginem praesenti sibi circundant.

XVIII. *A view taken of the Pretorian souldiers. A loane motioned in the Senate. The funerals of Flavius Sabinus.*

AMIDST these things there had welny broken out a sedition of the souldiers. The Gard-souldiers dismissed by Vitellius, & assembled in fauor of Vespasians cause, required their former place: likewise the ^a souldiers, which vpon hope of the same roome were chosen out of the Legions, demanded performance of promise. Neither could Vitellius gard well be remooued without much bloudshed. So Mutianus, comming to the campe to the end he might better view their yeeres of seruice, appointed the winners seuerally to stand, with their ensignes and weapons, a little distance asunder. Then he willed the Vitellian gard, as well those which yeelded themselues at Bouillæ, as others fought out within the city & about, to be produced in a maner vnarmed, then to be diuided, and those which were chosen out of the German and Brittiish armies, and so of the rest, if any were, to stand each by themselues. The first sight heereof did straight amaze them, to see the contrarie side as in a pitched field flourishing with their weapons and darts, and themselues without armour, deformed, and in poore miserable state closed about. But when they began to be drawen, and distracted hither and thither, they trembled al, especially the German souldiers, as if the separation tended only to sort them out to the slaughter; whereupon they fell to embrace their companions, to hang on their neckes, to kisse them as for their last farwell, beseeching not to leaue them alone, and that in the like cause they might not abide harder fortune than others; with obsecrations sometimes to Mutianus, sometimes to the Prince that was absent, sometimes to the gods and the heauens to releue their distressed estate; till such time as Mutianus calling them all liege men of one soueraigne, and souldiers of the same Prince, eased them of this vaine feare; the rest of the souldiers present with a shewt furthering their teares, and declaring themselues to fauour their cause: and so for that day the matter was shut vp. Some few daies after Domitian in an oration made offer vnto them of land and possessions, who being now assured and out of all feare, did boldly refuse it, praying to haue their former seruice and wages againe. It was but a praier, mary such as could not be denied: and so they were receiued into the Gard. Afterward they which had serued their yeeres, and accomplished their iust number of stipends, were honourably dismissed: some others criminally, and for their misdemeanour singled out one by one: the safest remedy to weaken and dissolue the consent of a multitude. Then a motion was made in the Senate, whether vpon necessitie indeed, or because they would ^b haue it to seeme so, that a loane should be made, by priuate men to the publike of ^c sixty millions of sesterces, and the charge thereof committed to Poppæus Siluanus: but shortly after the necessitie ceased, or the false semblant. Then by a law proposed by Domitian the Consulships conferred by Vitellius were disanulled: and Flavius Sabinus' funerals were celebrated with Censoriall pompe: great demonstrations of fortunes ficklenesse, turning vpside downe whatsoeuer seemeth high in the world.

^a Funerals were celebrated with Censoriall pompe] Censorium funus the most honourable, and solemne manner of buriall: as the Censorship was the most honourable office, and accomplishment, as it were of all other. P^olybius lib. 6. saith, that in the buriall of a Consul, or Prætor, certaine chosen out for the likeliest to the dead person accompanied the corse *ἐν δὲ τῇ πορφύρῃ* onely, that is, in *veste prætexta purpura*: in the buriall of a Censor *ἐν πορφύρῃ*, in purpura.

^a Of the Flavian side, as it is not vnlike that many Legionaries were the more easily induced to enter into the cause, vpon hope of that preferment.

^b Initio statim principatus professus est Vespasianus quadringentis milibus H. S. opus esse, ut res. stare posset, saith Suetonius cap. 16. one of the greatest summes I remember any where named, amounting to about three hundred millions of pounds.

^c That is, 468750 pound ster.

XIX. *The death of Lucius Piso Proconsull
of Africke.*

ABOUT the same time Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke was slaine: the truth of which murther I will briefly set downe, resuming first certaine former matters, which may seeme to haue ministred chiefly occasion, and cause to such like inconueniences. The Legion in Africke, and the Aides assigned to garde the frontiers of the Empire that way, in the time of Augustus, and Tiberius, were vnder the gouernment of the Proconsull, till Caius a Prince of a troubled braine, and hauing in iealousie M. Silanus, who then was Proconsull of Africke, remooued the Legion from the Proconsull, deliuering it to a Lieutenant sent for that Purpose. The parting of an office thus betweene two without subordination and their charge and points of commission lying intermingled, and running iointly together, bred and nourished, as was intended, discord and quarrels: and so through sinister emulation the Lieutenants office incroched and grew, either because they continued longer in charge, or because inferiour persons commonly take more paine, and delight in contending with their superiours, the greatest men of the Proconsuls seeking rather safetie then might. Now at this time Valerius Festus was Lieutenant of the Legion there, a riotous yong man, and one that gaped after great matters, but much perplexed in minde, by reason he was so nearely allyed to Vitellius. This Valerius in his often conferences which he had with Piso, whether he perswaded him to take vpon him the estate, or opposed himselfe against Pisos soliciting it is vncertain (for at their secret communication none was present beside: and when Piso was slaine most men inclined to fauour the slayer) certaine it is, that the prouince and souldiers were ill affected toward Vespasian. And some of the Vitellianists escaping out of the citie, layed downe before Piso the great possibilitie of effectuating that purpose: that France was in termes of reuolting, Germanie readie to side themselves with him, adioyning the danger wherein he stood for his owne person, and that in a suspected peace open warre was the onely safe course. As these things were in dooing, Claudius Sagitta captaine of the Petrin wing came thither, hauing outsayled Papirius a Centurion sent by Mutianus, and auowched that the sayd Centurion had commission to dispatch Piso: that his kinsman and sonne in law Galerianus was already dispatched in Rome; so that the onely hope of safetie consisted in venturing boldly: and of venturing there were but two waies, either straight to take armes, or sayling into France to offer himselfe there for a head to the Vitellian armies. Notwithstanding all which allegations Piso persisted vnmouueable: and anon the Centurion sent by Mutianus came; who, as soone as he arriued at the port of Carthage proclaimed Piso Emperour, wishing to him as Prince all successe and prosperitie, and requiring all that he met, being amazed at the woonder, to ioine in the same crye. The credulous common people flocked in the market place and demanded the presence of Piso, filling the citie with showts and acclamations of ioy, partly vpon negligence to search out the truth, and partly vpon a pleasure in flatterie. But Piso, whether vpon the intimation of Sagitta, or of his owne modestie, refrained from going abroad and committing himselfe to the peoples discretion; and examining the Centurion, perceiuing it was but a snare to entrap him, and so to make him away, he commanded him to be slaine, not so much for hope of escaping himselfe by so dooing, as vpon iust indignation against the Centurion, because the same man had beene one of the murtherers of Clodius Macer, and ment to bring
P his

his hands lately embrued with the bloud of a Lieutenant now to the slaughter of a Proconsull. Then he checked the Carthaginians with a sharpe and seuered Et, and ceased to execute even the vsuall points of his office, keeping still within doores, lest any occasion of new commotion by mischance might arise. Festus vnderstanding how the people was daunted and dashed, the Centurion slaine, and other occurrences part true, part false, or enlarged and amplyfied, as fame feedeth in going, sendeth certaine horsemen to murder Piso; who making all haste in the dawning of the day brake into the house of the Proconsull with drawen swordes the most part not knowing Piso by sight, being Auxiliaries of the cuntrey, and Moores picked out for the purpose. Whereupon meeting one of his seruants, not farre from his bed-chamber, they asked him who he was, and where Piso was to be found: the seruant perceiuing his masters danger, notably and resolutely answered, that he was Piso, and so was presently slaine in the place: by and by after Piso himselfe was massacred. For there was in the company Bebius Massa, one of the Procurators of Africk, that knew him; euen then a worker of good mens destruction, and one that often will fall in the course of this storie, as an instrument of the milchiefes, and a cause of the mileries that we sustained^a afterward. Festus in the meane time stayed at Adrumetum to watch how the matter succeeded, and from thence went to the Legion, where he commanded Cetronius Pisanus the campe master to be committed to ward, vpon priuate displeasures, betweene them, pretending that he was an abettour, and complice of Piso. Some souldiers also and Centurions he punished, and some he rewarded: neither of them for any desert, but because he would seeme to haue ended a warre. Then hee tooke vp the debates betweene the Ophenses and Leptitani, which of small beginnings, as robbing of cattel and come from the countymen, were now by force of armes maintained in the field. For the Ophenses being the weaker side had called the Garamantes to aide them, a sauage people & altogether giuen to robbing and stealing vpon their neighbours: whereupon the Leptitani were hardly bested, and their fields being round about wasted, trembled for feare within the walled townes, till such time as the cohorts and wings came, who put the Garamantes to flight, and recouered all the spoile, saue onely that which certaine out-riders had carried further into the cuntrey, and sold there among their wilde inaccessible cottages.

XX. *Vespasian at Alexandria receiueth aduertisement of the death of Vitellius. The embassage of Vologesus king of the Parthians to him. Titus speech with his father. Corneis sent to Rome. The foundation of the Capitoll is liaed.*

AFTER the battell at Cremona, and good newes from all quarters, many of all sorts hazarded to put themselues vpon the rough winter seas, and sailed with safety to carie Vespasian the newes that Vitellius was slaine: and king Vologesus embassadours were there offering fortie thousand Parthian^a horsemen to aid him. It was a glorious and ioifull thing, to be sought vnto with offers of so great assistance, and yet not to neede them. So thanks were giuen to Vologesus, and he willed to sende an embassage to the Senate, and assure himselfe of peace with the Romans. Vespasian conuerting his cares vpon Italie, and the affaires of the cittie, was aduertised somewhat hardly concerning Domitians dealings, as if he had^b passed the bounds of his age, & caried himselfe aboue his compasse rather like an Emperour then an Emperours sonne. Therefore the most seruiceable part of his army he

^a In Domitians time, Tac. in vita Agricola. Plinius in epistolis.

^b Or, Oerises.

^a 40 millia sagittariorum, saith Suetonius Vespas. c. 6. not disagreeing from Tacitus: for the Parthians were in 70 to 80,000. b Vno die factis Suet. Domitiano c. 1. super triginta urbana officia atque peregrina distulit, mirari se & espasiano dicitur quod successorem non se sibi mitteret.

he deliuereth ouer to Titus willing him to prosecute and finish the Iewish warre. It is reported that Titus before his^c departure vsed long speech and intreatie with his father, desiring him not to beleue lightly, or enter in choler at the tale of euery backbiter, but rather to reserue himselfe free for an indifferent audience, and cary a placable minde towards his owne sonne. For neither were Legions nor nauies so strong defences and rampiers of a Princes estate, as the multitude of children. Friends with time and fortune, sometimes by vnadvised desires, or ouersights, decrease, fall from vs and fade, whereas a mans owne blood cleaueth fast, and cannot be disioyned: especially in Princes, whose prosperitie as well may others enioy, but their aduersitie toucheth none neere, but their neereft in blood: and how should they two being brethren agree, if the father gaue not first an example. Vespasian not so much pacified toward Domitian, as delighted with the good nature of Titus bad him be of good comfort, and looke to his charge in aduancing the weale publicke with armes in the field; himselfe would take order with matters of peace, and domesticall affaires. Then he committed to sea, which as yet was tempestuous, his best ships of saile fraught with corne: for the cittie was in such distresse, and stood in those termes of famishing, that when the corne came from Vespasian, they had not at all in their storehouses about ten daies prouision. As concerning the setting vp of the Capitoll againe, he^e committed the charge thereof to Lucius Vestinus a Gentleman of Rome, but for authoritie and countenance one of the principall men of the cittie; by whom the soothsaiers being called together expresly charged, that the reliques of the former temple should be conueied and caried away into the marshes, and the new erected vpon the selfe same foundation: for it was not the pleasure of the gods the old forme should be altered. The one and twentieth of Iune being a goodly faire day the whole plot of the temple was bound, and tied about with fillers and garlands. The souldiers, whose^b names had lucky significations entered in with fortunate boughes. Afterward the Vestall Virgines, with boies & girles which had both father and mother aliue, washed it with water fetched from riuers, and springs, and running streames. Then Heluidius Priscus the Pretor, Plautus Elianus one of the chiefe Priests going before him, hallowed the floore with a solemne sacrifice of a swine, a sheepe and a bullocke, and laying the entrailes vpon a greene turfe, calling first vpon Iupiter, Iuno, Minerua, and the rest of the Gods protectours of the Empire, that they would prosper the worke, exalt and aduance this their own habitation, begun by the deuotion of men, with their diuine and celestiaall power, he put his hand to the fillets and ropes, wherein a huge mightie stone was fast tied, and withall the rest of the magistrates and priests, the Senate and Gentlemen, and a great part of the people preasing with great desire and ioy, drew the stone to the foundations, throwing in withall ingots of gold and siluer, and oare neuer tried in the furnace, but rawe as it grewe: for the soothsaiers forewarned that the worke should not be defiled with stone, or gold which had beene destinated to any other vse: only the rooffe was made hyer: that alteration alone was not disallowed by the gods, and the former temple, for want of proportion that way, was thought to lacke stateliness, and maiestie conuenient for a building, wherein such a masse of men should be holden.

^c From his father at Alexandria: for thither he accompanied his father, & from thence returned backe to Caesarea: which voyage is particularly described by Josephus in the last words of his fourth booke *Antiq. lib. 4. c. 10.*

^d Cic. de diuinatione, cum imperator exercitum, consilium populi, lastraverat bonis nominibus quibus hostias ducerent eligebantur: quodam in delectu consules obseruant, ut primus miles sit bono nomine.

^e He committed the charge thereof] Most of the other writers affirme contrary to Tacitus, and to the truth as I thinke, that Vespasian was present at the laying of the first foundation of the Capitoll. Sueton. *Vesp. Vespasianus restitutionem capitolij aggressus rudibus purgandis manus admoit, ac suo collo quendam extulit.* Xiphilin *τοῦ τῶν ἐν καπιτολίῳ ἐνδοῦς οἰκοδομῆς ὑπελάτω, αὐτὸς πρὸς τὴν χεῖρα μετὰ τοὺς ἐκπονήτας.* That is, he forthwith began to build the temple in the Capitoll, himselfe first carrying out some part of the rubble. And yet by Tacitus the greatest man present in this action was Heluidius Priscus Praetor urbanus, the hiest office in the absence of the Consuls. And

surely beside the credit of Tacitus, who may ouerwaigh twenty such writers at randon, I cannot see how in possibility Vespasian could well be in Rome before the one and twentieth of Iune for at Alexandria he attended certaine moneths, saith our autour, *certa maris opperians*. Now from the eleuenth day of Nouember to the tenth of March, saith *Pegetius, lib. 8. maria clauduntur*: from the tenth of March to the fiftenth of May *periculose maria tentantur*, and not lightly ventured vpon but by merchants: so that before the middle of May or thereabout it is not likely he set out of Alexandria. Zonaras seemeth to say, that he staid a great while longer in Egypt, then otherwise he would haue done, vpon hope that Hierusalem might haue bene won before his departure, & so Titus should haue accompanied him also to Rome. Again the voyage of Vespasian to Rome was long, and much of it performed by lande, and many great busineses dispatched in the way Iosephus *ἀλάσ. 7. cap. 5.* and *1. Suetonius* and others. So that in all reason his entrie into Rome was toward the latter end of the sommer, and so he was not present at the foundation of the Capitoll.

XXI. *The Treueri and Lingones, at the instigation of Classicus, Tutor, and Sabinus, assembling secretly in counsell at Coleyn determine to revolt from the Romans.*

Vocula remooueth from Magontiacum to Coleyn. Claudius

Labeo maketh a roade against the Caninefates without great effect.

WHAN the death of Vitellius was heard of in France and Germanie, it doubled the warre. For Ciuilis now laying aside dissimulation declared himselfe, and made open war against the Roman Empire. The legions which had serued Vitellius wished rather forraine bondage, then to haue Vespasian their Prince. The Frenchmen conceiued courage, and hope of freeing themselves from the yoke supposing that the same fortune was befallen to our armies in all places alike: and indeede a rumour was noised that our standing campes in Pannonia and Mcesia were straitly besieged by the Samaritans and Dacians: the like was reported of Britannie. But nothing perswaded them so much to beleue, that the Roman Empire was come to an end, as the burning of the Capitoll. For the cittie had bene once before taken by the French, but the seate of Iupiter then being vntaken the Empire stooode and remained: wheras now by this fatall fire a manifest signe of the gods heauie wrath, and displeasure was giuen. And the Druides out of their vaine superstitious learning did prophesie that the Empire of the world was to passe, and be seated beyond the mountaines. Moreouer a common fame went, that the ² noblemen of France, when they were sent by Otho against Vitellius, did couenant together before their departure, that in case the Roman Common-wealth ceased not thus to be torne by multiplying of ciuill warres, and domesticall troubles one straight succeeding another, they would jointly attempt to recouer their ancient libertie againe. But before the murther of Hordeonius Flaccus nothing brake out whereby the conspiracie might be perceiued: after his death there passed messages, betweene Ciuilis and Classicus captaine of the wing of the Treueri, Classicus in birth and wealth far exceeded the rest of that quarter. He was extract from the line of their ancient kings, his auncestours renowned in war and in peace, and himselfe boasted to be descended of enemies to the people of Rome, rather then friends. Vnto him in this action adioined themselves Iulius Tutor, and Iulius Sabinus, the one of Triers, the other a Lingon. Tutor was appointed by Vitellius ouerseer of the bancke of Rhene. Sabinus besides a naturall vanitie was pricked forward with the vain-glorie of a supposed kinred; that his great grandmother for hir beautie had pleased Iulius Caesar, when he warred in France, and was by him carnallie knowne. These three by secret conferences searched the mindes and inclinations of the rest: & when they had made acquainted, and associated to them such as they supposed fit for the purpose, they appointed a meeting in Coleyn, in a private house: for the publike state of the cittie vtterly abhorred all such attempts. Notwithstanding

^a *Primores Galliarum ab Othone aduersus Vitellium missos. Who these Primores Galliarum were and when and from whence sent by Otho against Vitellium, I conceiue not vnlesse it be ment of the Romane Senators, whereof many were French by birth, whom Otho assumed into his train against Vitellius: but men of their qualitie me thinke should haue no great cause to lecke for great alteration.*

withstanding certaine of the Vbij and Tungri were present at the consultation: but the strongest part and that which carried the matter was of the Treueri and Lingones. Neither made they any long deliberation, but all with one voice cried amaine, that the Romans did nothing^b but rage in ciuill diffensions, that the Legions were slaine, Italie wasted, and the cittie of Rome euen taken; that all the armies were helde occupied enery one with their seuerall wars: and if the Alpes were fortified with good and sufficient garrison, and so their libertie won and assured, then might France determine at leisure what course to take of further proceeding, and how farre they list to enlarge. This was no sooner said then allowed: a scruple remained concerning the remnant of the Roman souldiers. Many were of mind that they were to be put to the sword, as mutinous, and faithlesse persons, and polluted with the bloud of their leaders: but the opinion of sparing them preuailed, least hope of pardon being taken away they would become desperate. So it was thought more conuenient by faire meanes to allure them to the partie, and that the Lieutenants alone being made away, the common souldiers would easily be wonne to the side vpon guiltinesse of their owne misdeedes, and hope of impunitie. This was the forme of their first consultation, and some were sent abroad into France to kindle and stirre vp the warre; they themselues pretended all subiection and obedience to Vocula, that they might oppresse him at the more vnawares. Vocula had secret intelligence hereof, but he had not forces to punish it, his Legions being both thinne, and vnstedfast. So betweene vnure souldiers, and secret enemies, supposing it the best way that now he could take to vse their own artes against them, he dissembled the matter and went downe to Coleyn. Thither Claudius Labeo was escaped, hauing corrupted his keepers; who as before we haue said was taken, and confined out of the way into Frisia, and promising that if he might haue men he would go into Bataua, and reunite the greatest part of the cuntrey againe to the Roman Empire: hauing a pretie companie of horsemen and footemen assigned, he durst not enterprise any thing amongst the Batauians, but drew certaine of the Neruij and Bethasij after him into the field, and rather by stealth, then by way of open inuasion, made some incursions vpon the Caninefates and Marsaci.

XXII. *Classicus and Tutor corrupt Voculaes souldiers. Vocula at Nouesium is forsaken by his souldiers, and slaine, who immediately sweare fidelitie to the Empire of France.*

VOECULA allured by the fraude of the Frenchmen remooueth towardes the enimie. When they approached to Vetera, Classicus and Tutor pricking before vnder colour of discovering met with the German Captaines, and concluded the bargaine, and thereupon encamped their companies with a seuerall trench from the Legionarie souldiers. At which signe of manifest contempt and reuolt Vocula conceiuing great indignation cried aloud, that the Roman state was not by ciuill warres brought yet to so low an ebbe, as that the Treueri also and Lingones neede to despise it: so many countries continuing faithfull, our armies being victorious, the fortune of the Empire standing entier, and the gods ready to reuenge this perfidious part: so long ago Sacrouir and the Aedui, so of late Vindex and France were onethrowen, ech at one blowe, and now also the perfidious breakers of treaties so solemnly sworne were to looke for againe the same gods and the same fall. Iulius and Augustus knew better their crooked inclinations: ^b Galba, and the abatement of their tributes hath made them our enemies. Now they are foes be-

^a In the fourth yeere of Tiberius Caesar. Tac. 3. An. ^b A plaine *μνημονὸν ἀμείψαν* in Tacitus for Galba did not diminish but rather increase the tributes of the Lingones and Treueri, and directly afflicte them, to some other cities of France. true it is, that he abated a fourth part of their ordinary tribute, but that was nothing to this audience.

cause their yoke is too gentle, but when they shall be ransackt and stript of their wealth, they will be our friends and subiects againe. When Vocula had thus spoken with great spirit and courage, seeing Classicus and Tutor notwithstanding to continue in their traiterous purpose, he retired backe to Nouesium. The Frenchmen sate downe two miles from the towne in the fieldes, to which place the Centurions and souldiers resorting from Nouesium were bought, and corrupted to a villanie neuer heard of before, that a Roman armie should sweare allegiance to strangers, and for a pledge of so wicked a part, either kill their Lieutenants, or deliver them prisoners. Vocula, albeit many counsailed him to withdraw, chusing rather to sticke to it manfully, then cowardly to flee, called an assembly, and spake to them in this maner.

“ I neuer at any time spake vnto you, either more carefull for you, or carelesse
 “ for my selfe. That my destruction is purposed I am well contented to heare, and
 “ accept death in these troubles as an end of my miseries. Of you I am ashamed, and
 “ you do I pittie, not because any martiall exploit, or matter of armes is intended
 “ against you; for that were agreeing to a souldiers profession, and according to the
 “ law of the field at an enemies hand: but because Classicus with your hands hopeth
 “ to fight with the Romans, and abuseth your simplicitie with the goodly oath and
 “ imaginary Empire of France. * Are we so farre now fallen, not onely from our for-
 “ tune and courage, but euen from our ancient precedents too? For how oft did the
 “ Roman Legions chuse rather to die then to yeelde one inch of ground to the eni-
 “ mie? Our allies haue many time suffered their citties to be razed, themselves, their
 “ wiues & their children to be consumed to ashes, without gaining other reward, saue
 “ only to keep their faith and their fame. The Legions at Vetera support with all pati-
 “ ence hunger & siege, and yeeld neither for fear nor faire words. We, besids men and
 “ armour, and a campe strongly fortified, haue prouision and vittels sufficient for a
 “ long warre, if neede were. Mony lately we had, not onely for pay, but also to serue
 “ for donatiue too: which whether you list to accept as comming from Vespasian, or
 “ from Vitellius, sure both waies it came from a Roman Emperour. If you doe it for
 “ feare of the battell (albeit it be no admittable reason in you who haue foiled so of-
 “ ten at Gelduba, at Vetera, and so many times ouerthrowne the enimie) we haue
 “ trenches, and walles, and waies to prolong till more strength and supplie come
 “ from the countries about vs. If it be for displeasure at me, you haue other Lieute-
 “ nants and Tribunes, nay Centurion or common souldier, make your choise of any
 “ so he be a Roman to leade you. Let neuer for shame so prodigious a thing be bru-
 “ ted throughout the whole world, that Ciuilis and Classicus should inuade Italie,
 “ hauing a gard of Romans attendant. What if the Germans and Frenchmen should
 “ leade toward the wals of the cittie? will you fight against your owne native soile
 “ and sharpen your speares against the wombe of your mother? The onely conceite
 “ of so great an impietie striketh an horror into my mind. Shall Tutor of Triers haue
 “ watch and ward as a Prince? shall a Batauian giue you the signe of the battell? will
 “ you be caried about for supplements to the German regiments? and what end will
 “ you finde of your treason? when the Roman Legions shall march out against you
 “ what shall become of you then, but of fugitiues to be fugitiues againe, and traitors
 “ of traitors, betweene your old oath and your new an abomination to the Gods and
 “ to men? O thou most mighty and mercifull Iupiter, whom with so many triumphes
 “ these eight hundreth and twenty yeeres we haue adored and worshipped: and thou
 “ Romulus the founder and father of the cittie, I pray and most humble beseech you,
 “ that if it be not your heavenly pleasures, that vnder my hand and gouernment this
 campe

*Ado nos, si for-
 ana presens
 virtutis de seruit,
 iam vetera ex-
 mpla deficient?*

campe should be kept vncorrupted and cleane, yet at least you will not permit it to be polluted, and stained by Tutor and Classicus: and that it would please you to inspire to the Roman souldier, either a minde to follow honorable courses, or els a speedie and harmelesse repentance. The oration was diuersely taken, as of men diuersely affected betweene feare, hope, and shame. After the speech Vocula withdrew himselfe, and consulting vpon his end, was by his freedmen & bondmen stayed from voluntary preuenting of a most shamefull death: for Classicus sent by and by Æmilius Longinus a fugitiue of the first Legion to dispatch that piece of seruice. As for the Lieutenants, ^c Herennius, and ^c Numisius, it seemed sufficient to put them in prison. Then Classicus assuming the markes and ornaments of the Roman gouernors, came into the camp: and albeit he were hardened to all kinde of desperate mischiefe, yet would not his vtterance then serue him any further, but barely to recite the words of the oath. All that were present sware fidelity to the Empire of France. Then he aduanced the murtherer of Vocula to a higher place, and the rest he rewarded, ech according to the lewde seruice they did.

^c Herennius
Lieutenant of the
first Legion, whose
standing campe
was at Bonna and
Nouesium of the
sixteenth at No-
uesium.

XXIII. Tutor bringeth Coleyn and all vpper Germanie to the oath of France.
The Legions of Vetera surrender the place to Ciuilis with condition only of sauing their liues: which notwithstanding is not performed.

AFTER these things Classicus and Tutor diuided charges. Tutor with a strong power lay about Coleyn, and brought both them, and all the souldiers which lay vpon the vpper bancke of the Rhene, to the same oath, slaying the Tribunes at Magontiacum, & driuing away the Camp-master which refused to swear. Classicus suborned certaine of the lewdest companions of those which had yeelded themselves, commanding them to goe to Vetera, and there to proclaime pardon to all those, that would submit themselves to follow the present course: otherwise to looke for no hope but sword, and famine and all extremities. They which were sent vsed also their owne example as a motiue vnto them. On the one side the respect of their loyaltie, on the other their present necessitie, distracted the persons besieged, betweene the two courses of honour and shame. While they delayed to resolute, their foode failed them both vsuall and vnusuall: they had eaten their mules and horses, and other creatures, which being otherwise abhorred and loathed, hunger had made sauourie and sweete: and lastly feeding of branches, and sprigs, and pulling of grasse which grew in the wals, they were a patterne of miserie and patience, till such time as sending Embassadors to Ciuilis for life, they stained their honorable actions with a shamefull and dishonorable end. Neither was their petition admitted, before they sware fidelitie to France. Then he graunted them life, reseruing the spoile of the campe to himselfe, and appointed keepers to stay the money, the seruants, and stufte, and others to conduct the souldiers emptie away. About fiew miles off the Germans lying in ambush, rose sodainely and set vpon them vnawares such as were most valiant and made resistance were slaine where they stood: many were cut off in the flight, the rest recovered the camp. Whereupon Ciuilis made complaint and rebuked the Germans as hauing wickedly broken their faith; whether it was but a countenance of his, or else hee could not bridle them in their fury it is not assuredly knowen. When the campe was ransacked they set it on fire, and all the men that escaped in the field, were burned therein.

XXIII. Ciuilis

XXIIII. *Civilis vpon performance of his vowe cutteth his bearde. Of Velleda queene of the Bructerians. Two Legions of them which forsooke Vacula and yeelded themselves to Glaucius, namely the sixteenth and the first, the one from Nouesium, the other from Bonna their standing campes, are by commandement transported to Triers.*

Tac. de morib. Germ. Alijs Germanorum populus usitatum erat & inuicem apud eos in consensum uentis, ut prius adoleuerint inuicem barbaris summittere, nec nisi hoste caso exuere uotium obligatumq; virtutis habitum.

CIVILIS vpon a barbarous vow when first he entred warre with the Romans, suffred his yellow haire to grow long without barbing, and now, as vpon^a accomplishment thereof caused it to be cut, when the slaughter of the Legions was perfourmed: and it was reported, that hee set vp as markes certaine of the captiues, for his little sonne to shoote and dart at in sport. Neuerthelesse neither did he sweare, nor caused any Batauiian to take the oath of Fraunce, trusting in the strength and assistance of the Germans, and if there should happen hereafter contention to grow with the French about the Empire, accounting himselfe both of more name and abilitie. Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant of a Legion among other presents was sent to Velleda, a virgin of the Bructerian nation, and queene ouer many cuntreyes: for so the olde maner of the Germans is, to beleue many of their women to be prophetesses, and so, superstition increasing, goddesses. And at that time the authoritie of Velleda was growne in more reputation, by reason that shee had tolde before hand the Germans should prosper, and the Roman Legions should be destroyed. But Lupercus was flaine in the way: a few Centurions and Tribunes French borne were reserued as a pledge of alliance & amitie. The standing campes of the cohorts, wings and Legions, were ouerthrowen and burned, those onely excepted which were at Magontiacum and Vindonissa. The sixteenth Legion with the Auxiliaries, which at the same time yeelded themselves, was commanded to depart from Nouesium to Triers, and a day set down, before which they should auoide the campe. The meane time was spent in fundrie cares. Some of the cowardliest were terrified with the late example of them which were flaine at Vetera, in their issuing out; the better sort blushed for shame, to think of the infamous and dishonorable iourney, whom they must follow for guides, and how all things should be at the simple pleasure & discretion of those, whom they had made Lords ouer their life and death: others without respect of dishonour packed about them money & such things as were of most price: others made readie their harnesse & buckled themselves to their weapons as though they were going to field. While they were thus musing, and casting their cards, the houre of remooue was come, more grieuous and dolefull then was imagined. For within the trench the deformitie of the spectacle was not so apparent: the field and the day discovered the shame, the images of the Emperours being plucked out of their places, the ensignes tyed vp; whereas contrarily the French banners glistered and plaid on euerie hand; in summe a silent and sorrowfull troupe, and as it were a long funerall pompe. The conductor Claudius Sanctus augmented the indignitie, one cied, ill fauoured in countenance, and weaker in wit. The dishonour was doubled, when as the first Legion relinquishing their campe at Bonna, vpon the like commandement adioined themselves to the other: and the cuntrimen, that a little before quaked for feare at the very name of a Roman, when the fame of the Legions captivity was noised, ran out of the houses, and fields from all quarters, to gaze and feede their eies with

so strange a sight. The Picentine wing could not endure the ioy, and insulting of the people, but neglecting as well the threats as the promises of Sanctus, turned to Magontiacum; and meeting by chance in the way Longinus the murderer of Vocula with their darts slew him for a beginning of future amends. The Legions went forward in their purposed iourney, and sate downe before the wals of Triers.

XXV. *An embassage of the Tencterians to them of Coleyn.*

Coleyn yeeldeth to Ciuilis and Velleda vpon reasonable composition.

CIUILIS and Classicus puffed vp with prosperous successe made a question, whether they should permit the cittie of Coleyn to bee sacked by their souldiers. Their naturall inclination to crueltie and couetousnes drew them that way, but the policie of warre was against it, and especiallie the opinion of clemencie needfull in those which are to found a new Empire: the remembrance also of a priuate benefite made Ciuilis more tractable toward them, because in the very beginning of the troubles taking his sonne in their towne they committed him to honourable custodie. Notwithstanding the nations beyond the Rhene enuied the riches, & growing of the cittie, and iudged there could be no end of war, vnlesse that towne were either made a common habitation for all Germans indifferently, or else razed to the ground, & so the Vbij also dispersed. Wherefore the Tencteri, a people onely serued from them by the riuer, sent an embassage, with instruction to declare their charge in the common councell of Coleyn, which one of the most imperious among the embassadours vttered in this peremptorie maner. We thanke our Gods & yours, and Mars chiefe of all Gods, that you are returned into the corps and communitie, and name of Germanie; and we reioice for your sakes, that you shall at length liue as freemen among freemen. For hitherto the Romans haue shut both water and lande, and in a maner the very heauen it selfe betweene you and vs to hinder our conferring and meeting, or else which is more contumelious to martiall men, that we should neuer haue accessse to your cittie but vnarmed, and naked almost and that garded and paying a toll. But now, to the end that this mutuall league of alliance and friendship may stand & continue for euer, we require of you to pull downe the walles of your towne, the bulwarkes of your bondage, for euen wilde beasts shut vp forget there accustomed valour and vertue. Next we require you to kill all the Romans within your territorie: libertie and Lords cannot dwell together. Then to bring out all their gods and diuide them in common, that no man should hide any thing, or seeke to seuer his cause from the rest. Moreouer that it may be indifferent both for vs and you, as it was in times past to our fathers, to conuerse and inhabite vpon both sides of the riuer. As nature hath communicated the day and the night to all men, so she hath laied open all lands of the world to valiant minds. Resume your ancient customes and lawes, laying aside all your effeminate pleasures, by which meanes, more then with armes the Romans subdue nations and countries. So shall you be a people vncorrupt, without admixtion of foreigne maners or bloud: so shall you forget seruitude, and either liue in libertie, or be lords ouer others. The Agrippinenses taking a time to deliberate: seeing neither future feares would permit them to yeeld to the conditions, nor their present estate plainly to refuse them, made answere in this maner. We haue taken, you see, the first opportunitie of recouering our libertie, perchance with more haste then good speede, that we might be ioyned with you, and the rest of the Germans our kinsmen:

“ kinsmen: but seeing the Roman armies do gather of all sides against vs, is is meeter
 “ and safer to strengthen, then to pull downe the wals of our cittie. As for strangers,
 “ Italians or other, which liued amongst vs, either they are slaine in the warres, or fled
 “ home to their countries. To them which be ancient inhabitants amongst vs, and
 “ are lincked with vs in marriage, and to their offspring, this countrey is their owne na-
 “ tive soile: neither do we thinke you so vnreasonable as to wish vs to kill our parents,
 “ our brethren, or children. For taxe and tallages we acquite and discharge you for
 “ euer: you shall passe and repasse without all impeachment, but onely in the daie
 “ time, and vnarmed, till our rawe and new amitie be ioyned, and confirmed by con-
 “ tinuance and custome. Ciuilis and Velleda shall be arbiters: to their knowledge we
 “ referre the cause, and the conclusion of the whole treatie. The Teucteri being
 thus in part pacified, embassadours were sent to Ciuilis and Velleda with presents
 who obteyned all things as they of Coleyn desired: onely they were not admitted
 to haue accessse of speech with Velleda, nor suffered to see hir, for more keeping of
 state, and to maintaine a more reuerend conceit in the harts of the people. She was
 lodged in a high tower, and one of hir kinred appointed to carie as from a goddesse
 hir oracles and answers.

XXVI. *The Bethasij, Tungri and Neruij yeeld
 to Ciuilis.*

CIUILIS thus strengthened with new increase of confederats, resolved to as-
 sociate the cities adioining, or to warre against them if they resisted. So he
 tooke in the Sunici, and composed their able men into cohorts: but as hee
 purposed to haue passed further, Claudius Labeo with a raw companie of Bethasij,
 Tungri, and Neruij, hauing seised vpon the bridge of the Mose, and trusting to the
 aduantage of the place opposed himselfe and stopped his passage. The euent of the
 skirmish was doubtfull in the straites, till the Germans swimming ouer the riuer
 came vpon Labeoes backe: and withall Ciuilis, whether vpon a bold venture, or
 vpon a set match, rushed into the middest of the Tungri, and with a loud voice pro-
 tested, that the war was not vndertaken to that end, that the Batauians and Treueri
 should be souerain lords ouer all other nations: Far be all such arrogancy (quoth he)
 from our thought: only receiue vs as your good friends and allies. Lo heere for my
 part I commit my selfe to your hands, employ me as you list, either for a captain or
 a common souldier. The common people was much moued at these words, and
 put vp their swords, and Campanus and Iuuenalis chiefe men of the Tungrians yeel-
 ded the whole nation vnto him; Labeo before he was compassed in, fled away. The
 Bethasij also and Neruij yeelded themselues: whom Ciuilis adioyning to his power
 became verie puissant and strong, all the cities either fearing, or fauouring him vo-
 luntarily.

XXVII. *Iulius Sabinus with his Lingones giueth battaile to the
 Sequani, and is ouerthrowen.*

IN the meane season Iulius Sabinus, breaking downe the monuments and records
 of the Roman alliance, tooke vpon him the stile and title of Cæsar, and led after
 him a huge and rude companie of his countrey folkes, the Lingones, against the
 Sequani, a state bordering vpon them, and faithfull to vs. Neither did the Sequani
 refuse to wage battaile; wherein fortune fauoured the better side, and the Lingones
 were

The Diete at Rheymis resolueth upon peace, notwithstanding

the embassy of the Treveri and Lingones, and

the allegations of Tullius Valenti-

...nus to the contrarie.

with

a Josephus dicit.
7. ca. 11. differeth
from Tacitus in
some little cir-
cumstances, and
no doubt crieth
as that Cerealis,
ἀντιπρόσωπος
ἡγετοῦς, was
sent Lieutenant
into Britannie,
(ἀντιπρόσωπος
ἡγετοῦς) and in his way
finding the Ger-
mans and French
revolted, com-
posed the matter.

b Sueton. Domit.
ca. 2. expedit omnes
quoq; in Galliam
Germaniasq; neq;
necessarium, &
diffidentibus pa-
ternis amicis, in-
choavit (Domitia-
nus) tantum vi-
fruisse, & operi-
bus, & dignatione,
adacquies
c Vide annos.
p. 146. 147.
d Some before
Cereali, & some
after him, as it
appeareth in this
booke and the
next.

with mighty monarchies are vsually charged, sparing no spite of words, nor arte to aggrauate matters against them; a factious person and apt to stirre troubles, and willingly heard of the multitude, by reason of his eloquence such as it was. But Iulius Auspex, one of the noblemen of Rheims, discoursing of the puiſſance of the Roman power, and the great commodities of peace, and affirming that warre might be commenced by cowards, but must be fought with the hazard of the most valiant men; and that euen now the Roman legions were vpon their backes, by this graue speech stayed them all: the wiser sort with respect of duety and faith, the yoonger of danger and feare. And so they commended the courage of Valentinus, but followed the counsaile of Auspex. It is certaine that the Treueri and Lingones had the worse audience in France, because in the cōmotion of Vindex they had sided themselves with Verginius. Many were discouraged by reason of the emulation that would ensue betweene the prouinces; what should be the head of the warre, from whence should lawe and souerainty be deriued; and if they did conquere which should be the seate-towne of the Empire. They were not yet conquerours, and yet were they at discord brawling about the preſeance; some alleaging their treaties & ancient leagues, some their riches and present strength, and some their antiquitie. Whereupon the whole councell detesting the future confusion, affirmed and ratified the present estate. Letters also were written vnto the Treueri in the name of the common counsell of France to desist from armes, whilst pardon might be easily obtayned, and many would become suters in their behalfe if they repented. But Valentinus refused the curtesie, and at his returne stopped the eares of his city against this good motion, being a man rather plentiful in orations and speeches, then careful for other prouision of war.

XXIX *The one and twentieth Legion surnamed Rapax commeth into Germanie. Sextilius Felix with his cohorts overthroweth Tutor and the Treueri. Valentinus returning from the Diete stirreth up the war againe. The two Legions transported from Nouesium and Bonna to Triers depart to the Mediomatrici.*

IN like maner neither did the Treueri, nor Lingones, nor the rest of the states that reuolted, carry themselves as the weight of the cause and the danger required: euen the captaines themselves conferred not counsailes together. But Ciuilis wandred about the wildes of Belgium to catch Claudius Labeo, or els to chase him out of the cuntrey: Classicus lay for the most part idle and lazie, and as it were took the fruition of his supposedly gotten kingdome. Tutor also slacked to make himselfe strong vpon the vpper bancke of the riuer, and with garrison to possesse the passages and heights of the Alpes, whilst in the meane time the one and twentieth Legion brake in from Vindonissa, and Sextilius Felix, with the Auxiliarie cohorts by the way of Rhœtia; vnto whom a wing of horsemen called Singulares (who marching at the first by Vitellius appointment toward Italie reuolted afterward to Vespasian) adioyned themselves. Their captaine was Iulius Briganticus Ciuilis sisters sonne, mortally hating his vnckle, and hated againe: as commonly the enmities of nearest kinsfolkes, if once they fall out, are most despitefull and deadly. Tutor increased his power consisting of Treueri with a fresh supply of Vangiones, Caracates, and Triboci, and that which added most strength with olde experienced Legionarie

narie souldiers, both footemen and horse, some corrupted with hope, and others awed with feare: who at the first killed a cohort sent before by Sextilius Felix, and anon when the Roman captaines and armies approched, redeeming their former fault fled ouer to them, and were followed by the Triboci, Vangiones and Caracates. So Tutor being left alone with his Treueri eschewing Magontiacum fled to Bingium, trusting vpon the strength of the place, because he had broken downe the bridge of the riuer Naua: but Sextilius with his cohortes following his footesteps, and finding a forde discried his power, and ouerthrew it. This discomfiture vtterly discouraged the Treueri: and the common people casting their weapons away returned to their husbandry. And certaine of the nobilitie that they might seeme to be foremost in laying hostilitie aside, fled to those citties for refuge which had not broken with the Romans. The Legions, which, as before we declared, went by commaundement from Nouesium and Bonna to Triers, voluntarily resumed the oath to Vespasian. These things were done in the absence of Valentinus: who at his returne, in a desperate furie and rage stirred the coales, & kindled the fire anew. Whereupon the Legions got them away to the Mediomatrici, a state in league with the Romans: and Valentinus & Tutor perswaded the Treueri to take vp their weapons againe, and goe to the fielde, hauing first killed Herenius and Numisius the Lieutenants, to the intent that being without all hope of pardon, they might bee more fastly vnited together in their wicked conspiracie.

XXX. *Petilius Cerealis ouerthroweth the Treueri, taketh Valentinus alive. adioyneth the two Legions from the Mediomatrici, and maketh an oration to the Treueri.*

THIS was the state of the war, when Petilius Cerealis came to Magontiacum, and by his presence raysed great expectation, and hope of our side. Cerealis himselfe was desirous of the battaile, and hauing a better grace sometime to contemne the enemies, then alwaies to beware them, with lusty couragious wordes he inflamed his souldier, as purposing, so soone as he could ouertake the enemies without delay to ioine issue in fielde. A supply of souldiers sent out of Fraunce hee turned home againe, willing them to signifie so much to the rest in his name, that the Roman Legions sufficed for the defence of the Roman Empire: and that all our good friends and allies should returne to their peaceable businesse, without further care, assuring themselves; that the warre, now that the Romans personally vnder-tooke it, was as good as already dispatched. That increased the obedience of the French: for hauing receiued their men backe againe, they supported more easily all taxes and tributes, and were the more ready to performe all points of their duty, because they saw their helpe was not needed. But Ciuilis and Classicus, whenas they heard of the ouerthrow of Tutor, the slaughter of the Treueri, and the good successe euery where of their enemies, all in a fright and haste seek to vnite their dispersed powers. sending messengers in the meane time to Valentinus one after another warning him to take heed to the maine chance, and not rashly to venture and hazard the battel. Which so much the more expedition Cerealis dispatched to the Mediomatrici, lying nearer vpon the enemy. certaine to leade the two Legions thence to assaile them on that side: and assembling all the souldiers at Magontiacum, and the power which he had brought with him ouer the mountaines, himselfe marched farward, and at the third remooue came to Rigodulum, a place naturally strong by reason of the high situation, and the riuer Mosella closing it in: where Va-

lentinus with a great power of Treueri was encamped; and had made it stronger by arte, casting trneches and ditches about it, and mightie huge stones to hinder the passage. But these fortifications terrified the Roman captaine nothing at all, but boldly he had the footmen breake thorow, and appointed his battell of horsemen to clime vp the mountaine, despising the enemy, whom he knew to be raw, and vnskilful in seruice, & not to haue that aduantage by the difference of place, that himselfe had by the difference of men. At the going vp of the hill some little stay was made, vntill the enemies had spent their arrowes & dartes: then comming to handy strokes, they were driuen downe headlong, and tumbled one ouer another, as it were stones at the fall of a building: and part of the horsemen fetching about by easier ascents tooke many of the chiefe nobilitie of Belgium prisoners and amongst others Valentinus General that day of the field. The next day Cerealis entred the town of Triers. The souldiers were extreame desirous to raze the city alleging that here Classicus, here Tutor was born: here were the men through whose wicked conspiracy the Legions were besieged & slain. what had poore Cremona deserued so greatly, as to be rooted out of the body of Italy because it differred the victory onely one night? here in the confines of Germanie stood the seat towne of rebellion entire, & triumphing with the spoiles, & slaughter of our armies & generals. As for the spoile he might at his pleasure dispose of to the Princes behoofe they could be contented with the burning and ruines of that rebellious colony, to requite therby in some part the destruction of so many camps. Cerealis for feare of infamy, if he should be thought to noo- fel his souldiers in licentiousnes & crueltie repressed their anger and they obeyed being become, now they had left off ciuill warre, of more modest behauiour also in for- reine. Then the miserable and pitifull spectacle of the Legions, which came from the Mediomatrici, drew mens minds to the consideration thereof. Vpon the guilt of their offence they stood with a sad and sorrowfull countenance, casting their eies downe to the ground no ioyful greeting when the armies met nor answering ought to those that sought to encourage and comfort them, but hiding themselves in their tents, not abiding to looke on the light: not so much amazed with danger or feare, as with the shame and discredit. And euen the conquerours were astonished at the sight, who not daring to speake begged their pardon with silence and teares, til such time as Cerealis with comfortable words reuiued their spirits; affirming that those things, which in deed came to passe through the mutinousnesse of the souldiers, or the dissention of the leaders, or the malice of the enemies, were but fatall mischances, which could not be escaped: and therefore that day they should account the first both of their seruice, and oath: their former facts neither the Prince, nor he would remember. Then were they receiued into the same camp and a proclamation made throughout all the bands, that no man in contention or anger should obiekt to any of them their misdeeds or mishaps. Then calling the Treueri and Lingones to an

assembly, he spake vnto them in this wise. I was neuer practised in the arte of speaking: my profession is armes, and with armes I haue made good prooffe of the vertue of the Romans. But because words preuaile so much with you, and I see you esteeme good and euill, not by their owne natures, but by the speeches of factious persons, I thought it expedient to say some thing, which now that the warre in a manner is finished may be more behoouefull for you to heare, then for vs to speake.

1 Caesar lib 1. de bello Gallico. 5. 7.

The Romans, their Captaines and Leaders, entred your countrey and the rest of France, not pricked by any desire of theirs, but requested thereto by your predecessors at what time ciuill dissensions had tired and ruined them and the Germans called in by one side brought both into thraldome. How many battailes wee haue fought

fought against the Cimbri and Teutones, what paines our armies haue taken, and with what successe we haue handled our selues in the German warres for your sakes, it is notoriously knowen; neither doe we therefore with so much expence of money, and men garde the Rhene for the safety of Italie, but lest some other Ariouistus should passe and conquer the kingdome of Fraunce. Or do you thinke your selues better beloued of Ciuilis and the Batauians, and the Germans ouer the Rhene, then your fathers and grandfathers were of their predeceffours? the same causes still are remayning, and so wil be for euer, to mooue the Germans to passe into France; to wit, satisfying of their pleasures and lusts, auarice, and desire of changing seate, that leauing their mires and deserts, they may take possession of this fruitfull countrey, and you the inhabitants thereof. yea but libertie and glorious shewes are pretended. Where was euer any, I pray you, that sought to enthrall or vsurp ouer other, but he cloaked his purposes with such goodly titles? France neuer was without petty tyrans and wars, till yee came vnder our iurisdiction. We, albeit we haue beene often prouoked, haue put that onely as conquerours vpon you, wherby peace might be maintained. For neither peace can bee maintained without armes, nor armes without wages, nor wages without tribute: all other things are alike to vs both. you commonly gouerne our Legions, you are the Presidents of these and other prouinces, no prerogatiue is kept from you, or reserued for vs. Againe, they which dwell farre off, feeble the commoditie alike of a good Prince, whereas tyrannes oppress most the nearest. As you endure and support with patience a barren yeere, if it happen, and vnseasoable weather, and such other defects of nature; euen so tolerate a little and beare with the riotous life or auarice of gouernours. Faultes will be so long as there be men: but neither are they continuall, and amends is commonly made by better which follow. Vnlesse peraduenture you hope for a more moderate, or easier gouernment vnder the raigne of Tutor and Classicus, or that with lesse tribute, then now is paid, armies can be maintained to hold out the Germans and Britans. For if the Romans, which the gods defend, should be dispossessed, what els can ensue but wars of nation against nations, and the confusion of the whole world. This frame is the workmanship of eight hundreth yeares, good fortune and discipline, which cannot be dissolued without the destruction of the dissoluers; but your danger, which haue gold and riches the chiefest causes of warre, of all is the greatest. Therefore embrace your peace, and loue that cittie whereof both you and we are members alike. You haue prooued both fortunes: let them be a warning vnto you to chuse rather subiection with safety then rebellion with ruine. With this speech he settled their minds and lightened their harts who feared a heauier doome.

XXXI. *Ciuis and Classicus write to Cerealis.*

AT the time that the Roman army was within Triers, Ciuis and Classicus sent letters to Cerealis, The contents were, that Vespasian was dead, although the Postes concealed the matter: that Rome and Italie were consumed and wasted with inward warre. As for Mutianus and Domitian they were nothing elle, but vaine names without forces: if Cerealis list vndertake the Empire of France, it were his best course, and they would not be against it, contenting themselves with their owne citties and confines, or if battaile pleased him better, euen that they would not refuse. To these points Cerealis answered nothing to them, but sent the messenger, that brought the letters, away to Domitian.

XXXII. *Ciuislis with his confederates ouerthrowen by Cerealis at Triers.*

IN the meane season the enemies began to march, and approched on euery side in feuerall companies: whom Cerealis permitting to ioine, was blamed by many for suffering them to vnite, with whom he might haue fought single, and defeated them easily being diuided. The Roman army cast a ditch and trench about their campe, in the which they were before vnaduiledly lodged with out any defence. Among the captaines of the other side there was diuersitie of opinions, and the matter debated both waies. Ciuislis thought it expedient to stay for the Germans comming which dwelt ouer the Rhene, the terrour of which nations would treade vnder foote the Roman powers: as for the Frenchmen it mattered not much what way they went, being nought else but a prey to the conquerors; and yet the strength of France, the Belgians, had either openly declared for them, or at least secretly wished them well. Contrarily Tutor affirmed, that by delay the Romans would growe and increase, so many whole hostes comming in from euery side, one Legion being already transported out of Britannie, others sent for out of Spaine, and many Legions at hand out of Italie, not of rawe souldiers, but olde and well expert in warre: as for the Germans they looked for, what were they else but a kinde of vnprofitable troubles of a campe, out of al awe and obedience to superiors, that would not be commanded nor ruled, but doe all as they listed themselves? Now for money and gifts, the onely meanes to corrupt the Germans, the Romans had more abundance, and no man was so hasty to fight, but would rather chuse quietnesse then danger with the same hire. Whereas if they would presently fight, Cerealis had no other Legions as yet, but onely the remnants of the German army entangled with an oath to the Empire of France. And moreouer this their late vnlooked for successe against Valentinus, and his rude yntrained company, would be a baite vnto them and their Generall to further rashnesse, and therefore they would without doubt venture againe, and so fall into the handes not of an vnskillfull youth, better seene in words and babble, then armes and militare feates, but of Ciuislis and Classicus; at the very sight of whom the enemies would tremble, calling to remembrance their former feares, and flightes, and famines, and how oft they had beene taken & pardoned their liues. Neither doe the Treueri and Lingones keepe in with the Romans now vpon loue and goodwill, but for feare: which take ye away and they will resume their weapons againe. Classicus approuing the opinion of Tutor decided the controuerisie, and forthwith they proceede to execution. The middle battell was assigned to the Vbij and Lingones, on the right side stood the Batauian cohorts, on the left the Bructeri and Tencteri: in this array partly from the mountaines and partly betweene the way and the riuer Mosella they assailed our army so sodainly, that Cerealis, lying abroad that night out of the campe, had word brought to his chamber and bed all at one instant, that the battell was begun, and his men ouerthrowen rating at the first their dastardlinesse that brought in the newes, vntil with his owne eyes he sawe the whole meslage clearly confirmed, the campe of the Legions broken vp and entred into, the horsemen defeated, the bridge ouer Mosella in the midst of the towne possessed by the enemy. In which confusion Cerealis behauing himselfe without all feare, with his owne handes drew backe them which fled away, and manfully, albeit vnarmed among so many weapons, with his fortunate rashnesse, and assistance of some valiant souldiers comming in, recovered the bridge, and

left

left a chosen company of men to guard it. Then returning to the campe he found the bandes of the Legions, which were taken at Bonna and Nouesium, disbanded and scattered, few souldiers at their ensignes, and the standerds almost circumuented. Whereupon being full of indignation and wrath, You forsake not (quoth he) Hordeonius or Vocula, you can alleadge no falsehood or treason in me: neither euer did I commit any act that needed excuse, saue onely in affirming you had forgotten your oath to France & remembered your allegiance to the Roman Empire, I shall, and so am contented to be numbred with Numisius and Herennius, that all your Lieutenants may be said to haue died either by the handes of their owne souldiers or else of the enemy. Go tell Vespasian, or which is nearer Ciuilis and Classicus, that you haue left your Generall in the field: Legions shortly will come, doubt ye not, which shal neither suffer me to be long vneuenged, nor you unpunished. The accusation was true, and the Captaines and Tribunes spake, and vrged to the same purpose. So they rallied and made head by cohorts and bandes, for the whole battell could not be displaid, partly because the enemy was vpon them, and partly by reason of their tents and stuffe, which hindred them greatly fighting within the trenches. Tutor and Classicus and Ciuilis ech in their seuerall quarters animated their men to fight, the Frenchmen for libertie, the Batauians for glorie, and the Germans for spoile: and all went with the enemy till the one and twentieth Legion knitting together in a more open place then the rest, valiantly receiued the aduersaries charge; and recharging by and by draue them from their ground. It was not without the speciall helpe of the gods, that our enemies being victorious so sodainly altered their mindes, and turned their backes. They affirmed afterward the sight of the cohorts terrified them, which at the first ioining being defeated, vnited again in the hill tops, and seemed a new supply in their fight. But indeed the chiefe impediment of their victory was, that they left of to deale with the enemy, and quarrelled foolishly among themselves for the spoile. Cerealis as he had almost vndon all by negligence, so by diligence and constancie he recouered it againe, and following his fortune tooke the same day, and razed the enemies campe.

1 Betweene the way and the riuer] Tacitus, might wel in this place, after the example of the most approved story writers haue set vs down a more plaine and parricular chorography of the place wherein this battaile was fought, of whether side of the riuer the Roman campe stood, and how in respect of the towne: for as it is written it is, in my fancie hard to conceiue, not onely to vs now but euen to them for whose vse he wrote it: vnlesse we will suppose that euery common man that liued in Rome in those times knew this *via*, which he telleth vs of here, and such other petty matters in the lite of Triers necessarie for the full conceiuing of the place. beside that perchance, alter the site as you list, some obiections may be picked out of the text here hardly answerable.

XXXIII. *They of Coleyn kill the Germans which they finde in their towne: and cut a cohort of Ciuilis lying at Tolbiacum in pieces. The Caninesates fight prosperously against the fleete of Britanny, and Ciuilis against some of Cerealis horsemen*

THE souldier without any long intermission was straight waies called to a new seruice. They of Coleyn requested their helpe, and offred to surrender the wife and sister of Ciuilis, and the daughter of Classicus, which were left with them as pledges of mutuall amitie, and in the meane season slew the Germans which lay dispersed in their towne: wherupon growing into extreme feare they had iust cause to crie for aide before the enemies gathering new strength should resume courage, or prosecute the reuenge. For Ciuilis also purposed thitherwarde, beside other

competent forces, vpon confidence principally of his most couragious cohort composed of Chauci and Frisij, which was not present in the ouerthrowe, and laie at Tolbiacum in the territorie of Coleyn, but he was deuerted from that determination by a sorrowfull message, that the cohort was massacred by the fraud of the Agrippinenses, who when the Germans had filled themselues with wine and good cheere, and so were laied to sleepe, shut vp the doores, put fire to their lodging, and burned them aliue: and withall Cerealis was come himselfe with speede to relieue them. Moreouer another feare troubled Ciuilis mind not a little, least the fourteenth Legion together with the nauie of Britannie should waste and spoile the Barauian border that lyeth vpon the Ocean. But Fabius Priscus the Lieutenant, hauing crossed the seas at the shortest cut, led forth the Legion by land into the coasts of the Neruij and Tungri; and those countries yeelded themselues to the Romans. As for the nauie, the Caninesates venturously made out against it, and tooke or suncke the greater part of the ships: and the same Caninesates defeated a multitude of Neruij, voluntarily gathered together to fight in fauour of the Romans. Classicus also against certaine horsemen, which Cerealis sent before to Nouesium, skirmished prosperously. Which small but often losses did dimme and diminish the glory of the victorie lately obtained.

XXXIIII. *The sonne of Vitellius is slaine. Antonius Primus discontented from Rome to Vespasian saileth lying at Alexandria.*

ABOUT the same time Mutianus commaunded the sonne of Vitellius to bee slaine, pretending that a perfect vnion could not grow, vnlesse all feedes of warre were vtterly rooted out. Moreouer he would not permit that Antonius Primus should be assumed into Domitians traine in the voiage of France, hauing him in ieaousie, by reason of the soldiers loue towards him, and because of the mans hauty proud nature, who could not abide any equall, much lesse a superior. So Antonius mal-content went to Vespasian, who receiued & entertained him in good sort, albeit not according to his expectation. The merits of the man, by whose conduct doubtlesse the war was consummate & ended, distracted him one way, & Mutianus letters another: and withall the rest put forward, inueying against him as an insolent and intolerable person, ioyning thereto the faults of his former life. And he for his part by his arrogant behauiour ceased not to prouoke displeasure, odiously inculcating at euery worde, what things he had done, and how greatly he had deserved of the cause, despising the rest as men of no seruice in warre, and Cæcina as a dishonoured captiue, and yeelded person. Whereupon by little and little he began to be in lesse credit, and lightlier esteemed of the Prince, notwithstanding outwardly he countenanced him as before.

XXXV. *Certaine miracles which happened whilest Vespasian staid at Alexandria attending for a good winde, and a seasonable time of the yeere.*

IN those monethes which Vespasian staid at Alexandria, attending the ordinarie sommer winds, and a sure season by sea, many miracles happened, whereby the speciall fauour^a of the gods and their good will towards Vespasian was euidently signified. A certaine poore blind man of Alexandria, known in all the towne

^a Suet. Vesp. c. 7.
 auctoritas & quasi
 maiestas quadam,
 ut sc. in opmator
 ad huc nouo prin-
 cipi decrat, huc
 quoque accessit:
 e plebe quidam
 luminibus orba-
 tus, item alius d-
 bilitate cruce. &c.

towne by reason of his infirmities, warned by the god Serapis, whom that superstitious nation adoreth above other gods, fell downe at the feete of Vespasian, and humble be sought him with teares to remedy his blindnesse, praying him to vouchsafe with the spittle of his mouth to wet his eies round about. An other lame of a hand, by the commandement of the same god, praied Vespasian that it would please him to treade vpon him with his foote. Vespasian at the first skorne and rejected their suites. But when they persisted still instant vpon him, he began to doubt with himselfe, fearing one the on side discredit, and opinion of vanitie, on the other vpon the importunatenesse of the diseased, and speeches of flatterers, entring into some hope, at the last he willed the Physicians to consider, whether such blindnesse and lamenesse were possible by humane helpe to be cured. The Physicians according to their custome disputed the point diuersly; discoursing out of their learning, that it might be, the blinde mans eies were not perished, but onely ouergrown with some skin, which being remooued, the sight would returne: likewise the other mans limmes were dislocated, and might with force conueniently vsed be set right againe; and perchance it is the pleasure of the gods to restore them to health, and to chuse the Prince for the meanes of performing the same. Finally if the remedie had good successe, the glorie would redound to the Prince that did it: if not, the skorne should light vpon the poore patients that importuned him. Whereupon Vespasian supposing all things feaseable to his good fortune, and nothing now incredible, stepped forth with a merie countenance, and in the presence of a great multitude, that stood by attending the euent, did as they had desired him to doe, and presently the lame recoured the vse of his limmes, and the blinde of his eies. They which were present at both affirme both to be true, euen now at this time when nothing is gotten by lying. Then Vespasian became more desirous to visite the sacred seate of the god, and there to aske counsaile concerning the affaires of the Empire; and commaunding all to voide, he entred into the temple, and as he was busie about his deuotion sodainly he sawe behind his backe, as he thought, one of the noble men of Egypt named ^b Basilides, whom he knew to be sicke in his bed many daies iourney from Alexandria. Then he enquired of the priests whether Basilides that day had entered the church and of others whom he met whether he had beene seene in the citie or no: at the last sending horsemen of purpose to see, hee found at the same moment Basilides was no lesse then foure score miles off: then he perceiued it was a diuine vision, and out of the name of ^c Basilides deriued an answer. The ^d originall of this god hath not hitherto beene declared by any of our writers. The Egyptian priests do report the historie thus: that Ptoleme the king; he which first of the Macedonians ordered the kingdome of Egypt, when he had walled the lately built cittie of Alexandria, erected temples, and instituted religious rites, sawe in his sleepe a faire goodlie yoong man much taller then the ordinarie stature, who warned him to send into Pontus of his most trustie friends, and fetch thence his image; that it would bring great prosperity to the whole kingdom, and that place would especially flourish where the image should be receiued: and straightwaies the yoong man seemed to be caried vp into heauen out of his sight in a great flame of fire. Ptoleme mooued with so great and prodigious a miracle, declared his vision to the Egyptian priests, who are wont to interpret such things. But when he sawe them vtterly ignorant of Pontus and forraine matters, he asked Timotheus an Athenian one of the Eumolpidæ, whom he had sent for from Eleusis to haue the chiefe gouernment of matters of religion, what deuotion or what god that might be? Timotheus, conferring with some which had trauelled in Pontus,

^b Some thinke it to be the Priest in mount Carmel mentioned ^a b. 1. but the circumstances do hardly agree.

^c Deduced of ^a Basilides. ^d The same story is recorded by ^a Plut. lib. de Iside & Osiride, with some difference in circumstances: and by ^a Eusebius in his comment vpon ^a Dionysius more agreeably to the tradition here.

rus, vnderstood that there was a cittie called Sinope, & neere vnto it a temple of ancient name among the inhabitants dedicated to Pluto : for there stood by it the image of a woman commonly named Proserpina. But Ptoleme, as the vsuall manner of kings is at the first prone to feare, and quickly returning to former securitie, as being more addict to pleasures then to deuotions, neglected the matter and cast his cares elsewhere, vntill the same vision appeared in more terrible & vehement manner, denouncing destruction peremptorily to him & his kingdom, if he performed not his commandements. Then Ptoleme sent an embassage with presents to Scydrothemis the King of Sinope, willing them at their departure to go by Delphos and aske counsaile of Apollo. Their journey by sea was prosperous, & Apollos answer without ambiguitie ; namely that they should goe forward, and bring with them away his fathers image, but leaue his sisters. When they came to Sinope, after they had presented their gift to Scydrothemis, they declared at large their commission, & what the king their master requested at his hands. Scydrothemis was doubtful in minde : sometimes he feared the wrathful displeasure of the god, sometimes the threats of his subjects, who were viterly against the granting of it, and sometimes he had a fauorable respect to the presents and promises of the Embassadors. And so three yeers being spent in this negotiation, Ptoleme notwithstanding continued an earnest suiter sending more honorable embassadors mo ships, & more store of gold. At the last a fearfull & threatening vision appeared to Scydrothemis, charging him no longer to hinder that, which the god had determined : & as notwithstanding he protracted, many mischiefs befell him, and diuerse diseases, and the manifest wrath of the gods vexed him daily more and more. Then calling an assembly of all the people he declareth vnto them the will of the god, his owne and Ptolemes visions, and also the mischiefs which otherwise hung ouer their heads. The common people withstood the motion, enuying at Egypt, and fearing their owne state, and so beset the temple about : whereupon a strong report goeth, that the god without handes conueyed himselfe into the ships, which lay there at ancker : and, which is maruellous to be reported, sayling from thence thorow so vast seas, they arriued the third day at Alexandria. So a temple was built answerable to the magnificence of the cittie, in a place called Rhacotis, where had beene a chappell of ancient time consecrated to Sarapis and Isis. And this is the most famous opinion concerning the originall of the god and his transportation. I know that some hold he was brought from Seleucia a cittie of Syria, in the raigne of Ptoleme the ^f thirde : others that the same Ptoleme was the transporter, but it was from Memphis a famous cittie, in auncient times the glorie and strength of olde Egypt. The god himselfe many suppose to be Esculapius because hee cureth diseases ; some Osiris the oldest god known of those nations ; many Iupiter, as soueraine lord ouer all ; most Pluto, by notes that manifestly appeare in him, or otherwise by collection gathering arguments of their coniecture.

2 The ordinary sommer windes. *Statos aestiuis flatibus dies & certa mari opperians.* Certi mari are from the fifteenth or seauen and twentieth of May (for Vegetius lib. 4. cap. 39. nameth both) to the fourteenth of September : from the fourteenth of September to the eleventh of Nouember *nauigatio, sed incerta* : from the eleventh of Nouember to the tenth of March *mari clausa* : and from thence to the fifteenth of May *nauigatio periculosa*. So that Vespasian, as it may seeme, set not out before the later end of May. Ioseph 4. *αλώσ. cap. 42. αὐτὸς μέντοι* (Οὐ-
πολλὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν Πόλιν ὤρμητο λήξαντες τὴν χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέχεται. That is, Vespasian set forward for Rome at the end of winter. Now whereas some learned men for *statos aestiuis flatibus dies*, reade *statos Etesiarum flatibus dies* it is an ouersight. Etesia are contrary windes to the course. Tac. 2. Hist. and Caesar. 3. *de bello civili* : *Ipsē necessariō Etesias tenebatur, qui Alexandria nauigantibus sunt aduersissimi venti.* and to stay till they were past, that is till the later ende of August, were to stay very neare the termes of *incert nauigatio*, and be sure of *insertissima* before he could come home.

XXXVI. The vciage of Domitian and Mutianus with their
traine to Lions.

BVr Domitian and Mutianus before they came to the Alpes receined the
newes of the prosperous battaile against the Treueri : and for a sure prooffe of
the victorie Valentinus the Generall of the enemies was withall deliuered into
their hands, who in his aduersitie retained his former courage, declaring in counte-
nance what stomacke once he had borne. He was permitted to speake for himselfe,
onely that his nature and gifts might be leene, and so adiudged to die. At his exe-
cution one vpbraided vnto him that his countrey was taken, then shall I die, quoth
he, with greater contentment. Then Mutianus cunningly induced speech as pro-
ceeding from the present occasion, being indeed that which long time he had pro-
iected before : that seeing through the great^a fauour and goodnesse of the gods the
forces of the enemies were broken it were vnseemly for Domitian now that the war
was almost at an end, to intercept the glorie of another mans trauailes : if the case
stoode so that the state of the Empire or safetie of Fraunce were in danger, it were
requisite that the Princes sonne should stand in the fiede : but to fight against the
Caninefates and Barauians would be committed to commanders of lower degree;
he himselfe should stay at Lions & from thence in a reasonable distance make shew
of the Princely puissance and state, neither venturing his person in matters of small
moment, and if any greater should happen ready at hand. The arte was vnderstood,
but seeming not to vnderstand it was a point of obedience. And so they came to Li-
ons; from whence it is thought that Domitian sent a secret message to Cerealis, to
prooue his loyaltie, whether if he came thither in person hee would deliuer him his
army and gouernment: what he intended thereby, to make war with his father, or to
strengthen and fortifie himselfe against his brother when the time should serue, it is
not certainly knowen : for Cerealis with good and discreete answer shifted off
this fond and childish request. Domitian perceiuing his^b youth contemned of the
elder men, ceased from meddling any more in affaires of estate, euen of the meaner
sort, and such as before vsually passed thorow his handes: withall, vnder colour of
simplicity and modestie, sequestering himselfe to a close and solitarie kind of life, pre-
tending desire of learning and loue of poetrie, thereby to couer his disposition, and
auoide all emulation and cause of vnkindnesse with his brother, whose vnlike and
far more curteous nature he construed contrarily.

^a Joseph 7. 21. 22.
6. 11. 12. safely and
flatteringly attri-
bute the glory
of finishing this
war to Domitian.

^b Being about
seuenteene or
eighteene yeeres
old at that time.

THE

THE LIFE OF IVLIVS AGRICOLA WRITTEN BY CORNELIVS TACITVS.



DO report and deliuer to posterity the doings and demeanours
 of excellent personages, a thing vsuall in ancient times, euen
 our age, though carelesse otherwise of her owne, hath not
 omitted then and so oft whenas any great and eminent vertue
 hath ouergrowne two vices, to little and great common
 wealths common alike, ignorance of that which is good, and
 enuying at it. But in the daies of our aneestours as it was farre
 more easie and open to atchieue actions worthy of writing, so likewise their finest
 wits, without fauour or flattery, vpon an vpright conscience, without other reward,
 were led to record and chronicle the same: yea diuerse vpon confidence of their
 owne proceedings haue thought it no presumption to set downe in writing them-
 selues their owne liues. Neither were Rutilius and Scaurus a white more misliked, or
 lesse beleeued for that: so certaine it is, that vertues are then valewed most rightly,
 whenas they doe growe in most plenty. But now it fareth with me farre otherwise:
 who hauing here to describe the life of a man already deceased, am first of force
 to beg pardon; a thing which indeede I would haue forborne, were I not to meete
 and fall in with a time so terrible, so capitall an enemy to vertue and honour. We
 reade that Arulenus Rusticus for praising Pætus Thrasea, and Herennius Senecio
 for commending Heluidius Priscus were both put to death: and beside the writers
 against the bookes also seuerity was vsed, charge being giuen from authority to
 the Triumviri, that the workes of those noble wits should be in the market place
 solemnely burned. Belike they supposed they could with that fire quench the speech
 of the people of Rome, abolish the liberty of the Senate, and suppress the common
 knowledge of whole mankind; expelling withall the professors of wisdom,
 and banishing all good learning and artes, lest any sparkle of honesty should by
 mischance remaine within view. For certaine we gaue great prooffe of our patience,
 and as our aneestours attained and sawe the highest pitch and perfection of liberty,
 so we of seruility, being depriued by intelligencers and spies of the commerce of
 hearing and speaking together: yea memory also, as well as tongue we had lost, had
 it lyen in our power as well to forget as it did to keepe silence. Now at the length
 our former spirits begin to reuiue: howbeit although Prince Nerua, straight at the
 first entry of this most happy age, hath wisely matched and mixed together two
 things heretofore insociable, the soueraignty of one with the liberty of all; and Tra-
 ian his sonne, proceeding in the same traine, maketh the Empire dayly more sup-
 portable and easie: so that not onely we may hope and conceiue prayers for the
 publicke security, but see and touch the effect of our praiers assured and confirmed
 vnto vs: yet notwithstanding by prooffe it is found (such is the nature of mans imbe-
 cility) the remedies to be of slower operation, then were the diseases. And as our
 bodies waxe and gather strength by leysure, perish in a moment; so good wits and
 good learning are sooner cut downe then raised againe. For the sweetnesse and
 pleasing of idlenesse, and of doing nothing, creepeth into our senses: and sloathful-
 nesse which at the first we detest, by custome obtaineth our fauour and loue: to
 omit

omit that in ^a fifteene yeeres a great part of mans age, many haue beene wasted by casuall chances, the most sufficient and forward by the crueltie of the Prince, a few of vs onely remaining that haue ouerliued, as I may say, not onely others, but also our selues, hauing so many yeeres subducted out of the midst of our life, in which we proceeded in silence from yoong men to aged, from aged almost to the graue. And yet peradventure it shall not repent me to compose, though in rude and vnframed speech, a ^b memorie of our late thraldome, and a testimony of our present felicities. In the meane while this treatise I haue specially vowed to the honour of Agricola my father in lawe; and therefore as being in discharge of durie, and carying profession of kindnes, it shall either abroad purchase praise, or be couered at least with some curteous excuse.

^a For so long Domitian was Emperour.
^b By a memorie of their thraldome, he meaneth as I suppose, his books of *hist.* by a testimony of their present felicitie, a volume intended by him of *Nerva* and *Traians* time (as it appears in the Preface of the historie) but neuer, I thinke performed.

1 Ignorance of that which is good, and enuying at it] As small objects of weake cies, so small vertues are not conceiued of common capacities: but as there, a certaine quantity and bignesse is requisite, before the dull sense can be pearced; so heere, before the vulgar conceit. Now alsoone as vertue is growen out of ignorance, she entreth by and by into enuy, till mounting aloft, as the sunne being verticall abatech all shadowes, so she in the top and height of perfection, all enuy.

2 Am first of force to beg pardon] Belike then he stood in some feare. And for what? of falling in with those *saeva* and *infesta* virtutibus tempora, ^a vnder Domitian. but he wrote this treatise in Traians time, in *beatissimi* saeculi luce, as he termeth it; and I see no sufficient cause, the times being safe wherein he wrote, to feare the times wherof he wrote: nor of that which followeth; We read that Arulenus Rusticus &c. being things so lately done, and all in his memory, and, as it may seeme, in his sight. for so he saith himselfe in the end of this booke. *Nos Maurici, Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit.*

^a Or peradventure it was ment generally of that age. left as it was capitall in Domitians time to haue written the liues of Thrasea and Heluidius, albeit they were both put to death by other princes, so it might be to Tacitus vnder some other tyrant to haue written his life, who died vnder Domitian, as it was supposed by poison.

3 Thrasea] Put to death by Nero *virtutem ipsam exstingere concupiente*, saith ^b Tacitus: Heluidius Priscus by Vespasian for obeying no better the good counsaile was giuen him by Eprius Marcellus in the Senate some yeares before, and recorded by ^c Tacitus in these wordes. *Snadere etiam Paisco, ne supra principem scanderet, ne Vespasianum senum triumphalem, iuuenum liberorum patris praeceptis coaceret. Quomodo possimus imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quamuis egregijs modum libertatis placere.*

4 Against the bookes also] ^d Clisthenes king of the Sicyonians purposing to make warre against the Argiui, forbade the verses of Homer to be reade or sung in his citty, because they conteyned almost euery where commendation of Argos & the Argiui; wisely foreseeing what great alteration a poem so sweetly endited might worke in the mindes of his subiects, euen against the good of the state and the Romans likewise among all instruments of inuouation seeing none fitter to worke trouble in a settled state, then by way of libels & books to sowe seedes of sedition and nouelty, appointed the Aediles and Triumuii capitales to foresee that no preiudice should grow to the common wealth by that meanes. In the second punicke warre, new religions being brought in by meanes of certaine lewde bookes of prophecies, saith ^e Liue, *Inusati graniter ab senatu Aediles, Triumuirique capitales, quod non prohiberent.* and as in this place of Tacitus the Triumuii had the charge, so in another of the same Tacitus we read the Aediles. ^f *Libros Cremutij Cordi per Aediles cremandos censuere patres.* The visuall and solemne place of this execution was in Comitio, a part of Forum Romanum, *Liue. lib. 40. Libri Numa de iure Pontificio in comitio, igne a victimarijs facto, in Conspectu populi cremati sunt.*

^b Annal. 16.
^c Hist.
^d Herodot. Tet. psch. 196.
^e Lib. 25.
^f Tacit. 4. Ann. 8. Cap. 10.
^g Arulenus Rusticus in Tac. 1. According to Tacitus nor of Heluidius Priscus but of Thrasea alone.

5 The professours of wisdom] *Suetonius* & *Domitiano*. ^h *Iunium Rusticum* (interemit Domitianus) quod *Parsi Thrasea*. & ⁱ *Heluidij Prisci laudes edidisset, appellaretque eos sanctissimos viros, cuius criminis occasione philosophos omnes vrbe Italiaque summouit.* *Sulpitia* a poetesse of that time:

*Nunc igitur qui res Romanas imperat inter
Et studia. & sapiens hominum nomenq; genusq;
Omnia abire foras atq; vrbe excedere iussit.*

Xiphilinus: *Ρῆστον Ἀρκαδίον ἀπέκτεινε ὅτι ἐφίλοσοφει, καὶ ὅτι τὸν Θεόδοτον ἐξέβη ἀνὸς αἰσέ, καὶ Ἐρηνίου Ζενεχίαντα ὅτι τὸν Πέισκα τὸν Ἐλεῖδα τὸν Βίον συνέγραψεν. ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν αἰτίας συγχοὶ διάλογοι, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν ἀνδρεῖς ἐκ τῆς Ρώμης.* That is, Nero put Arulenus Rusticus to death because he studied Philosophy, and because he termed Thrasea Virum sanctum. he put also Herennius Senecio to death, because he had written the life of Heluidius Priscus. and many other beside for this crime of philosophy lost their liues. and all of the profession were banished out of the city.

^h Seneca de bene. lib. 2. Si exemplum magni animi opus est, videtur Gracini Iulij viri egregij quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc quod melior vir esset quam esset tyrannus expulset.
ⁱ The same man as I suppose, whose authority is so much alledged by Columella in matter of husbandrie.

CNEVS IVLIVS AGRICOLA was borne in the ancient and noble colonie of ^c Forum Iulium: both his grandfathers had beene the Princes Procurators, an honorable gentlemans place. His father ^a Iulius ^b Græcinus was by calling a Senatour, for eloquence and wisdom famous: by reason of which qualities he incurred the displeasure of Caius the Emperour, being willed by him to proffer accusation against Marcellus Silanus, which because he refused he was put to death. His mother Iulia Procilla, a mirror of rare chastitie: vnder whose wing and motherly care Agricola being brought vp, passed ouer his infancy and youth in the exercise

exercise of all good qualities and artes. And beside his owne disposition clearly and wholly giuen to good, it was a good meanes to withhold him from the allurements of vice, that he hapned to haue the town of ^b Massilia for the place of his first aboad and studie in youth, a citty compounded of Greeke ciuility and prouinciall frugality well sorted together. I haue heard him say, I remember, that being yoong he had addicted himselfe to the study of Philosophie in earnestest sort, and beyond the measure of a Roman and Senator, had not the wisdom of his mother corrected and cooled the heat of that humour. That noble and hawtie minde of his was caried to embrace with more seruencie then discretion, the beautie and gaie shew of that high and glorious profession: but reason anon and riper yeeres reformed his iudgement: and so he retained, a point most hard to be kept, of wisdom a meane.

His first seruice in war was in Britannie vnder Suetonius Paullinus; into whose traine being assumed he was of that diligent and discreet leader well liked: not spending the time in riot after the maner of youthes, which conuert warfare into wantonnesse; nor accepting the title of tribuneship without skill in the seruice, as a calling of ease for pleasure and gadding abroad; but wholly directing his minde to know the prouince, to be knowen of the armie, to learne of the skilfull, to follow the best, to desire no employment vpon vainglorie, to refuse none for feare, iointly to shew himselfe both carefull and earnest in action. Neither did our affaires in Britannie stande at any time in the like termes of doubt and distresse: our old souldiers were slaine, our colonies burned, our armies entrapped, then we fought for to liue, afterward for to winne. All which exploits, though perfourmed by the counsaile and conduct of another, and consequently the credit of the cause, and glory of recouering the countrey appertaining to the Lieutenant, yet were they occasions to increase in the yoong man skill, experience, & desire of militare renowne, a quality not so acceptable in those seasons, wherein great vertues were greatly suspected, and a great fame endangered more then a bad.

From Britannie departing to Rome to beare offices he ioyned himselfe in matrimonie with Domitia Decidiana, a woman of honorable birth: which mariage was a countenance, and a strength to his further purposes: and they liued together in marueilous vnitie with mutuall loue, and yeelding preeminence the one to the other; a point otherwise not greatly materiall, sauing that a good wife is a great commendation, aswel as an ill a reproch. Being Questor his lot fel in Asia with Saluius Titianus the Proconsull. Neither was he withdrawn by that meanes from his wonted integritie, although both the prouince was rich and readily ministred matter to offend, and his Proconsull a man of insatiable greedinesse would with any remissnesse willingly haue redeemed at his hand mutuall conniueance and couering of faults. There his wife bare him a daughter both to his stay & his comfort, for the son she brought him before was already deceased hauing liued but a little. After his Questorship till he was created Tribune of the people, and the yeare also of his Tribuneship he passed ouer in rest & quietnesse, well weying the nature of Neroes time wherein sloth was a vertue, and to do nothing the greatest wisdom of all. His Praetorship also he passed ouer in the same sort, with the like silence: for none of the iudiciall places happened vnto him. The plaies and vanities of the office he governed and executed by the rule of reason and measure of wealth: farre from excellence, and yet not without magnificence and honour. Anon afterward being elected by Galba to view and suruey the iewels and gifts belonging to the temples, by most diligent and strait search he procured full restitution of all saue onely of those which Nero had taken.

The yeere following wounded his mind, & plunged his house in a heavy mishap. For^e Othoes fleete roning at large licentiously, in wasting Intemelium a part of Liguria, slew the mother of Agricola in her own grounds, spoiled the grounds, and carried away most part of the wealth which was the cause of the murder. As Agricola went to solemnize the funerals he receiued aduise, that Vespasian was in armes for the Empire, and with out more aduise ioined himselfe to the side. Domitian as yet was but yong, and challenged not, as an Emperors son, any thing els saue only licentious life. The affaires of the Empire & state of the city were gouerned at the beginning, & wholly directed by Mutianus alone. By commission from whom Agricola being sent to take musters, and behauing himselfe in that charge with great integrity and courage, he was by the same Mutianus, vpon message receined of the seditious demeanor of Roscius Coelius made in his place Lieutenant of the twentieth Legion, a Legion which slowly had sworne to Vespasian, and was out of awe, or awed much rather euen the Lieutenants general; much lesse was the Legions Lieutenant of power to refraine them, whether through the weaknes of his owne arme, or hard mouth of his souldiers, it is not assured. Thus being elected both to succeede and reuenge, he shewed an example of most rare moderation, in chusing to seeme rather to haue found, then to haue made, them duriful souldiers. At that time Vectius Bolanus was Lieutenant of Britanny, gouerning in a gentler & milder maner, then was fit for so fierce a countrey. Vnder him Agricola cunningly conforming himselfe to that humour, & not vnlearned to ioine profitable counsailes with honest, tempered the heat of his nature, & restrained from growing his hawty desires. Soone after Petilius Cerealis was appointed Lieutenant Generall there vnder whom the vertues of Agricola had a large field and free scope to shew themselves in. For Cerealis communicated and imparted vnto him, first himselfe & his counsailes, then actions of labour & danger, and lastly glory also; committing oftentimes for a prooffe to his leading some portion of the army, somtimes many more, according to the succeffe. Neither did Agricola at any time brag of his doings as seeking to win fame for himselfe, but humbly alwaies as a minister referred to his superior, & General, the good fortune & honor of al his exploits. So by his vertue in valiantly doing his charge, & his modesty in sparingly speaking thereof he was without enuy, but not without glory. Vpon his returne from the Lieutenantship of the Legion, Vespasian of sacred memory elected him into the company of the^r Patritians, and afterward sent him Lieutenant Generall into Aquitania, an honourable roome, both in respect of the office it selfe, and as being away to the consulship by the Prince purposed vnto him. The receiued opinion is, that militare wits are not refined to that sharpenesse and suttletie, that is practised in pleas and courts of iustice, because the martiall law is but grosse and blunt, executing most by the hand: notwithstanding Agricola, though brought vp in the field, vpon a naturall wit and discourse of reason, among those^e peaceable men, caried himselfe easily with great vprightnes and iustice. Now the seasons of affaires and vacations he deuided discretely and wel: in times of audience and iudgements graue, heedfull, austere, and yet mercifull too: that duty performed, no face any more nor shew of authoritie: sowe lookes and stately, strait and hard dealing were laid apart: in such sort, that neither his gentle and curteous behauour weakened the reuerence due to his person, nor his seuerity the loue: a thing rarely so seene. To speake of integritie, and forbearing of briberie in so great a personage, were a wrong to his vertues: euen glory, vpon which good men also oftentimes doate, he neuer affected by ostentation of vertue, or by artificiall meanes: far from emulation with his colleagues, farre from contention with the Procurators;

^e Of this matter we read in Tacitus, 2. Histor.

^e For Aquitania was then a peaceable prouince, void of wars and souldiers.

whom to overcome he esteemed no honour, and to bee overcome a foule shame. In that Lieutenantship hauing spent scarcely three yeeres, he was called home to be Consull, the opinion going also, that Britanny should be assigned him, without any speech giuen out by himselfe to that purpose, but because he seemed sufficient and meet: fame faileth not alwaies, sometime shee chuseth right. Being Consull hee assured to me his daughter, euen then of rare hope, and after his Consulship solemnized the mariage: and straight thereupon was made Gouvernour of Britannie, hauing besides a Pontificall dignitie annexed.

The site of Britannie and dwellers, described by sundrie writers, I purpose heere to declare, not to compare in finenesse or wit, but because it was then first thorowly subdued: so that such things, as our elders without perfect discouerie, haue polished with pen, shall now be set faithfully downe vpon knowledge. Britannie, of all Ilands knowen to the Romans the greatest, coasteth by East vpon Germanie, by West toward Spaine, and hath France on the South: Northward no land lying against it, but only a vast and broad sea beating about it. The figure and fashion of whole Britanny, by Liuy of the ancient, and Fabius Rusticus of the modern, the most eloquent authors, is likened to ⁶ a long dish or two edged axe, and so is the part shapen indeed of this side Caledonia, whereupon the same went of the whole, as it seemeth: but there is beside a huge and enorme tract of ground, which runneth beyond vnto the furthestmost point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge. This point of the utmost sea the Roman fleet then first of all doubling discovered Britannie to bee ⁸ an Iland, and withall found out and subdued the Iles of ^h Orkney before that time neuer knowen. Thyle also was lookt at aloofe, which snow hitherto and winter had couered. The sea thereabout they affirme to bee dull and heauie for the oare and not to be raised as others with winds: belike because land and mountaines are rare, which minister cause and matter of tempests, and because a deepe masse of continuall sea is slower stirred to rage. To examine the nature of the Ocean, and tides pertaineth not to this worke, and many haue done it before: one thing I will adde, and may safely auouch, that the sea no where in the world rangeth and ruleth more freely, carying by violence so much riuer water hither & thither, and is not content to flow and to ebbe so far as the bancks, but inserteth & windeth it self into the land, shooting into the mountaines and cliffes as to his owne channell. Now what manner of men the first inhabitants of Britannie were, forraine brought in, or borne in the land, as among a barbarous people, it is not certainly knowen. Their complexions are different, and thence may some coniectures be taken: for the red haire of the dwellers in ⁱ Caledonia, and mighty lims import a German descent: ^k The coloured countenances of the ^l Silures, and haire most commonly curled, and sit against Spaine, seeme to induce, that the old Spaniards passed the sea and possessed those places. The neereft to France likewise resemble the French, either because they retaine of the race from which they descended, or that in countries butting together the same aspects of the heauens doe yeeld the same complexions of bodies. But generally it is most likely the French being neereft did people the land. In their ceremonies and superstitious perswasions, there is to be seene an apparent conformity: the language differeth not much: like boldnesse to challenge and set into dangers; when dangers are come, like feare in refusing: sauing the Britans make shew of more courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace; for the French also were once, as we read, redoubted in war, till such time as giuing themselves ouer to peace and idlenesse cowardise crept in, and shipwrack was made both of manhood and libertie together: and so it is also befallen to those of the Britans which were

subdued

g Xiphil. Tit. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

subdued of old ; the rest remaine such as the French were before. Their strength in the field consisteth in footmen ; some countries make warre in wagons also : the greater personage guideth the wagon, his waiters and followers fight out of the same. Heeretofore they were gouerned by kings, now they are drawn by pettie Princes into partialities and factions : and that is the greatest helpe we haue against thoe puissant nations, that they haue no common councill together : seldome it chanceth that two or three states meet and concurre to repulse the common danger : so whilest one by one fighteth, all are subdued. The skie very cloudy and much giuen to raine without extremitie of cold. The length of the daies much about the measure of our climate. The nights light, and in the furthest part of the lland so short, that betweene the going out and comming in of the day the space is hardly perceiued, and when clouds do not hinder they affirme that the sunshine is seene¹ in the night, and that it neither setteth nor riseth but passeth along: because belike the⁷ extreme and plaine parts of the earth proiect a lowe shadow and raise not the darkenesse on height ; so the night falleth vnder the skye and the stars. The soile, setting aside oliue and vine and the rest, which are proper to warmer countreyes, taketh all kinde of graine and beareth it in abundance: it shooteth vp quickly and ripeneth slowly; the cause of them both is the same, the ouermuch moisture of the soile and the ayre. Britanny beareth gold and siluer, and other mettals to enrich the conquerour. The Ocean bringeth forth⁸ pearle also, not orient, but duskish and wan, which proceedeth, as some doe suppose, of lacke of skill in the gatherers, for in the red sea they are pulled panting aliue from the rockes ; in Britannie cast out by the sea, and so taken vp. For my part I doe rather beleue the nature of the pearle not to yeeld it, than that our couetousnesse could not finde out the way to gather aright. The Britans endure leues of men and money and all other burdens imposed by the Empire patiently and willingly if insolencies bee forborne, indignities they cannot abide, being already subdued as to be subjects, but not to be slaues.

¹ It is marvell how it can be night when the sunne-shine is seene: but you must beare with a man out of his profession. for that which he seeth, non accidero & exurge- re, sed transire, is true in Sommer in the climate of Britanny: but no part of Britanny reacheth so far.

The first of the Romans which entred Britanny with an army was Iulius Cæsar, who although he terrified the inhabitants with a battell which went on his side, and gained the shoare, yet may seeme rather to haue shewed the place to posterity, than deliuered to them the possession thereof.

^m Who being requested by one Brenus a fugitiue of Britannie, sent Plautus before, of whom, and of the acts of Claudius in Britannie reade Dio lib. 47. where mentiⁿ is made also of Vespasian.

Then ciuill warres ensued, and bandings of men of great quality against the free state, and long after that lay Britanny forgotten, euen in peaceable times. Augustus termed it⁹ policie, and chiefly Tiberius.

ⁿ Tac. 12. Ann. 6. Camulodunum. 12. Annal.

That Caius had a meaning to inuade Britanny it is certainly knowen: but his rash running head and hastie repentance, and chiefly his great attempts against Germany turning to nothing, everted that purpose.

^p Perseus in his embassage to Eumenes complaineth, Pop. Romanum regum viribus reges oppugnare. Atalo adiutore patris suum oppressum: Eumenes adiutori- te, & quadam ex parte Philippo patre suo, Antio- chum oppugna- rum: in se nunc Eumenes & Prusiam arm. atot esse. Liv. lib. 44.

Claudius^m did first with effect prosecute the matter, transporting Legions and Aides, and assuming Vespasian into the action, which was the beginning of the greatnesse whereunto he after attained: some countries were subdued, some kings were taken, and Vespasian made knowen to the world.

^q Tac. 12. Anna. where also he calleth him A. Didim.

The first Lieutenant Generall was Aulus Plautius, then Ostoriusⁿ Scapula, both excellent warriors: and so by little and little was the neere part of the lland reduced to the forme of a prouince; and besides a^o colonie of olde soldiers established there. Certaine citties were also bestowed in pure gift vpon king Cogidunus (who remained most faithfull euen to our daies) according to an old^p custome anciently receiued of the Romans to vse euen kings themselves for instruments of bondage.

Then Didius^q Gallus succeeded in place, who kept that which his predecessors had gotten, and builded some few castels further in the land, to win by that meanes

a fame of augmenting the office.

After Didius succeeded ^r Verantius, who died within one yeare.

^r Tac. 14. *Annal.*
^f Of the successe
of his affaires
read Tac. 14. *Ann.*
where they are
more largely de-
scribed.
^t Anglesey.

^a In the battell
against *Quintili-*
us Varus.

^x 14. *Annal.* her
name is written
Boadicea, & *Bo-*
adicea, in *Xiphil-*
us copie *Boudicca*.

^y Tac. 14. *Annal.*

Then ^f Suetonius Paullinus for two yeares space behaued himselfe fortunately, subduing the nations and establisshing garrisons. Vpon confidence whereof going to assaile the Ile of ^t Mona, which ministred supplie to the rebels, hee disfurnished the cuntry behind, and laied it open to all opportunities of the enemy. For through the absence of the Lieutenant, the Britans free of feare began to discourse the miseries of bondage, to lay their iniuries together, and aggrauate them by constructions. That their patience had profited them nothing, saue onely to drawe heauier burdens vpon them, as men that would gently beare. That whereas in former times they had onely one king, now were there two thrust vpon them, the Lieutenant to sucke their bloud, the Procuratour their substance: whose disagreeing was the torment of the subiects, their agreement their vndoing; the one vexing by souldiers and captaines, the other by wrongs and indignities. That now their couetousnesse and lust layed holde, without exception, of all: and whereas in field he that spoileth is commonly stronger, now were they by cowards and weaklings for the most part dispossessed of their houses, bereft of their children, inioyned to yeelde souldiers for other mens behoofe, as though they were men, that knew how to do any thing els, saue only to die for their owne cuntry. For otherwise what a small handfull of souldiers were come ouer, if the Britans would fall to reckon themselves! that ^a Germany so had shakt off the yoke, hauing no Ocean sea, but onely a riuer, for their defence. That their causes of taking armes were vrgent and iust, their wiues and children, their parents, and countrey, whereas the Romans had nothing to mooue them to warre, but their own couetousnesse and wanton lust: and that they would doubtlesse depart, as Caesar Iulius had done, if the Britans would imitate the vertues of their progenitours, and not be dismaied with the doubtfull euent of one skirmish or two. That men in miserie had more courage and vehemency to attempt, more constancy to continue: and now euen the gods seemed to pittie the poore Britans estate, hauing sent the Roman captaine out of the way, and confined the army, as it were, into another lland. That now being assembled to aduize and deliberate together, they had attained the hardest point, in an action of that nature, wherein without question it were more danger, to be taken, then consulting, doing. With these and the like speeches inciting one another, by common consent they resolute to take armes vnder the conduct of ^x Voadica a lady of the bloud of their Kings: for in matter of gouerning in chiefe they make no distinction of sexe. And first pursuing the souldiers which lay diuided in garrisons, and winning the fortes, they inuaded anon the colony it selfe, as being the seate of their flauerie: in sacking whereof no kinde of crueltie was omitted, which either anger or the rage of victory might induce a barbarous people to practise. And vnlesse vpon knowledge had of the reuolt Paullinus had come to succour with speede, Britanny had then been lost, the which with one prosperous battaile he restored to her former obedience, and patient bearing the yoke, some few keeping out and remayning in armes, whom the guilt of the rebellion excluded from all hope of pardon, and some feare also of the Lieutenants priuate displeasure: who though otherwise a singular man, yet seemed to shew too much hauty & hard dealing toward those which yeelded themselves, & to reuenge in a sort his owne iniurie. Whereupon ^y Petronius Turpilianus was sent in his place as a more intreatable person, and a stranger to their faults, and therefore more ready to receiue their repentance: who hauing composed the former troubles, and daring no further, deliuered Trebellius Maximus the charge.

^z Trebellius

^a Trebellius a man unfit for action, and altogether unexpert in service, by a kind of courteous and mild regiment intertained the countrey in quiet. For now the Britans also had learned good maners, not rudely to repulse the sugred assaults and flatterings of vices; and the disturbance of ciuill dissensions ministred a lawfull excuse for his doing nothing. But the souldier accustomed to warfare, waxt wanton with ease, and grew to be mutinous. Trebellius by fleeing away & hiding himselfe eschewed their first indignation, and anon resuming his place without maiestie, without authority, he ruled by way of intreaty, and at his souldiers discretion: and so comming as it were to a capitulation, the armie for licence to do what them listd, the captain for safetie of his owne life, the mutinee ended without any bloodshed.

^a Vectius Bolanus succeeded in place, and in the same loosenesse of discipline, the ciuill warres continuing still; like default against the enemy, like licence in the campe, sauing that Bolanus, a good honest man, not odious for any crime, in stead of obedience had gotten good will.

But when as Vespasian with the rest of the world recovered Britannie also, great Captains, good souldiers were sent, and the hope of the enemy was greatly abated. For straightwaies Petilius Cerealis strooke a terrour into them, by inuading vpon his first entry the Brigantes, the most populous state of the whole prouince. Many battailes were fought, and some bloody, and the greatest part of the ^b Brigantes either conquered or wasted.

^b Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmerland, Cumberlan, and the Bishopricke of Durham.

And whereas Cerealis would doubtlesse haue dimmed the diligence and fame of another successour, Iulius Frontinus a great man, as hee might after that predecessour, sustained the charge with reputation and credit, subduing the puissant and warlike people of the Silures: where hee had, beside the vertue of the enemy, to struggle with the straits and difficult places.

In this estate Agricola found the prouince, and the warres thus farre proceeded in, when as about the middest of the summer ^c hee passed the seas: at what time the souldier, as if the season were past, attended an end for that yeere of his trauell, and the enemy a beginning to hurt. The Ordouices a little before hee entered the land had cut a wing almost wholly in peeces, which lay in their borders. Vpon which beginning the countrey being awaked, as men desirous of warre, allowed the example: some staid to see how the new Lieutenant wold take it. Agricola although the sommer was spent, and the bands lay dispersed in the prouince, and his souldiers had fully presumed of rest for that yeare, which hindred much and crossed directly the vndertaking of warre, diuerse also being of opinion rather to keepe & assure the places suspected, all this notwithstanding he resolved directly to encounter the danger: and gathering the ensignes of the Legions, and some few Auxiliaries, because the ^d Ordouices durst not descend into indifferent ground, himselfe first of all, to giue others like courage in the like danger, led vp to encounter the enemy. And hauing destroied almost the whole nation, knowing right well that same must with instance be followed, and as the first should fall out, to the rest would succeed, he deliberated to conquere the Iland of Mona: from the possession whereof, as before I haue rehearsed, Paullinus was reuoked by the generall rebellion of Britanny: but as in a purpose not purposed before, ships being wanting, the policie and resolutenesse of the Captaine deuised a passage, commanding the most choise of the Ayds, to whom al the shallowes were knowen, and who after the vse of their countrey were able in swimming to gouerne themselus with armour and horses, laying aside their cariage, to put ouer at once and sodainely inuade them. Which thing so amazed the enemy attending for ships and such like prouision by sea that

^c Agricola went into Britanny, as it may be gathered by some circumstances in this booke, in the very yeere before Vespasian died, & returned about the fifth or sixt of Domitian: of whose gells in Britanny, beside Tacitus, Xiphilins, Titus. maketh honorable mention, and other.

^d Northwales.

surely beleeuing nothing could be harde or inuincible to men which came so minded to warre, they humbly intreated for peace and yeelded the iland. Thus Agricola at his first entrie into his prouince (which time others consume in vaine ostentation or ambitious seeking of ceremonies) entring withall into labours and dangers became famous indeed & of great reputation. Neither did he abuse the prosperous proceeding of his affaires to vanity or brauing in speeches. He termed it not an exploit or a conquest to haue kept in order persons subdued before : he ^e bedeckt not with lawrell his letters of aduertisement, but stopping and suppressing the fame he augmented the same, when men began to discourse vpon what great presumptions of future successe, he should make so light an account of such great actions already performed.

Now as touching his ciuill gouernment, Agricola knowing right well the disposition and minde of the prouince, and taught also by experience of others, that armes auaille little to settle a new conquered state if iniuries and wrongs be permitted, determined to cut off all causes of warres and rebellions. And beginning at home, his house first of all he reformed and restrained, a point of more hardnesse to some than to gouerne a prouince. He committed no maner of publicke affaires to bondman or freed: he receiued no souldier neare to his person vpon priuate affections of partiall suiters, nor vpon commendation or intreatie of Centurions, but elected the best, presuming the same to be the most faithfull. He would see into all things, not exact all things to the rigour: light faults he would pardon, and the great seuerely correct: not alwaies proceeding to punish, but often content with repentance: chusing rather not to prefer to office and charge such as were like to offende, then after the offence to condemne them. The augmentation of tribute and corne he mollified with equall diuiding of burdens, cutting away those pettie extortions which grieved the subiect more than the tribute it selfe. For the poore people were constrained in a mockery to waite at the barnes which were locked against them, and first to buy ¹⁰ corne, then after to sell at a price. Seuerall waies were enioyned, and farre distant places by the purueyours commandements: that the countrey should carie from the nearest standing campes to those which were far off and out of the way, till that which lay open to all and at hand was turned in fine to the gaine of a fewe. By repressing these abuses straight in his first yeere, a good opinion was conceiued of the peace, which either by the negligence or conniueance of former Lieutenants was now no lesse feared than war. But when the sommer was come, assembling his army together, those which in marching behaued themselves in modest sort he commended, & checked the loose & dissolute straglers: the places for pitching the camp he designed himselfe, the firths & the thickets he prooued the first in his ^e own person: not suffering in the meane season any corner in quiet in the enemies countrey, but wasting and spoiling with sodaine excursions and roades, and when he had thoroughly terrified them, then would he againe spare and forbear, alluring thereby their mindes to friendship and peace. Vpon which kinde of proceeding many states, which before that day stoode vpon termes of equalitie, gaue hostages, and meekely submitted themselves, receiuing garrison and permitting to fortifie; which he so wisely with such great foresight and reason performed, that nothing was euer attempted against them, whereas no new fortified place in all Britannie escaped before vnassailed.

The winter ensuing was spent in a most profitable and politicke device. For whereas the Britans were rude and dispersed, and therefore prone vpon euery occasion to warre to induce them by pleasures to quietnesse and rest, he exhorted them

A thing vsuall
in those dispat-
ches wherein any
notable victorie
was signified, as it
appeareth by *Li-
uy. li. 45* in the be-
ginning, and *Am-
mianus Marcelli-
nus. li. 16.*

f An error in
Agricola being
Generall to do it,
and a double er-
ror in Tacit. to
set it downe for a
point of cōmen-
dation. ἡ δὲ ἐν
Καρίῃ ἀρετὴ,
οὐκ ἔστι μαγιστή-
ριον, οὐδ' ἐστὶ τῆς
ἐπαγωγῆς ὅλως
Sas iacith Poly-
bius libro decimo
speaking of the
like.

in priuate, and helpt them in common to builde temples and houses, and places of publike resort, commending the forward and checking the slow, imposing thereby a kinde of necessitie vpon them, whilest ech man contended to gaine the Lieutenants goodwill. Moreouer the noble mens sonnes he tooke and instructed in the liberall sciences, preferring the wits of the Britans before the students of France, as being now curious to attaine the eloquence of the Roman language, whereas they lately reiected the speech. After that our attire grewe to be in account, and the Gowne much vsed among them: and so by little and little they proceeded to those prouocations of vices, to sumptuous galleries, and bathes, and exquisite banquettings; which things the ignorant termed ciuilitie, being indeede a point of their bondage.

In the third yeere of his wars he discovered new countreies, wasting along, till he came to the firth of ^g Taus. Which thing so terrified the enemies, that although the armie had beene toiled with cruell tempests, yet they durst not assaile them, and the Romans moreouer had leysure and space to fortifie there. They which were skilfull that way obserued, that neuer any captaine did more aduisedly chuse his places: no castell planted by Agricola euer was either forced by strength, or vpon conditions surrendred, or, as not defensible, forsaken. Many times they issued foorth: for against a long siege, they were stored with a whole yeeres prouision. So they wintered there without feare, euery garrison garding it selte, and needing no helpe of their neighbours; the enemies assaulding somtimes, but in vaine without any successe, and driuen thereupon to despaire. For the losses of sommer they were commonly woont to repaire with winter euents: now sommer and winter alike they went to the worse. And in all these actions Agricola neuer sought to draw to himselfe the glory of an exploite done by another, but were it Centurion or of other degree, he would faithfully witnesse the fact, and yeelde him alwaies his due commendation. By some he is saied to haue beene somewhat bitter in rebuking: and indeede the man was, as toward the good of most sweet disposition, so to bad and lewde persons vnpleasant and sower: but his choler passed away with his words: closenesse in him and silence you needed not feare: he esteemed it more honest to offende, then to hate.

The fourth sommer was spent in perusing & ordering that, which he had ouerrun: and if the valiant minds of the armies, and glorie of the Roman name could haue permitted, or accepted it so, they needed not to haue sought other limit of Britannie. For ^h Glota and ⁱ Bodotria, two armies of two contrarie seas shooting mightilie into the lande, are onely diuided asunder by a narrow partition of ground, which passage was garded and fortified then with garrison and castell: so that the Romans were absolute lordes of all on this side, hauing cast out the enemy, as it were, into another land.

The fift yeere of the war Agricola first taking sea went ouer and subdued, with many and prosperous conflicts, nations before that time vnknown, and furnished with forces that part of Britannie, which lieth against Irelande, more in hope then for feare. For Ireland if it might haue beene wonne, lying betweene Britannie and Spaine, and fitly also for the French sea, would aptly haue vnited, to the great aduantage of the one and the other, these strongest members of the Empire together. In bignesse it is inferiour to Britannie, howbeit bigger then the Ilands of ^k our sea. The soile and temperature of the aire, the nature and fashions of the people, differ not much from the Brittish. The ports and places of access are more known by reason of more frequenting of merchants. Agricola had receiued before a Prince of that countrey driuen out by ciuill dissention, whom vnder colour of curtesie and friendship he retained till occasion should serue. I haue heard him

^g Taus, as it is thought by some.

^h The firth of Dunbretton.
ⁱ Edinbrough firth.

^k He meaneth the Mediterran, and the Ilands there, as Sicily &c.

him often times say, that with one Legion and some few Aydes, Ireland might be won and possessed, and that it were also a strength for our British affaires, if the Roman forces were planted else-where, and libertie, as it were, banisht out of sight.

Now in the sommer, which began the sixt yeere of his office, because a general rising in armes of all the further nations beyond Bodotria was feared, and passages were all beset with the power of the enemies, he manned a fleete to search the creeke and harboroughs of the ample region beyond it, backing then first of all with a nauy the rest of his strength, & with a goodly braue shew bringing war both by land and by sea. And oft so it chanced, that the horseman and footeman and the sea souldier met and made merrie in the same campe extolling and magnifying ech their own prowesse and aduentures: making their vaunts and comparisons souldier-like, the one of the woods and high mountaines, the other of dangers of tempests and waues: the one of the land and the enemy, the other of the Ocean, subdued. The Britans, as by the prisoner it was vnderstood, were amazed also at the sight of the nauie, as though now the secrets of their sea were disclosed, and no refuge remained if they were overcome. Whereupon the Caledonians arming with great preparatian and greater fame, as the maner is of matters vnknown, assayled our castels as challengers, brauing and putting in feare: insomuch that some of our side, which would seeme to be wise being dastards indeed, counselled the Generall to retire on this side Bodottia, and rather to depart of hir owne accord, then to be repelled with shame. In the meane season Agricola hath knowledge, that the enemies ment to diuide themselues, and to giue the onser in seuerall companies. Whereupon lest he should be enclosed about, and intrapped by their multitude and skil in the countrey, he marched also with his armie diuided in three. Which when it was known to the enemy, changing aduice on the sudden, and vniting their forces together, they iointly assaulted by night the ninth Legion, as being of weakest resistance: and hauing slaine the watch, partly asleepe and partly amazed with feare, brake into the campe. And now were they fighting within the trenches, when Agricola hauing vnderstood by spies what way the enemies had taken, and following their footsteps, commandeth the lightest horsemen and footmen to play on their backes and maintaine the skirmish, and anon the whole armie to showte. And when it drew neere to be day, the glittering of the ensignes was seene. So the Britans being quailed with a double danger, the Romans recouered courage againe, and being out of perill of their persons, fought now for their honour; freshly assailing their late assailers, and driuing them to the gates: where in the straits the conflict was sharpe and cruell, till in the end the enemies were forced to flee, whilest both our armies contended, the one to seeme to haue helped their fellowes, the other to haue needed none other to helpe them: and if the bogges and woods had not couered their flight, that victorie had ended the warre. Vpon this battaile so manfully fought, so famously won, the armie presuming that to their prowesse all things were easie and open, cried to lead into Caledonia, and to finde out the limit of Britannie with a course of continuall conquests: and those which erewhile were so warie and wise, waxt forward enough after the euent, and grew to speake bigly: such is the hard condition of wars: if ought fall out well all challenge a part, misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwise the Britans presupposing that not valour, but the cunning of the Generall, by vsing the occasion, had caried it away, abated no whit of their stomacke, but armed their youth, transported their children and wiues into places of safetie, and sought by assemblies and religious rites to establish an association of the cities together. And so for that yeare both parties departed

ted incensed away.

The same sommer a cohort of Vesprians, leuied in Germanie, and sent ouer into Britannie, committed a haynous and memorable act. For hauing slaine a Centurion and certaine souldiers set ouer them for direction in discipline, they fled and embarked themselues in three vessels, compelling the Masters by force to execute their charge: and onely one doing his office, the other two being suspected and thereupon slaine, this strange going out, the fact being yet not noyled abroad, was gazed and wondred at. Afterward being driuen vncertainly hither and thither, and assaying the Britans which stoode in defence of their owne, often preuayling and sometime repulsed, they came at the last to that misery, that they were inforced to eate one another, first of the weakeest, then as the lot lighted. And thus floating about Britannie, and leeing their vessels for lacke of gouernment, they were intercepted first by the Sueuians, and then by the Frisians, as pyrats and robbers, and some of them being bought by merchants as slaues, & by change of masters brought to our side of the riuer, grew into a name by giuing first notice of so great & so rare an aduenture.

In the beginning of the sommer Agricola was deeply touched with a grievous mischance which happened in his owne house: for he lost his owne son being about a yeare old. Which infortunate happe he neither bare out, as some great men haue done in the like vaingloriously, nor tooke it againe so impatiently as women are wont: and amidst his mourning and sorrowes vsed the warre as one of his remedies. Therefore sending his nauy before, which by spoyling in sundry places should induce a greater and vncertayner terroure vpon them, he made readie and followed himselfe with his army, ioyning thereto some of the valiantest Britans, whom by long experience in peace he had found most faithfull, and so arriued at the mount¹ Grampius, where the enemies were lodged before. For the Britans not daunted with the euent of the former battaile, and attending for nothing els but reuenge or seruitude, and being taught at the length that common danger must be repelled with concord, by leagues and embassages had assembled the power of all the citties together aboue thirty thousand armed men, the view being taken, beside an endlesse number of youth, which dayly flocked to them, and lustie old men, renowned in warre and bearing the badges due to their honour: at what time Galgacus, for vertue and birth of all the leaders, the principall man seeing the multitude hoatly demaunde the battaile, is sayed to haue vsed this speech.

¹ Now called Grantzaine.
Scots.

When I view and consider the cause of this war, and our present necessity, I haue reason, me seemes, to presume, that this day, and this your agreeing consent, will giue a happie beginning to the freedome of the whole lland. For both haue we all hitherto liued in libertie, and beside no land remaineth beyond, no sea for our safety, the Roman nauie thus, as you see, surueying our coasts: so that combate and armes, which men of vertue desire for honor, the dastard must also vse for his security. The former battailes, which haue with diuerse euent beene fought with the Romans, had their refuge, and hope resting in our hands. For we the flower of the Britanish nobilitie, and seated therefore the furthestmost in, sawe neuer the coasts of the countreyes which serued in slavery, euen our eies are kept vnpolluted, and free from all contagion of tyrannie. Beyonde vs is no lande, beside vs none are free: vs hitherto this corner and secret recess hath defended. Now the vttermost point of the lande is laied open: and things the lesse they haue beeing within knowledge, the greater the glory is to atchieue them. But what nation now is there beyond vs? what els but water and rockes, and the Romans Lords of all within lande whose intollerable

"intollerable pride in vaine shall you seeke to auoide by seruice and humble behavi-
 "our: robbers of the world, that hauing now left no lande to be spoiled, search also
 "the sea. If the enemy be rich, they seeke to win wealth: if poore they are content to
 "gaine glorie: whom not the east, nor the west haue satisfied: the onely men of all
 "memory that seeke out all place, be they wealthy or poore with like ardent affe-
 "ction. To take away by maine force, to kill and to spoile, falsely they terme Empire
 "and gouernment: when all is waste as a wilderness, that they call peace. His chil-
 "dren and bloud ech man by nature holdeth most deare: those are pressed for souldi-
 "ers, and caried away to be slaues elsewhere. Our sisters and wiues, though they
 "be not violently forced as in open hostilitie, are in the meane while vnder the color
 "and title of friends and guests often abused. Our goods and substance they draw
 "for tribute, our corne for prouision: our bodies and handes, they weare and con-
 "sume, in paining of bogges and of woods, with a thousand stripes and indignities.
 "Slaues which are borne to bondage are solde, but once, and after are sed at their
 "owners expences: but Britannie daily buieth, dayly feedeth, and is at charges with
 "her owne bondage. And as in a priuate retinue the freshman and last commer is
 "laughed and scoffed at by his very fellow seruants, so in this olde seruitude of the
 "whole world our destruction onely is sought, as being the latest and most vile in ac-
 "count. We haue no fieldes to manure, no mines to be digged, no portes to trade
 "in: and to what purpose then should they reserue vs alieue? Moreover the manhood
 "and fierce courage of the subiect pleaseth not much the iealous Soueraigne: and this
 "corner being so secret & out of the way, the more security it yeeldeth to vs, in them
 "it workes the greater suspicion. So seeing all hope of pardon is past, at the length
 "take courage to defende and maintaine your safety as well as your honour. The
 "Brigantines led by a^m woman fired the colonie, forced the castles: and if such a
 "luckie beginning had not ended in sloth and securitie, they might haue with ease
 "shakt off the yoke. We as yet neuer touched, neuer subdued, and borne to be free
 "not to be slaues of the Romans, let vs shew straight in the first ioyning what maner
 "of men Caledonia reserued in store for herselfe. Or do you thinke the Romans to be
 "as valiant in warre as they are wanton in peace? No, not by their vertue, but by our
 "iarrings and discordes they are growen into fame: and the faults of their enemies
 "they abuse to the glory of their owne armie composed of most diuers nations, and
 "therefore as by present prosperity holden together, so if fortune do frowne it doubt-
 "lesse dissolueth: vnlesse you suppose the Frenchmen and Germans, & to our shame
 "be it spoken, many of our owne nation, which now lend their liues to establish a for-
 "eine vsurper, and yet haue beene enemies longer then seruants, to be led and indu-
 "ced with any true harted and faithfull affection. No, it is terrour and feare, weake
 "workers of loue, which if you remooue, those which shall haue ceased to feare will
 "straight begin for to hate. All things to incite to the victory are on our side. No wise
 "to encourage the Romans: no parents to vpbraide them if they flee: most haue ei-
 "ther no countrey at al, or some other: a few feareful persons, trembling and gazing at
 "the strangnesse of the heauen it selfe, the sea and the woods: whom the gods haue
 "deliuered mewed vp, as it were, and fettered into our handes. Let not the vaine
 "shew and glittering of golde and siluer terrifie vs, which neither defends nor offen-
 "deth. Among the enemies we shall finde of our side: the Britans will agnize their
 "owne cause: the French will remember their freedome and former estate: the rest
 "of the Germans will leaue and forsake them, as of late the Vsipians did. And what
 "else then haue we to feare? the castles are emptie, the colonies peopled with aged
 "and impotent persons; the free cities discontent and in factions, whilst those
 "which

m Poadica, who
 Tacitus himselfe
 maketh wife to
 the king of Iceni,
 people of Nor-
 folke, &c and not
 of the Brigantes.
 14. Ann.

which are vnder obey with ill will, and they which do gouerne rule against right,,
Here is the Generall and here the armie, there tributes and mines, and other misfe-,,
ries inseparably following them which liue vnder subiection of others: which whe-,,
ther we are to continue for euer, or straight to reuenge, it lieth this day in the field. ,,

Wherefore going to battell beare in your mindes, I beseech you, both your ⁿance-
stours and your posteritie. This speech was cherefully receiued, with a song ⁿ Your an-
after their barbarous fashion, with confused acclamations and noyses. And as the ^{stours, which}
companies clustered together, and glistering of armour appeared, whilest some of <sup>liued in the hap-
pie estate of li-
bertie: and your
successors, which
vntill wee shew
val-ur this day
shall liue for euer
in most miserable
seruitude.</sup>
the boldest auanced forward, and with all the rankes were putting themselves in
array, Agricola albeit his souldier was glad of that day, and scarce could with words
be withholden, supposing yet best to say somewhat, encouraged them in this wise.

Fellow souldiers and companions, in armes, your faithfull seruice and diligence,
these ^o eight yeeres so painfully shewed, by the vertue and fortune of the Roman
Empire hath conquered Britanny. In so many iourneyes, in so many battels we had
of necessitie to shew ourselues either valiant against the enimie, or patient and la-
borious aboue and against nature it selfe. In which exploits we haue borne vs,,
both hitherto so, that neither did I desire better souldiers, nor you other captaine. ,,
We haue exceeded the limits, I of my predecessours, and you likewise of yours. The
end of Britannie is found, not by fame and report, but we are with our armes and pa-
uillions really inuested thereof: Britannie is found and subdued. In marching when
the passing of bogges, or mountaines, and riuers, troubled and tired you out, how
oft haue I heard the valiant souldier say, When will the enimie present himselfe? ,,
when shall we fight? loe they are now put vp out of their holes: and heere they are
come: your wish loe heere, and place for your vertue, and all things to follow in an
easie and expedite course, if you winne; if you leese all against you. For as to haue
gone so much ground, escaped the woods, passed ouer the firthes, is honourable
forward, so if we do flee, the vantages we haue this day will become our most dis-
aduantage. For we are not skilled so well in the countreyes, we haue not the like
store of prouision, but hands we haue and weapons, and therein all things included. ,,
For my part I am long since resolved, that to shew their backes is neither safetie
for souldier nor General: and therefore a commendable death is better then life with
reproch; and suretie and honour are commonly dwelling together: or if ought
should mishappen, euen this will be a glorie, to haue died in the vttermost ende
of the world and nature.

If new nations, and souldiers vnknownen were in the
field, I would by the example of other armies put you in courage: now recount you
your owne victorious exploits, and aske your owne eies. These are the same men,
which the last yeere assailed one Legion by stealth in the night, and were by a blast
of your mouth ouerthrowen: these of all other Britans haue beene the most nimble
in running away, and therefore haue escaped the longest aliue. For as in forests
and woods the strongest beasts are chased away by maine force, the cowardly and
fearefull are scared by the noise of the hunters, so the valiant of the British nation
we haue already dispatched, the rascall heard of dastardly cowards only remaineth:
whom at length you haue found, not as hauing intended to stay and make head, but
as last ouertaken, and by extreme passion of feare standing as stockes, presenting oc-
casion to vs in this place of a worthie and memorable victorie. Make an end there-
fore of your warfatre, and to ^p fiftie yeeres trauailes let this day impose a glorious
conclusion. Approoue to your country, that the army could neuer iustly be charged
either with protracting the warre, or pretences for not accomplishing the conquest.

As Agricola, was yet speaking, the souldiers gaue great tokens of seruencie, and
when

^p From the first
entry of Claudius
in o Britannie
seemeth not to
haue been aboue
fewer or five and
tonieyeres.

when he had ended accompanied the speech with a ioyfull applause, & ran straightwaies to their weapons. Agricola seeing them sufficiently animated, and rushing furiously forward, ordered his men in this manner. With the Auxiliarie footmen, being eight thousand, he fortified the middle battle: three thousand horse he put on both sides in the wings; commanding the Legions to stand behinde, before the trench of the campe, to the greater glory of the victorie, if it were obtained without Roman blood, otherwise for assistance and succour, if the vanguard should be repelled. The Britans were marshalled in the higher ground, firly both to the shew and to terrifie, the first batalion standing on the plaine, the rest in the ascent of the hil, knit and rising as it were one ouer another: the middle of the field was filled with the clattering and running of * charets and horsemen. Then Agricola perceiuing the enemie to exceed him in number, and fearing lest he should be assailed on the front and flankes both at one instant, displaied his army in length: and although by that meanes the battell would become disproportionably long, and many aduised him to take in the Legions, yet being more forward to hope, than yeelding to feare, hee reiected the counsell, and leauing his horse, auanced himselfe before the ensignes on foot. In the first encounter, before the ioining, both sides discharged and threw: wherein the Britans employing both Art and valour, with their great swords & little targets, auoided our throwes, or shooke them, darting withall great store against vs of theirs: till at length Agricola spying his vantage exhorted three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians to presse forward, and bring the matter to handie strokes and dint of the sword; a thing which they in respect of long seruice were able readily to performe, and contrarily to the enemies preiudicial, and hurtfull by reason of their little bucklers, and huge swords: for the swords of the Britans, being blunt pointed, were no way fit for the close or for open fight. Now as the Batavians began to deale blowes, to strike with the pikes of their bucklers, to mangle their faces, and hauing ouerborne in the plaine all that resisted, to march vp the mountaines, the rest of the cohorts gathering courage vpon emulation violently beat down all about them, and many halfe dead, or wholly vntouched, were left for haste of winning the field. In the meane time the charets mingled themselves with the battell of the footmen, and the troupes of the horsemen beganne for to flee: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now distressed themselves by the vneuenesse of the ground, and thicke rankes of their enemies. Neither was the forme of the fight like a loose skirmish of horsemen to and fro, but standing still and maintaining their places, they fought by maine weight of horses to breake and beare downe one another. The wandring wagons also, and masterlesse horses affrighted, as it happened them by feare to be guided, ouer-bare many times of their friends which met them, or thwarted their way. Now the Britans, which stood aloofe from the battell on the height of the hills, and at their good leisure disdained our fewnesse, began to come downe by little and little, and to compasse about the backes of our men, which were now in traine of winning the field: but Agricola suspecting as much, opposed against them foure wings of horsemen purposely retained about him for sudden dispatches, and chances of warre, and repulsed them back as sharply, as fiercely they ranne to assaile. So the counsell of the Britans turned vpon their owne heads: and the wings were commanded to forsake the battell and follow the flight. Then might you haue seene in the open fields a grieuous and pitifull spectacle, pursuing, wounding, taking, and killing of them which were taken when others were offred. Now whole regiments of the enemies, according to their severall dispositions, though armed and more in number, turned their backes to the

fewer

*Cominatus.
Mela lib. 3. cap. 8.
Dimicant Britanni
non equitatus
sedodo aut pedes,
verum & bigis &
carris. Gallie ar-
matu, cominus vo-
cant, quorum sal-
catis axib. vnu-
par by Caesar and
Tully they are
called effidatij.*

q Tacitus seldom
 telleth the num-
 ber, and beside,
 both he and Sa-
 lust, as Orosius
 witnesseth, forbid
 it in historie but
 professione pietatis
 he must be excu-
 sed, in transgres-
 sing his own rule
 Now called
 Angule, as some
 suppose.
 Some read it,
 Rheimpensis,
 which is suppo-
 sed to be Rich-
 borow neere
 Sandwich.
 Or, departed
 coasting along
 the weiest side
 of Britanny, and
 so returned thi-
 ther againe.
 Xiphilius Do-
 mianus. ἐκπα-
 λίνους δὲ ἐς τὴν
 Γερμανίαν, καὶ
 μὴδ' ἐκπαλὶς
 πρὸς Πελαγονίαν
 ἦκε. καὶ δὲ δὲ καὶ
 λέγειν αὐτὰ τὰ τε
 καὶ ἐκείνη τότε καὶ
 τοὺς ἀλλοίους τοὺς
 ἐμείους αὐτῶν αὐ-
 τεκατέροπον ἀεὶ
 ἰσθδην, ἵνα καὶ
 ἀρῶσιν ποτὶ αὐτο-
 ντες οὐ τε τὴν ἐλ-
 γνῆτος καὶ οὐ τὴν
 σμικρότητος ὅσο
 τιμῶν ἰλὶν χα-
 ρίδι, χαλεπαίνωσι.
 The like Sueton-
 ius reporteth of
 Camus c. 47. con-
 uerfas hinc ad eu-
 ram. triumphi,
 præter captiuos &
 transfugas barbaros,
 Galliarum
 quoque procerissi-
 mum quoque, &
 ut ipse dicebat,
 ἀξιόδοξα καὶ μέγιστον,
 ac nonnullos ex
 principibus legis
 ac seposit ad
 Pompeium corru-
 ptos tantum inuis-
 are, ac submitters
 omnes, sed & ser-
 uantes Germani-
 um addiscere, &
 nomina barbarica
 erre,

\$

for

for other matters might more easily be passed over, but to be a good commander of an army was to be above private estate, that being a vertue peculiar for a Prince. With these and the like cares being tormented, & musing much in his closet alone, which was a token and signe of some crueltie intended, he thought it yet best for the present to dissemble and put off his malice, vntill the heat of his glory and loue of his souldiers, were somewhat abated; for as yet Agricola remained in charge. Wherefore he commanded that all the honours of triumphall ornaments, * image triumphall, and what els vsually was conferred in lieu of triumph, should be awarded vnto him in Senat in most ample & honorable termes: and sending a succour caused withall a bruit to be spread, that the prouince of Syria, which then lay voide, by the death of Atilius Rufus the Lieutenant, and was reserued for men of great qualitie, was purposed vnto him. And a common opinion went, that Domitian sending one of his most secret and trustie seruants to Agricola, sent withall the patent of Syria, with instruction, that if hee were in Britanny it should bee deliuered: and that the same man meeting Agricola as he crossed the sea, without speaking vnto him, or deliuering his message, returned againe to Domitian. Whether this were true or fayned and surmized propably, as correspondent to the princes disposition, I cannot affirme: but in the meane season Agricola had deliuered to his successeur the prouince in good and peaceable state. And lest his arriual at Rome should be noted, by reason of the multitudes of people which would go out to see, and to meet him, cutting off that curtesie of his friends, he entred the city by night, and by night, as he was willed, came to the palace. Where being admitted to the princes presence, & receiued with a short salutation and no speech, he sorted himselfe with the rest of the waiters. Now to the end he might temper and qualifie with other good parts his militare renowne, a vertue vnpleasant to men of no action, he gaue himselfe wholly to quietnesse and medling with nothing; being in apparell moderate, affable in speech, accompanied vsually but by one or two of his friends: so that many, which commonly iudge of great men by outward appearance and pompe, seeing and marking Agricola, missed of that which by fame they conceiued, fewe aimed aright at the cause. Often was hee in those daies accused to Domitian in absente, and in absente acquitted. The cause was neither matter of crime, nor complaint of party aggrieved, but the renowne of the man, and the Princes disposition hating all vertue, and the most capitall kinde of enemies commendens, procured the perill. And in truth those times ensued in the state, which would not suffer Agricolaes name to bee buried in silence: so many armies in Moesia, Dacia, Germanie, Pannonia, either through the rashnesse or cowardlinesse of the Generals cast away: so many good souldiers, with so many cohorts defeated and taken. Neither was it the question then for the vttermost bounds of the Empire and bancke of the Riuer, but the standing campes of the Legions, and the prouinces themselves were in danger of leeing: so that losses being heapt vpon losses, and euery yeere becomming notorious for some calamity and ouerthrow, Agricola was required by the speech of the people for Generall, euery man comparing his quicknesse, resolutenesse, and experience in warre, with their insufficient and dastardly dealings: with which kinde of talke, it is certainly knowen, Domitians eares were not vnacquainted: his faithfullest seruants vpon loue and alleageance, the rest vpon spite and enuie pricking him forward, being of himselfe prone to the worse. So Agricola partly through his owne vertues, and partly the vices of others, was drawne headlong perforce into glorie. Now the yeare was at hand, when as the Proconsulship of Asia, or Africke should be allotted vnto him, and vpon the late murdering of ^u Ciuica, nei-

ther

* *Trifidris statue*
Monarch. 1. Hist.
trifidris statue.

in Suetonius De-
Domitiano c. 10.
complures senato-
res, in his aliquot
consulares inter-
mit, in quibus Ci-
uicam Cerealem
in ipso Asia pro-
consulatu.

ther could Domitian faile of example to follow, nor Agricola of direction what he should doe. Some also priuy to the Princes secret intents offered speech of themselves, and asked him whether he could be content to accept of the gouernment: commending at the first a farre off a quiet life and void of businesse, and proffering anon their mediation to the Prince to allow his excuse. At the last declaring their purpose in plaine termes, by perswasions and threats they induced him to become a direct suiter in that behalfe to Domitian: who setting a fained countenance vpon it, and composing himselfe to keepe maiesty and state, both heard his humble petition excusing himselfe from that charge, and when the excuse was admitted suffered himselfe to be solemnly thanked, and was not ashamed of so odious a benefite. Howbeit the pension, which was wont to be offered to men of that quality, and by him had beene granted to certaine, hee did not bestow vpon Agricola: either being offended it was not sued for, or vpon the guiltinesse of his owne conscience, lest thereby he should seeme to haue bought out * that thing, which he had forbidden. It is the property of mans nature to hate those whom he hath hurted: beside Domitian was prone and headlong to anger, and the more close the more irreuocable, yet was hee notwithstanding altered and mollified by Agricolaes discretion and warie behauiour: for he did not with obstinacie, nor vaine ostentation of libertie, neither hasten his fame nor his fall. Let them well know that are wont to admire those things alone, which are done against the streame of the time, that great men may be found euen vnder bad princes; that dutifull obedience and modestie, if industry and valour be ioyned, may attaine to that degree of praise and renowne, which some following dangerous courses haue aspired vnto by an ambitious death, without any further profit at all.

* That is, his going into the province.

Mean, as I take it, principally by Helvidius & Thrasea, whom Marciall also noteth in an Epigramme to Decianus much to this purpose. Quod magnus Thrasea, consummatique Catonis Dogmata sic sequeris, salum ut esse velis. Perfore nec nudo stridos incurris in enseis, Quod fecisse velis te Deciane facis. Ne lo virum, facili redimat qui sanguine famam: Hunc vobis laudari qui sine morte potest. y That is, of the virtuous qualities of Agricola.

The end of his life brought mourning to vs, and griefe to his friends, and euen by strangers and persons vnknowne was lamented: the comon sort also, and this retchles people of ours, both came oft to his house, and in all publike places and meetings had it in speech, neither did any person, when he heard of his death, either reioice or sodainly forget it. And that which procured the greater compassion was a constant report, that he was made away by poyson. Of mine owne knowledge I dare assure nothing: this only, that during the time of his sicknesse there came from Domitian, oftener then vsually are wont from Princes, who visit by others, both of his secretest seruants and neereest physicians to see him, whether as of carefulnesse, or only to spie I leaue it vncertaine: certaine it is, that the day of his death, euery degree of his going away was caried in post to the Prince; and few men beleeued the newes should be hastened so much, that hee would be soe to heare. Notwithstanding he made shewe of sorrow in minde and in countenance, being now out of danger y of that which hee hated, and one that more easily could dissemble his ioy then his feare. When Agricolaes testament was read, wherein he made Domitian coheire with his most deare wife and most dutifull daughter, it was certaine he greatly reioyced thereat, as if it had beene a signe of honour, or proceeded of iudgement: so blinded he was, and so greatly corrupted by continuall custome of flatteries, that he could not perceiue, that no good father did euer appoint for his heire any Prince, but a tyranne. Agricola was borne the thirteenth day of Iune, Caius Caesar being third time Consull, and died the ² fixe and fiftieth yeere of his age, the sower and twentieth day of August, Collega and Priscus being Consuls. Of personage (if posteritie desire to be informed thereof) he was rather well proportioned then tall, with an assurednesse and great grace in his countenance: ¹² a good man you would easily thinke him, and willingly a great. And although he died in the middle course of

z Foure and fiftieth, at the most for from Caius Caesar 3. consulo Collega & Priscus Consuls were no more but fiftie three yeeres. but so is the fashion not onely of Tacitus, but of other History-writers, to misreckon in an anner alwaies to the more.

his ripe age, in respect of honour and glory hee liued with the longest: for of all the parts of true felicitie, which consisteth in vertue, he had fulfilled the measure: and hauing obtained beside Consulare and triumphall ornaments, what more could fortune annex to his estate? Excesse of riches he delighted not in; honourably hee had and according to his degree. Yea happie may hee be thought and happie indeed, that escaped those tempests which followed, leaping behinde him a daughter and wife, his honour not stained, his fame not touched, his friends and allies in flourishing state. For as in our hearing he wished and hoped to liue and last to the light of this most blessed age, and see ^a Traian established Prince, so his hastened death had this great comfort, that he liued not to see that last and most miserable time, in the which Domitian, not at seasons and by fits, but with a continuall course and at one blow, as it were, ruined the state. Agricola liued not to see the Senate-house beset, the Senate enuironed with souldiers, and all in one furie the death of so many Consulare personages, the banishments and flights of so many great women.

Carus ^b Metius had obtained as yet but one conquest, and Messalinus bloudie sentences kept themselves within the manour of Alba, and Massa Bebius himselfe was then ^c called in question. Anon after our hands led Heluidius into prison; the sight of ^d Mauricus and Rusticus pierced our hearts; Senecio besprinkled vs with his guiltlesse blood. Yet Nero withdrew his presence, and commanded cruelties, looked not on: the principall part of our miserie vnder Domitian was to see and bee seene; when our secret sighes were registred, when that cruell countenance and red visage, with which he armed himselfe against blushing and shame, could endure to note and marke the feares and palenesse of so many persons. Thrice happie then maiest thou, Agricola, be counted, not onely for the renowne of thy life, but also for the opportunitie of thy decease. Thou diddest as they doe affirme, which were present at thy last speeches, accept thy death most patiently and willingly, as though for thy part thou wouldest haue cleered the Prince. But I and thy daughter, beside the losse of so deare a father, wee haue a further cause to be grieved, that it was not our chance to be by in thy sicknesse, to cherish thy weaknesse, to satisfie and content our selues with seeing and embracing thee. Some counsell no doubt, and some precepts wee should haue receiued in charge to print and engrave in our hearts: this is our griefe, this our speciall misfortune: to vs, in respect of our long absence foure yeeres before thou wast lost. And albeit thy most louing wife the best of all mothers fate by, and furnished no doubt all things in most honorable sort, yet wast thou laied vp with fewer teares, and at thy last houre thine eies missed somewhat. If there bee any place for the ghosts of good men, if, as wise men define, the soules of great persons die not with the bodie, in peace maiest thou rest, and recall vs thy posteritie from impatient and womanish walings to the contemplation of thy vertues, which are in no sort to bee sorrowed for, or bewailed, but rather admired.

* * * * * This is true honour indeede, and this is the dutie of neere kinsfolkes. So I would countell thy daughter and wife to reuerence the memorie of their father and husband, with often remembering his doings and words, recognizing the glorie and image of his minde, rather than of his bodie: not that I dislike of images cut in marble or metall, but as mens faces, so the images of faces are mortall and fraile; the shape of the minde is externall, which wee may represent and expresse, not by matter and Art borrowed abroad, but by our owne manners within. That of Agricola which we did loue, which we admired, remaineth, and so will remaine, in the mindes of men, in the continuall succession of ages, in fame and renowne. For many of the ancients shall lie buried in obscure and inglorious obliuion

^a Then it must be by way of prophesie, not of discourse: for in Domitians time there was no likelihood at all of that succession

^b Carus & Messalinus instruments of Domitians cruelty: and so was Massa afterward Plin. li. 1. ep. 11. & 4. ep. 22. Iuuenal. ^c De perpetuandis: the province of Batia being plaintife, Senecio & Pliny accusers, as the same Pliny writeth, li. 7. ep. 33. ^d Exiled by Domitian, and restored vnder Nerva. Plin. li. 4. ep. 22.

obliuion, but Agricola shall liue recommended to posteritie, and continue for euer.

Annotations vpon the life of Iulius Agricola.

^a Forum Iulium] A towne seated in littore Narbonensi, distant from Massilia 75 miles, as Strabo ^a reckoneth. ^a Lib. 4. Of the same name there were also in Italie, but none so famous as this. The present estate whereof is described very well (as all other things) by that excellent Chancellour of France, Michael ^b Hospitalis. ^b Epist. lib. 5.

Inde forum Iuli parnam mine uenimus urbem.
Apparent veteris vestigia magna theatri,
Ingentes arcus, & thermae, & ductus aquarum;
Apparet miles antiqui dicuntur portus,
Atque ubi portus erat, sicum nunc litus & herit.

¹ None of the iudiciall places] That is, he was neither *Prætor urbanus*, nor *peregrinus*, which were the two places of ciuill causes, properly called by the name of *Iurisdictio*. To the rest belonged cognition of criminall causes, as *de Ambitu*, *Repetundis*, *Falso*, *veneficijs*, &c. properly called by the name of *Questiones*, and vnder the Emperours handled before the *Præfectus urbis*, rather than their owne *Prætor*, which at those times caried not much more then a bare name.

² Playes] To giue playes and pastimes to the people, seemeth to haue beene at the first the *Ædiles* peculiar charge, and afterward common to all magistrates in a maner, *Questors*, *Prætors*, *Consuls*, &c. Of *Prætors* it is plane by these words of Cassius to Brutus in Plutarch: *Ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπαγγέλων ἐπιδοσέας, καὶ δέξας, καὶ μονομάχους, ὅτι οὐ δὲ ἡγετῶν καὶ πρυτανίδων ἀποκτείνονται.* That is, of other *Prætors* men do expect and require large *ss*, *stage-playes*, and *Gladiatores*: but at your hands they expect a matter of more importance.

³ Patritians] One of the fundamentall diuisions in the Roman state was in *Patres*, *sive Patritios* & *plebeios*. The *Patritij* were all made by Romulus, as Liuy reporteth, *Senatores* and *councillours* of state: as *Dionysius*, out of the *Patritij* the *Senatores* were elected. *Hostilius* vnting *Alba* to *Rome*, *Principes Albanorum* in *Patres*, *ut ea quoque pars reip. cresceret, legit, Iulios, Scruilios, Quinctios, Gegonios, Curatios, Clulios.* After whom the elder *Tarquinius*, non minus regni sui firmandi, quam augenda reip. memor, centum in *patres* legit, qui deinde *minorum gentium* sunt appellati. *Liuy. lib. 1.* And when the kings were cast out, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, credibus regis deminutum *Patrum* numerum, primariis equestribus gradibus lectis, ad trecentorum summam ^a expleuit Brutus. and siue yeeres after, *Appius Claudius*, fleeing with his faction from the *Sabins* to *Rome*, inter *Patres* ^a lectus est; being the last, I remember. vpon whom in the free state that honour was conferred, to be made a *patrician*. The emperours many yeeres after vpon the like causes, or to pleasure their friends, renewed the custome. ^a *Iulius senatum* ^d *suppleuit, Patritios allegit.* Then *Augustus*, τὸ, τὲ καὶ ἐν πατρίδων ἡρώδων συνεπλήθυνον, τῆς βουλῆς οὐδὲν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς παλαιότητος. ἐπειδὴ τὸ, τὲ πλείον ἀπολάλει σφάν. ἡ δὲ γὰρ ὅπως ὡς τὸ ἡγετον τῆς ἐμπροσθεν πολέμοις ἀναλλοκταται. That is, *Augustus* by permission, as he would haue it seeme, of the Senate, supplied in the number of the *Patritians*, wherof the most part was decayed, nothing in ciuill warres going so much to the walles as the ancient nobility. *Diody. 52.* And *Claudius*. *Isdem diebus in numerum Patritiorum ascivit Cesar (Clandius) vetustissimum quemque e senatu, aut quibus clari parentes fuerant, paucis iam reliquis familiarum, quas Romulus maiorum, & L. Brutus minorum gentium appellaue- rat, exhaustis etiam quas dictator Cesar lege Cassia, & princeps Augustus lege Senia sublegere.* *Tac. 11. Annal.* And lastly, as it may heere appeare, *Vespasian*, after whose time I finde no mention of any such subrogation. only I finde that *Constantine* the great vnder the olde name of *Patritij* induced a new kinde of office, and honour superiour to the *Præfecti Prætorio*. *Zosimus*. Οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ Κωνσταντίνος τῆς ἀρχῆς τετυχέναι τῶ Πατρικίῳ, ὅπως πᾶσι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις τοῦ πᾶντος ἡγετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν νομοθετήσαι. That is, *Optatus* had obtained the dignitie of *Patricius* at *Constantinus* hand, who first deuised this honour, and gaue them in that place presence before the *Præfecti Prætorio*. *lib. 2.* and of *Patritius* in this sense we reade often in the times of the later Emperours.

⁴ A pontificall dignitie] Of all the colledges of Priests, in *Rome* being many in number, that of the *Pontifices* was of the supremest authority, consisting of foure, afterward foure more were added, and the number by *Sylla* further augmented, eligibile in the free state by chapter, sometime by the people, afterward appointed by the Prince. The head of this colledge, was called *Pontifex maximus*, an honour resiant in the Emperours person euen from the time of *Iulius*, in whom the Empire, and *Pontificatus* first by chance were vnited, and continued euen in the Christian Emperours, till *Gratian* cast off both the name and the attire. *Zosimus lib. 4.* ὅταν αὐτῷ καὶ πομπικῶν καὶ τὸ σύνδεσ πῶν ἱερατικῶν σολῶν, ἀπεσείτατο πῶν αἰσῶν, ἀδύμιτον εἶναι χριστιανῶν τὸ ἡμῶν νομίσας. That is, When as the pontifices brought vnto him according to the custome the Pontificall habit, he reiected the suite, supposing it unlawfull for a Christian to weare that attire. and afterward *Theodosius*, as the same *Zosimus* and *Symmachus* report, dissolued the colledge of the *Pontifices*, and all the rest of the Priests, and confiscated the re- uenues. The name of *Pontifex*, saith *Varro*, *lib. 4. de lingua Lat.* is deduced a *ponte*, nam *ab his Sublincius est factus pri- mum.* & *restitutus sape.* *Zosimus* deriueth the name from an ancient custome among the *Thessalians*, where be- fore the vse of temples, the images of the gods being placed vpon the bridge of the riuer *Peneus*, the priests thereof were named *καρυεῖοι*.

⁵ To a long dish, or two edged axe] *Scutula*, vsed by *Tacitus* heere, and *Martial. lib. 11. Epigram. 32.* and *Scutella* by *Tullie*, signifieth a dish vsually serued at table, and to *Scutella* is ἐτερόμυκτος, That is, A long square, by *Censorinus cap. 18.* resembled, whose definition by *Euclide* is this (for in *Censorinus* the place is corrupted) *τετραπλευρον ὁρθογωνιον ἢ ὅτιν, ἐκ ἰσόπλευρον δὲ.* That is, A figure enclosed with foure sides hauing all the angles right, but not all the sides equall. like to the figure. A. although by this place of *Tacitus* it may seeme, that not at all *Scutula* were ἐτερόμυκτος, but some of some other fashion for he addeth oblonga, limiting as it were the generallity of the word. *Bipennis*, saith *Quintilian*, *Institut. orator. lib. 1. securis vtring; habens aciem, a pinna quod est acutum.* Now how well the part of *Britany* heere described resembleth the axe, or the dish, or one of them the other

A

Scutula

Cantus

The figure of whole Britan-
 nic according to Tacitus.

that way in himselfe, is one of the most subtle, ready, and pernicious meanes to worke a great man in disgrace with his Prince. Whether that humour were with the rest infused into vs at our beginning, I know not; but I surely beleue, that no man liueth so utterly void of good parts, but that he supposeth he hath some speciall gift aboue most men some way or other. the nature and motions of which humors whole can make & obserue in his Prince, to make where advantage is offered, and worke as the matter doth yeeld, shall seldome want meanes to doe harme: to note wherein they delight and please themselves, being as ready & meanes to doe hurt, even with the good Princes, as to seele and search out, what they feared, hath beene with the badde. For if all kinde of riuallie breed in private men causes of giudge and dislike, what may the subiect attend from his Prince (whose minde, as his bodie is more tender, and more apt to receiue offensive impressions) in so great meanes to offend, but assured destruction, be this concurrence founded vpon neuer so small and trifling a point? Dionysius the elder, vpon some gentle phrensie, hauing a desire to become in his old daies a writer of Tragedies, hated, imprisoned, and tortured Philoxenus the Poet, who seemed to stand in his light. The first disgrace of Seneca with Nero was grounded vpon a suppose, that Seneca sought to excell him in eloquence, and making of verses, vnto which studies the Prince in those daies had wholly betaken himselfe. and in this latter time setting his fancy and loue vpon singing and playing in stages, qualities vnseemely for his estate, he cast out of fauour, and then made away Paris the stageplaiier, as his concurrent in that profession. Now by way of commendation Poppaea Sabina commending the gentlemanly qualities of Otho, albeit she did it to another intent, yet wrought she vnauwares his discredit with the same Nero. And for my part I am not resolued, how an excellent Poet of our time obserued congruities, which before a Prince, that esteemed it more than his crowne to be accounted the most beautifull personage in the world, maketh one extoll his owne brother so highly, yea and preferre him also before the king himselfe in that point, being a point so prone to engender emulation, and emulation in that kinde, dangerous effects. But aboue all other kindes of commendations, that toucheth most neerely, and worketh most danger, where the quality commended breedeth not onely loue, but admiration also generally among the meane people; as militar renoune, magnanimitie, patronage of iustice against all oppressions and wrongs, magnificence and other Heroicall vertues properly belonging, or chiefly befitting the Princes person. And this being generall to all in some measure, no Prince in the world hauing his minde so well armed against this cunning, but that some breach may bee made at some seasons into it, yet there it worketh both most speedily, and dangerously, where the Prince, as before I haue said, is a witness to himselfe of his owne weaknesse. For as it is true, that *Aliena virtuti nemo inuidet, qui confidit sue*, so is it true also, that insufficiencie is most apprehensiu and enuious. Vespasian and other great Princes, standing vpon their owne might, and the strength of their vertues, could easily digest, that one should be said, for example, to haue *imperatoriam genesim*, yea and preferred him also to place of credit, adding in iest, that hee would perhaps remember it one day, whereas with Domitian a Prince vmbreous and fearefull, because of himselfe hee was nothing, no way was found more fit to bring Agricola in disfaour, than by commending his excellent vertues. In like maner certaine of Constantius court, whereas they could not iustly speake ill, by the same stratageme of praising in audience of their master, a ielous and suspicious Prince because hee was weake and vnable, brought Iulian in hatred, as Mamertinus declareth at large in his Panegyricke. *Cum (Iuliani) sancti principis mores atque instituta, falsarum vituperationum licentiam submouerent, callido incendi artificio accusatoriam diritatem laudum titulis peragebant, in omnibus conuentibus quasi per beneuolentiam illa iactantes, Iulianus Alamanniam domuit: Iulianus vrbes Gallie ex fauillis & cineribus excitauit. Aestates omnes in castris, hyemes in tribunalibus degit: ita illi anni spatia diuisa sunt, vt aut barbaros domitet, aut ciuibus iura restituat, perpetuum professus aut contra hostem, aut contra vitia certamen. Haec voces fuerunt ad inflammandum odia probis omnibus potentiores. Si enim comminisci aliqua flagitia tentassent, facile ipso splendore laudis & glorie refutarentur: inuenerunt accusandi genus quod nullus refelleret.* Another kinde of hurting by way of commendation is touched by Polybius, whereof he giueth vs in the fourth booke of his storie an example in the person of Apelles a counsellour, and one in chiefe credit with Philip of Macedony father of Perseus: who being desirous to remooue Taurion, gouernour of Peloponese, from his charge, and place some creature of his in his roome, told Philip his master, that Taurion was a most singular man, and fit in all respects to serue neerer, counselling him thereupon to send for him home and place him about his owne person, craftily calling him by that meanes from an honorable, and almost absolute gouernment thither, where he should liue in equality with others, and be subiect to checke as one of the meany: great men in this point somewhat resembling the moone, which although she fetch her light from the sunne, and oftsoones resorteth thither againe to receiue new influence and vertue, yet in her prime turneth her darke face toward the world, and shineth then brightest when shee is furthest remooued. Albeit in latter times the contrary example hath beene more vsuall in courts, by way of commendation to remooue one from about the Prince, and send him out of the way, vnder pretence that he is the only fit man for such and such a seruice abroad. Many other kindes might be reckoned of this sort of sophistrie, as to commend a man publicly, where it can doe no good (beside that it maketh the party secure of all danger from thence) and secretly dispraise him, where it should doe much harme. *Manlius Valens*, saith Tacitus i. Hist. *quauquam bene de partibus meritis, nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit. secretis eum criminationibus infamauerat Fabius ignarus, & quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum.* Or else to commend in generalities, and so hauing wonne the opinion of a friend in the Princes eares, consequently to disable to this or that particular, which shall be in question; with such like deceits, which the malice of courtiers heere tofore hath inuented, and daily inuenteth plentifully. For in court, saith Polybius, this malice was found, and in court it remaineth.

A good man you would easily thinke him: &c. *Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter.* Et te Corneli Tacite bonum historicum facile credimus, bonum oratorem crederemus libenter, were it not for this and some other sayings of the like making. *Fuit illi viro*, saith Tacitus iudging of Seneca, as wee may of him, *ingenium amatum, & temporis illius curibus accommodatum.* How that age was eared, long or round, I cannot define: but sure I am it yeelded a kinde of sophisticate eloquence, and riming harmonic of words, whereunder was small matter in sense, when there seemed to be most in apparence. This kinde of Rhetoricke was induced into Grecia by the teachers of oratorie in schoole, whose iudgements vse and experience had not refined: first by Gorgias, as it may well appeare by that little of his which is left; then by Isocrates and his disciples, and being refused by that iudicious

nation found fauour in some corners of Asia, till at length the vse of eloquence decaying in common wealth, and the study ther. of remaining in schooles, that bastard Rhetoricke returned againe, yeelding vs in stead of the soundly contriued sentences of Demosthenes, Æschines, Hyperides, the paintings of Aristidis, Philostratus, Dio Chrysostomus, and others, though not without opposition of many, as Dionythus, Lucian, and such like. The ancient Romans lacking the best from the Greeks, when they were at their best failed not much that way, vnlesse peradventure we may reckon Hortensius as one of the number: for so Tullie in Bruto seemes to describe him. But of the later, whom haue we almost not infected with that heresie of stile begunne by Seneca, Quintilian, the Plinies, and Tacitus, continued in their successours the Panegyriste, and lastly conueied to Christian religion by Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Bernard, &c? For a taste of this affectation in Tacitus, 1. Hist. *Rara est temporum felicitate ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet. Inchoauere annum sibi vltimum reip. prope supremum. Secunda res acrioribus stimulis animam explorant, quia miseria tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur. Quatriduo Cesar properata adoptione, ad hoc tantum maiori fratri prelatum ut prior occideretur. Et vno amice discretis connexum odium. Redieruntque in castra inuiri neque innocentes. Nec illos priores & futuri principes terruere, quo minus facerent scelus cuius victor est quisque successit. Quæque alia placamenta hystillis ira non quidem in bello sed pro pace tendebantur. 2. Hist. Et Pittellius credidit de perfidia & fidei absoluit. 3. Hist. Arserat & antea Capitolium, sed fraude priuata. nunc palam obfessum, palam incensum.* With many more of the same marke.

FINIS.

à M. Acilio mihi primus princeps prioris centurie est assignatus, for prior centuria primi principis. Beside these diuisions of the footmen in a Legion, we finde another in latter times more vsuall into ten Cohorts of equall number. Iulius Frontinus, *Stratagem. lib. 1. dissolueth one Legion into ten Cohorts: Fulvius Nobilior legionis, de qua supra dictum est, quinque cohortes in dextram partem via direxit, quinque ad sinistram.* and *Cesar, lib. 6. de Bello Gall. three legions into thirty Cohorts.* Tacitus, *1 Annal. dissolueth foure Legions in quadraginta cohortes Romanas.* The first cohort resulted of the three first Ensignes, or Manipuli, to wit, *ex primo ordine Hastato, primo Principe, and primo Pilo* ioined in one; the second of the three second, and so forth to the tenth. Cohors, saith Varro. *lib. 4. de Ling. Lat. 3. de bell. ciuili. quod ut in villa ex pluribus etis coniungitur, ac quidam sit vnum, sic hæc ex manipulis copulatur cohort.* The Grecians call it *ταξία*. This diuision of a Legion into ten Cohorts, is not mentioned in Polybius, and therefore, as I thinke, was not vsuall before his age. For although the words be not vnknownen to ancient times, as to Liuy often times in his former bookes. vnlesse he spake by a figure, and to Polybius likewise twice in the eleuenth booke, expressly and by name *κοόρταις*, in the warre of Scipio in Spaine, yet then peraduenture it was rather certaine Manipuli ioined and assigned extraordinarily, than any member of a Legion; but of that I cannot greatly affirme. Now although in former times it is out of question, that the Legionarie Cohorts were equall of fve hundred a peece where the Legion was fve thousand, and more where more, yet in Vegetius time, or at least in his Legion, the first Cohort contained a thousand, and the rest but onely fve hundred. *for in hurbus, as 8. Seruius saith, accessu temporis ducum varietas semper mutavit militie disciplinam.* The horse, being in the Royall and Popular Legion most commonly three hundred, were diuided in *Turmas decem: Polyb. lib. 6. παραπλησίως δὲ τὰς ἰππέας εἰς ἑκατὶ δέκα δέλιον.* That is, In like manner the horsemen also were diuided into ten Turme: euery Turma containing thirtie horse, euen from the beginning of Rome; as generally few things we find after in vse, whereof the grounds were not laid at the first. Varro. *lib. 4. de ling. Lat. Turma Turma est (E in V abyt) quod et deni Equites ex tribus tribub. Tatiensium, Ramnium, & Lucerum fiebant.* In Vegetius Legion, being six hundred and sixty beside the officers, they are diuided into two and twentie Turmaes, euery Turma likewise containing thirty persons, whereof hee attributeth foure Turmaes to the first Cohort of the Legion, and to the other nine two a peece. Lastly Turma was diuided in *Decurias*, each consisting of ten horse, as the name also importeth.

In the Legion of Romulus ouer the footmen (saith Dionysius) three Tribunes, *χλῆραρχοι*, were appointed to gouerne vnder the king, each ouer his owne tribe: and ouer euery Centurie or Curia, a Centurion, or Curion. Three Tribunes and thirty Centurions in a Legion, the Tribunes selected out of the greatest men for nobilitie or reputation, *ἐκ τῶν ἀριστοτάτων*; the Centurions of the most valiant, *ἐκ τῶν ἀριστοτάτων*. Vnder the Consull or Pretor in time of libertie, and Prince in the Empire, captains in chiefe and soueraignie, the next and immediate officer in both was named Legatus Consularis, as it were vicegerent deputed by the Consul or Prince: by the Consul one, or many as his Lieutenants in the armie; by the Prince one onely as Lieutenant generall ouer an armie or countrey. Vnder the Legatus Consularis in the Empire were subordinate Legati Prætorij, or Legati legionum, one or more according to the number of the Legions in the armie; which name I finde not in the free state, nor any office answerable to it. Now for the Legion in both states the ordinarie officers were, as before in the Legion of Romulus, Tribuni and Centuriones. Decani and the rest were of smaller name. The Popular Legion being *quadra* had also at the first foure Tribunes elected by the people, or sometime at the Consuls discretion: afterward in Polybius time six, executing their charge alternatiuely, two at one time for two moneths; so that in one Summer euery one had serued his course. In the Empire, as it may bee coniectured by some places in Vegetius, there were in euery Legion ten Tribunes, not with charge ouer the whole by turnes, but with feuerall and continuall each ouer his Cohort. Now out of euery ensigne, saith Polybius, were chosen *ἀεσίσθυ* two Centurions (*ταξίαρχοι, λοχαγοί*) hauing charge each of his feuerall Centurie in absence, or sicknesse, or other mischance the one of both. To euery Ensigne beside the Centurions belonged two Ensigne-bearers at the Centurions appointment. The Centurions were distinguished in names according to the Ensignes or Centuries which they led. Liuius lib. 42. *Mihi T. Quintius decimum ordinem hastatæ assignauit.* Cicero ep. 8. ad Brutum: *C. N. Scaurus M. C. Cæsar Imperatore octauum principem, duxit.* Liuius lib. 7. *Septimum primum pilum iam Tullius ducebat.* Likewise of the Ensigne-bearers. Cicero 1. de Diuinatione. *Signifer primi hastati signum locum tenere non potuit.* Sometime for breuitie sake the Centurion is called by the name of his Ensigne. Liuius lib. 25. *T. Pedanius Princeps primus centurio cum signifer, &c.* Cæsar lib. 1. de bell. ciu. cap. 10. *In his Quin. Fulvius primus hastatus legnis decima quarta lib. 2. de bell. Gall. 1. Omnibus ferè centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his primipilo P. Sextio Bibaculo, multis vulneribus confecto, the same man whom lib. 3. cap. 1. hee calleth at large primi pili Centurionem.* But whereas there were in euery Ensigne two Centurions, whether onely the Centurion of the former Centurie was *πρῶτος ἑξοχλῶς*, for example called *Primipilus*, *primus Princeps*, *primus Hastatus*, and so in the rest, or both the one and the other equiuocally, I dare not, without better ground of authority than hitherto I haue seene, peremptorily determine onely by *centurio primi Pili* I take to be meant the Centurion alone of the former Centurie, of the first Ensigne of the Triarij; a Centurion of principall credit, and endowed with speciall priuileges, as to bee of the Generals counsell, to haue the custodie of the Eagle or Standerd of the Legion, to sound the watches, &c. Polyb. Veget. This number of sixty Centurions in a Legion wee finde also retained vnder the Empire. Tacit. 1. Annal. *Prostratos verberibus multant sexagenis singulos, ut numerum centurionum adæquarent:* although Vegetius, by I cannot tell what mischance, maketh but fiftie, and in another place by error of the copie, or oversight of the author, *Quinquaginta quinque*: for *Quinquaginta* is much more suitable euen to his owne grounds. Vnder the Centurion, were the Decani Diziniars, one ouer euery tenn, as the word also importeth. Veget. lib. 2. cap. 13. *Rursus ipsa Centuria in contubernia diuisa sunt, ut decem militibus sub vna papillione degentibus vnus quasi præfess decanus, qui caput contubernii vocatur.* The horsemen in the Legion of Romulus were gouerned by *ἰππῶν ἡγεμόνες*, saith Dionysius, not expressing the number: but the horse in the Royall and Popular Legion being of one number had in all likelihood the same officers, that is Decuriones, three chosen out of euery Turma, whereof the first and principall is called also *Præfess Turmæ*, Polybius lib. 6. and Varro lib. 4. de ling. Lat. But Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 14. writing that *turma habet 32. equites, huic qui præfess decurio nominatur, reckoneth two of his officers as common souldiers, and the third nameth amisse. for Decurio is of decem, not of triginta or triginta duo.* Wherefore if he will

Now the Legion and the Legionary being such as were described remaineth to speak of the Auxiliary souldiers. *Λογιστὰς, τὸ συμμάχικόν, τὸ ἑπικυρεῖον, ξενικὴ δύναμις, ξενικὰ τεύχη,* were souldiers which being not citizens of Rome

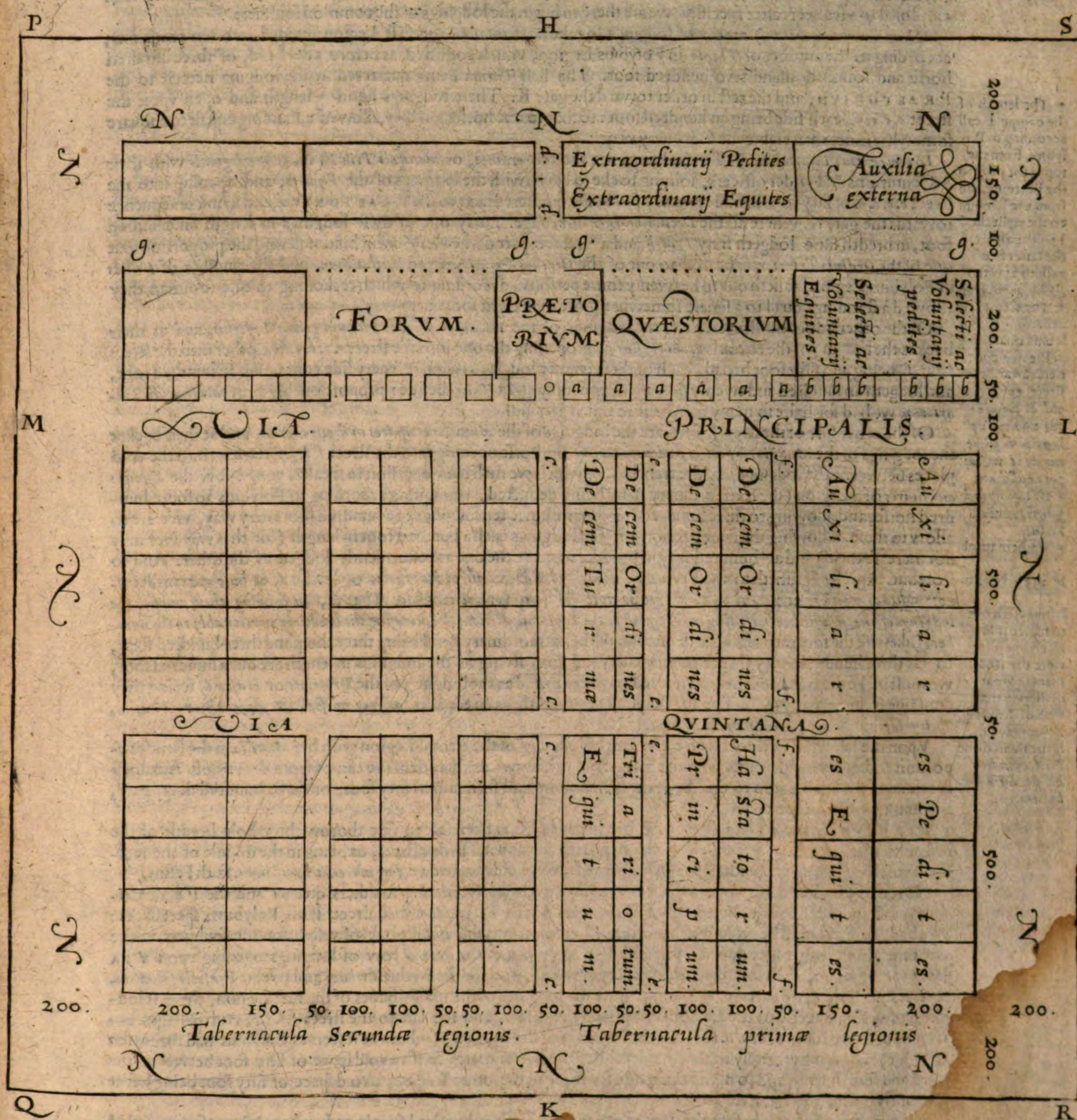
Rome served in the Roman campe. *Varro lib. 4. de ling. Lat. Auxilium appellatur ab auxilio, cum accesserant, qui adiumento essent, alienigenae.* The first Aides to purpose which the Romans used were of the Albans in Tullus Hostilius time. *Dionys. lib. 3.* And anon Alba the head and mother Citie of the Latines being razed, they challenged as conquerours that superioritie ouer the Latine nation, which the Albans before had enioied. In the time of Tarquinus Priscus the Latines served in the Roman Armie as Aides ⁱ against the Hetrusci, and against the ⁱ Sabins, the Hetrusci and the Latines. In the free state many hundred yeeres, the Latines onely and Hernici ministred *Auxilia granum armatorum.* for archers and funditores and leuia auxilia of other nations they did ^k not refuse sometime to admit. After the third Punicke warre they admitted also ⁱ *Auxilia ex socijs Italicis à populo regibusque.* And after that time wee finde sometimes mention, but no great reckoning made in the free state of Auxiliaries: the reason, as I take it, was that the citie being communicated to the Latines and Italian allies in bello Marfico, they served no longer in qualitie of Auxilia, being now inuested with the right of Legionarie seruice. Augustus and the Emperours fortifying the limits of the Empire with armies, and furnishing the Legions onely in a manner of prouinciall Citizens, established Auxilia againe, supplied out of their allies and subiects abroad, and generally out of all nations indifferently, making acquainted the barbarous people, and ancient enemies of the Roman Empire with their maner of seruice, not without notable ^m prejudice to the state. In Tacitus vnder the first Emperours we haue in the Roman campe Auxiliaries *è Transrhenanis, Gallis, Britannis, Numidis, Lusitanis, Batavis, Thracibus, &c.* and vnder the latter Emperours no militar matter in the whole Empire passed thorow other than barbarous hands; till at length the Romans, as great reason was, were forced to deliuer the Empire to them, to whom they had deliueted their armes. Theodosius, saith Zosimus, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἱππὸν βαρβάρους ἐπέταξε τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς τοῖς ῥωμαῖς. That is, Made Legionaries the barbarians borne beyond the Danub. lib. 4. and againe, τὰς αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἰσοστάσιας, ἡ δὲ ῥωμαίων διακρίσις ἢ βαρβάρων. That is, There was no order obserued in the armies, nor difference made of Roman and Barbarian. and of Gratian, Ἀλανὲς τινὰς αὐτομόλους δεξάμενος στρατοῦ ἐγκατέλεξεν. That is, He receiued certaine fugitiues of the Alani, and bestowed them in his armies. ⁿ Synesius likewise, a more indifferent person to the Christian Princes, reprehendeth the too great facilitie of Theodosius in receiuing to mercy, into his countrey, kingdome and armies, the barbarous nations, reaping no other fruit of his clemencie but scorne at their hands, and thereupon he taketh occasion to exhort Arcadius his sonne ^o to increase his Legions, and with the Legions his courage, making supplie of his owne people, and sending backe the Barbarians thither from whence they first came. But to returne to our Auxiliarie souldier, Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 2. describing them vnder the Empire, hath these words: *Auxiliares conducuntur ad praelium ex diuersis locis, ex diuersis muneribus venientes. Nec disciplinā inter se, nec notitiā, nec affectione consentiunt. Necesse est autem tardius ad victoriam peruenire qui discrepant antequam dimicent. Denique cum in expeditionibus plurimum proficiunt omnes milites vnius precepti significatione conuerti, non possunt equaliter iussa complere qui ante pariter non fuerunt. Tamen hac ipsa auxilia si solennibus diuersisque exercitijs propè quotidie roborentur, non mediocriter iuuant. Nam legionibus semper ^{*} auxilia tanquam leuis armatura in acie iungebantur, vt in his praeliandi magis adminiculum esset, quā principale subsidium.* Of Auxilia we finde two principall kindes, externall and sociall. Externall sent from Kings and forreine states, of which, as depending in most points vpon the voluntarie disposition of the sender, I haue not to say. Sociall were ^p either annexed to some Legion, or seuerally assigned to the gard of some ^q place or countrey, where it seemed not necessarie to maintaine a Legionarie power. Concerning the *Auxilia legionum* in the free state, before bellum Marficum, as often as the Romans armed, their allies armed also *ex fœdere*, footmen ^r ordinarily as many, horse double. Ordinarily I say, because that rate was not perpetually obserued, as it appeareth by infinite places in Liuy, Appian and others, but more or lesse according to circumstances. Vnder the Empire *illa ratio seruata est*, saith Vegetius, *ne vnquam amplior multitudo sociorum auxilium esset in castris, quā ciuium Romanorum.* In the free state the Legionarie Auxilia were gouerned in stead of Tribuni by Præfecti, though different in name, yet of like ^s auctoritie, and, as it may seeme, in Polybius time equall in number. For he assigneth twelue præfecti to one Consul, to whom belonged two Legions, and therefore twelue Tribunes. Now the extraordinarie band being chosen out, at the discretion of the Præfecti, of the best men and fittest for seruice, of the footmen about the ^t fifth part, the third of their horsemen, the rest of the Auxilia were diuided into two companies, the one called the right ^u horne, and the other the left. And this is all that Polybius hath written touching their partitions and officers. In ^v Liuy the Latines making head against the Romans, haue the very same diuisions and officers with the Roman Legions: but whether at other times also, and as in the nature of assistants they had them likewise, I cannot positiuely determine; it seemes rather otherwise. The most knownen diuision both in the free state, and vnder the Empire of Auxilia as well locall as Legionarie, is in cohortes of footmen, and Alas of horsemen. And so doth Tacitus often resolute the word ^w 4. Hist. Cohortium, alarum, legionum hibernia, i. Auxiliorum & legionum. 1. Hist. Asciscitur auxiliorum miles primò suspectus tanquam circumdatis cohortibus alisque impetus in legiones pararetur. The Auxiliarie Cohorts are sometime to distinguish them from the Legionarie called ^x socie cohortes, leues cohortes, and Alarie cohortes: like as the Ala are also called Alarij equites. Now of these Cohorts and Wings how many belonged to a Legion vsually I cannot precisely define. Vitellius at his entrie into Rome with eight battered Legions had onely ^y thirtie foure Cohorts. The Auxilia of the fourteenth Legion were ^z eight Cohorts: which if it were ordinarie, seeing the vse of that age beareth at least six hundred footmen for a Cohort, the Auxiliarie footmen belonging to a Legion are foure thousand eight hundred. And yet ^a Agricola had for three Legions in his armie in Britannie no more but eight thousand, the rest peradventure being dispersed in garrisons. ^b Equitum ala, saith ^c Vegetius, ab eo dicuntur quod ad similitudinem alarum protegant aciem. Ala contained, as I suppose, about three hundred horsemen. By Tacitus 2. Hist. it is plaine, that ex quatuor equitum turmis and vniuersa Treuerorum ala, some part being retained in colonia Forouiliensi presidij causa, duodecim turmae aduersus hostem iere. So that Ala was more than eight Turmae, that is, two hundred and fortie horse. The ala equitum which followed Scipio into Africke consisted of ^d three hundred. And that Ala in these latter daies was a number of importance it appeareth by the circumstances of ala Syllana touched by Tacitus, 1. Hist. Now to euery Legion belonged two Alæ of Auxiliaries at the least. Iosephus ^e setteth downe six Alæ as the Auxiliaries of three Legions. and ^f Tacitus writeth of sixteene Alæ in Illyricum, where at that present were but six or seuen Legions. Contrarily Vitellius to his eight broken Legions had but twelue Alæ. Agricola in Britannie to three

Legions had three thousand Auxiliarie horsemen. Of these Cohorts of Auxiliarie footmen the Gouvernours in latter times also were called *Præfelli*; and the wings of horsemen likewise in latter times had their *Præfelli* severall from the foot, of which in Polybius wee finde no mention. In Wings the vndercaptaines, as in the Legionarie, were named *Decuriones*. Of the number I cannot affirme; onely it seemeth probable, that the *Præfelli* then were according to the number of the Cohorts and Wings, and the *Decuriones*, as in the Legion three in a *Turma* consisting of thirtie horsemen. To conclude this point: although the Imperiall Auxilia seeme not to observe alwaies one sort, as by the examples alleged may bee auerred, yet taking two Wings and eight Cohorts for the Auxilia of a Legion, those things presupposed which wee haue set downe, the Legion Imperiall with her Auxilia arriueth to twelue thousand persons. Six thousand Legionarie footmen, six hundred horsemen, foure thousand eight hundred Auxiliarie footmen, and six hundred Auxiliarie horse, Summe twelue thousand. ^k Vegetius out of other particulars collecteth the same totall. *Una Legio*, saith hee, *mixta auxilijs, hæc est decem^l millia peditum & duo millia equitum*. Whereof six thousand one hundred footmen, and seuen hundred twentie six horse according to his principles being Legionarie, there remains three thousand nine hundred foot, and twelue hundred seuentie foure horse for the Auxiliarie; or in round numbers 4000. foot, and 1200. horse, approaching neere to the ancient proportion in Polybius of double the Legionarie horse. At the enrolement the names were imposed to the Legions *Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*, as they were in ^m order of mustering first, second, or third. Which custome, as I suppose, continued in his first institution so long as the Romans armed and disarmed euery yeere: but afterward retaining *sub signis* some of their Legions with their old names, and with perpetuall supplie as it were eternizing them many ages, the rest decaying or being dissolued, the name was no longer a note of his place, but rather became a proper name simply. In the latter ⁿ times wee reade of three *Tertiæ*, and two *Sextæ* distinguished by surnames, *Tertia Italica*, *Tertia Cyrenaica*, *Tertia Augusta*: *Sexta Victrix*, and *Sexta Ferrata*. Of which deuise of surnaming the Legions we haue no example before Cæsars time, and after no end: a noueltie induced vpon ambition, or countrey, or accident, or for distinction sake, or lastly vpon pleasure and voluntarily. The Auxiliarie Cohorts and Wings, specially locals, had also their severall names, as cohorts *Decima septima*, *Decima octaua* of numbers, cohorts *Tungroorum*, *Rætiorum*, *ala Treuerum*, *Caninifas* of nations. *Ala Syllana*, *Scriboniana*, *Petrina*, of *Sylla*, *Scribonius*, *Petra* their gouernours as it may seeme at the first enrolement: *Ala singularium*, of what accident I know not.

After the enrolement followed the great mysterie of the Roman estate, saith ^o Herodian, *sacramentum militare*, the very forme and essence of a souldier, without which first solemnly taken, or after the expiration of which, as upon the casting of the Legions, though qualified otherwise neuer so well, though present in the campe, it was not ^p lawfull for any to kill, or wound, or present himselfe in fight against the enemy. This oath Polybius conceiue thus: *Ἡ ΜΗΝ ΠΕΙΘΑΡΧΗΣΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ*. That is, That they should bee obedient, and execute to the vttermost of their power whatsoeuer should be commanded them by their superiors, lib. 6. Dionys. lib. 11. not much otherwise, *ὁ δὲ ὅρκος ὁ στρατιωτικὸς ὃν ἑκάστη μάλιστα εὐπειθεῖς ῥωμαιοὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, ἀκολουθεῖν καλεῖται τὰς στρατευομένων ἐπὶ πρὶν ἂν ἄρῃσι*. That is, The militarie oath which the Romans sweare to their Generall commandeth the souldiers to follow whithersoever it pleaseth their Generals to lead them. Liuy lib. 22. *Milites tunc iurando à Tribunis militum adacti iussu consulum conuenturos, neque iniussu abituros*. With these agreeth that of Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 5. *Iurant milites se omnia strenuè facturos quæ præceperit Imperator, nunquam deserturos militiam, nec mortem recusaturos pro Romana republica*. In the place of Liuy before quoted mention is also made of a voluntary ^q coniuration, *quæ postea*, saith he, *ex voluntario inter milites fœdere ad legitimam iurisdictionem adactionem translata est*. The forme of it was *FUGAE ATQVE FORMIDINIS ERGO NON ABITVROS SESE, NEQVE EX ORDINE RECESSVROS, NISI TELI SVMENDI AVT PETENDI, AVT HOSTIS FERIENDI, AVT CIVIS SERVANDI CAVSA*. Beside this oath I finde another oath tendred, which we may call the oath of allegiance and soueraigntie. Whether it was in vse before the Emperours time, or not, I doe not remember. It may be they sware then in *Senatus populique Romani nomen*, as afterward they did in *Principis*. Arrianus conceiue the forme of it thus: *Ἡ ΜΗΝ ΠΡΟΤΙΜΗΣΕΙΝ ἈΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ*. That is, That they should preferre before all things the safetie of the Prince. Marcus Antonius in his funerall oration in Appian pronounceth verbatim and out of his paper the oath they had sworne to D. Julius: *Ἡ ΜΗΝ ΦΥΛΑΞΕΙΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΩΜΑ, ΠΑΝΤΙ ΣΘΕΝΕΙ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ, ἢ ΕΙΤΙΣ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΕΙΝ ΕΞΩΛΕΙΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΤΣ ΜΗ ἈΜΥΝΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΩ*. That is, That they all with all their might would guard the person of Cæsar, accursing all those that should not defend him, if any attempt should happen to be made against him. Suet. Cæsar cap. 15. addeth this formall clause; *neque me liberosque meos cariores habeo quàm Caium & sorores eius*. The militarie oath the souldiers only as well Auxiliarie as Legionarie receiued straight after their first enrolement, *ἐπιτελεθεισῆς ἡ καταγραφῆς*, saith Polybius. The oath of soueraigntie the souldier, the magistrate, senate and people of Rome and of the prouinces, *mutatis mutandis* with some little diuersitie according to the qualitie of the persons, receiued at the creation of a new Prince whensoever it hapned, and vpon the anniuersarie thereof flatterie increasing, and euery yeere likewise renewed the same the first day of Ianuarie: at what time the magistrates and Senatours also particularly sware ^r in *acta* of the present Prince and ^s of his predecessours, those only excepted *quorum damnata erat memoria*, as in Caius time and afterward they were not sworne in *acta* Tiberij, nor in Claudius in *acta* Caij.

The Roman maner of encamping according to Polybius and other ancient Writers is represented in the figure following.

PRAETORIUM)



PRAETORIUM.) a square plot, every side containing two hundred foot, for the Generals lodging, and his traine: the ground so chosen as might be fittest both for prospect and direction.

d. d. A street of fifty foot broad, leading from the middle of the **PRAETORIUM** to the gate **H.** at the top of the page.

c. c. c. c. A street directly opposite to the former, and of the same breadth, leading from the **PRAETORIUM** to the gate **K.** at the bottom of the page. Of the right hand of which street was lodged one Legion with her Auxilia, and another of the left. Now from the **PRAETORIUM** toward **K.** measuring out an hundred and fifty foot employed to uses hereafter specified, we are there to begin the lodgings of the common souldiers.

Decem Turma equitum.) a row of lodgings for the horsemen of the first Legion divided into ten partitions, according to the number of *Turma* in Polybius Legion, which consisted, as before is declared, of three hundred horse and foure thousand two hundred foot. The first *Turma* being quartered in the lodging nearest to the **PRAETORIUM**, and the rest in order toward the gate **K.** These lodgings lie in a length and open vpon the street **c. c. c. c.** each side being an hundred foot: so that to one horseman they allowed a standing equall to a square somewhat more than eighteen foot every way.

Decem ordines Triariorum.) Ten lodgings for the ten *ordines*, or *manipuli Triariorum prime legionis* with their Centurions and vnder officers, joining backe to backe with the lodgings of the *Equites*, and opening into the street **e. e. e. e.** of fifty foot broad: *primus Ordo* being quartered next to the **PRAETORIUM**, and so in consequence towards the gate **K.** where all the *Decimi ordines* doe lodge. Every one of these lodgings in length an hundred foot, in breadth fiftie lodgeth sixty *Triarii*, and a ratable part of the *Velites*, which, considering the proportion that one of the *Ordines Triariorum* beareth to one of the *Ordines Principum* and *Hastatorum*, and the number of *Velites* in Polybius Legion, falleth out to be twenty foure persons. according to which reckoning to one footman they allowed a standing equall to a square somewhat more than eight foot every way.

Of the other side of the street **e. e. e. e.** the lodgings of the *Decem ordines Principum prime Legionis*, and at their backes the lodging of the *Decem ordines Hastatorum* opening the one into the street **e. e. e. e.** the other into the street **f. f. f. f.** being also fifty foot broad. each of these twenty lodgings is square, every side containing an hundred foot, and lodgeth an hundred and twenty *sui ordinis*, and forty eight *Velites* beside: proportionably as in *tabernaculis Triariorum* we had for halfe so many men halfe so much ground.

Of the other side of the street **f. f. f. f.** are the lodgings of the *Auxiliares equites in dextro cornu*, and at their backes the lodgings of the *Auxiliares pedites in dextro cornu*, the horse opening into the street **f. f. f. f.** the foot into the void places betweene the lodgings and the trenches, of which we shall haue occasion to speake anon. Now the *Equites auxiliares* of a Legion (the Extraordinary Band being deducted) amounting according to Polybius to foure hundred horse, and allowing to three hundred Legionarie horse ten lodgings of a hundred foot every way, wee are to allow to these, following the same proportion, ten lodgings each a hundred foot in length (for that way wee may not increase them) and a hundred fifty in breadth, to make the one as conueniently lodged as the other. And so Polybius expressly signifieth in these words: *διὸ καὶ τὸ βᾶθρον αὐξήσαντες ὅπως πρὸς λόγον, ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τοῖς ἡμιτάτοις περὶ ὅντων καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἐξίσαν τοῖς ἰσχυροῦς στρατοπέδοις.* That is, In framing their campe, the lodgings of the *Auxiliarie* horse they make equall to the *Legionarie* in length, increasing the breadth proportionably to the number. Likewise the footmen after the deduction of the extraordinary Band being three thousand three hundred sixty, that is three hundred thirty six persons for euery lodging, seeing as the lodgings in length are but a hundred foot, we must make them in breadth two hundred, twise as broad as the lodgings of the *Principes* or *Hastati*, seeing they containe twise as many men. For so Polybius warranteth vs heere also, *αὐξάν τὸ βᾶθρον πρὸς λόγον.* That is, To increase the breadth proportionably.

Vpon the left hand of the street **c. c. c. c.** are the lodgings of the second Legion with her *Auxilia* in the same proportion and order in all points with the first. And so haue we the breadth of the campe from the utmost *Auxiliary* footmen of the one Legion to the like of the other a thousand six hundred fifty foot, or three hundred thirty pace, accounting five foot for a pace.

VIA QVINTANA: is a street fifty foot broad, passing from side to side thorow the whole breadth of the lodgings, so named a *Quinta ordinibus* which quarter all vpon it. In this street, as being in the middle of the souldiers quarter, and therefore fittest for such a purpose, was holden a market, *fori m rerum utensilium*, saith Festus.

Now of the hundred fifty foot, which as we noted were betweene the souldiers quarter and the **PRAETORIUM**, a hundred foot was the breadth of **VIA PRINCIPALIS**, of which street, saith Polybius, speciall care was had, that it should be sweet and handsome, because it was the visuall place of resort for the souldiers in the day time. In the other fifty foot toward the **PRAETORIUM** was a row of lodgings opening vpon **VIA PRINCIPALIS**, each lodging bearing euery way fifty foot, for the twelue *Tribuni* and twelue *Præfetti sociorum*, their traine, horses and cartage. **a. a. a. a. a. a.** are the lodgings of the six *Tribunes* of the first Legion, the first lodging answering directly to the *Legionary* horsemens quarter, and the last to the street **f. f. f. f.** with passages betweene of thirty foot. **b. b. b. b. b. b.** are the lodgings of the *Præfetti*, (whom as it seemes Polybius had forgotten to lodge) answering precisely to the breadth of the *Auxiliarie* quarter, with a void space of fifty foot betweene the third and fourth tent. and so of the other side for those of the other Legion, a void space of fifty foot being left at o. to answer the street **c. c. c. c.**

g. g. g. g. a crosse street before the **PRAETORIUM** being a hundred foot broad, where I suppose was setled the watch mentioned by Polybius: *μία δὲ ἐξ ἀπὸ τῶν καὶ ἡμέραν σημαία ἀνὰ μέγας τὸ στρατὸν παρακοιτεῖ, ἥτις ὅμα ἢ ἀσφαλείαν ὡρασκόει τὰ στρατῶν πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβλάδας, ἀμα δὲ κοπιᾷ τὸ πρὸς ἡμέραν τῆς ἀρχῆς.* That is, Every day one Ensigne by course keepeth watch and ward at the Generals pavilion, both for the safety of his person, and maiestie of his place.

Extraordinarij Equites. and **Extraordinarij Pedites.**) a plot of an hundred fifty foot in length (for so it will fall out if wee make the whole ground for the lodgings, as wee must, perfectly a square) and foure hundred and fifty in breadth, answering to the **QVÆSTORIUM** and part of the **PRAETORIUM** for the Extraordinary band of the

Auxilia

a. παραστάτας.
Polybius. a. by
setting out a flag
or such like for
these mute signes
I thinke he prin
cipally meaneth.

*b. The length of
the campe I call
according to Po
lybius, from the
top of the page to
the bottom, and
from the left hand
to the right the
breadth: albeit
the latter hee
callethe as often
βᾶθος, as πλάτος.*

*b. The Centurions
according to Po
lybius quartering
in the two cor
ners toward the
street: καὶ ὁ ἀρι
στερὸς ἐν ἀρι
στερῇ καὶ ἐν
δεξιᾷ τῶν πε
δῶν, καὶ ὁ δε
ξιὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ
καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ
τῶν ἵππων.*

d. Mathematical

ly 133 - but Po

*lybius vseth not
to mince it so
nicely. neither
were the Ro
mans so great
masters in that
kind of leaping,
if wee may be
leeue their owne
Poet. excedens
alijs spiritibus mol
lium era, &c.*

*e. τὸ δὲ σὺν τῶν
ῥήματι γίνεται
στρατοπέδου τῆς
βραχέως ἐπὶ πλά
τος.*

Auxilia prime Legionis, consisting of two hundred horse, and eight hundred forty foot (some [†] selected out of them [†] *δοτέλεστος ἐκ τῶν ἐκπαρδύτων* only excepted, which are lodged elsewhere) the footmen quartering toward the trenches, and the horse toward the campe. And so of the other side for the other Legion.

Auxilia externa) a plot of the same length, and in bredth three hundred and fiftie foot, for the forraigne Aids such as by occasion come in.

Selecti ac voluntarij Equites, and *Selecti ac voluntarij pedites*.) a plot of two hundred foot in length, and three hundred fifty in bredth, where the selected out of the extraordinary band of the *Auxilia prime Legionis*, are placed, the Foot quartering toward the trenches, and the Horse toward the *PRAETORIUM*: and so of the other side for the other Legion, reserving in both place for voluntarie men, which vpon kindred or friendship, or other respects follow the Generall. These *Selecti* and *Voluntarij* doe not onely, saith Polybius, quarter neere the Generall, but also in marching, and at all other times of any service are continually attendant vpon the Generall and the Quæstor, in the nature peradventure of a *Cohors Prætoris*.

QUÆSTORIUM) a plot of two hundred foot in length and three hundred seuentie five in bredth, for the Quæstor and his traine with their treasure and provision, for the pioners, carpenters, smiths, armourers, &c. with their tooles and officers. There was also the *Auguraculum*, *δῶνιστεῖον*, and peradventure the publike prison.

FORVM.) a plot equall in both dimensions to the *QUÆSTORIUM*. Heere was the place of publike assemblies, and the Tribunall with the seat of estate. Heere also in likelihood were those *θῆκοι*, *Seats*, whereof [†] Josephus maketh mention, on which the Tribunes and Centurions sate in iudgement to decide the controuersies happening betwene the souldiers. In the *FORVM* also the Eagles and Ensignes of the Legions with their bearers *Aquiliferi* and *Signiferi*, certaine images of the gods, in latter times of the Prince and his children, and sometimes of his great favorites also, were quartered. Tacitus 15. Annal. describing a solemne assembly in that place, *Inde, saith he, eques, hinc agmina legionum sterere fulgentibus aquilis signisque & simulacris deum, in modum templi. Medio Tribunal sedem curulem, & sedes effigiem Neronis sustinuit.* The Eagles, except peradventure in time of assemblies, stood in little chappels. Dio lib. 40. *ὅτι δὲ πρὸς μικρὸς, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ αἰετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐνίστυται: καὶ δίσαται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τοῖς σπατοπέδις.* That is, In all the Roman armies there is a little chappell, and in it a golden Eagle doth stand. The Ensignes were placed *sub dio*, as indeed, being certaine long speares couered with siluer with the Princes image hanging vpon them vnder the Empire, they could hardly be planted vnder a tent. and yet Herodian lib. 4. seemeth to place them all in one chappell. *ἐπεὶ οὖν εἰς τὸν νεῶν, ἐνθα τοὶ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα θεοποιεῖται.* That is, He sate downe in the chappell where the ensignes and images are adored. *θεοποιεῖται*, saith hee, for as well the *Aquila* and sign as the *Simulacra deum*, and images principum were by the Roman souldiers adored as gods, and therefore the place of their standing accounted sacred. For by *Principia* so often remembred in Tacitus and others I take the *FORVM* to be principally meant, although in some places of the stories *Principia* may seeme particularly to bee intended of that row of lodgings where the Tribunes and Prefects are quartered, specially in that place of Tacitus 1. Annal. *Prima Varii castra lato ambitu, & dimensis Principijs trium legionum manus ostentabant.* and in some other places of the same Tacitus this word *Principia* seemes to be taken *pro ipsa Aquila signisque*.

N. N. N. N. &c.) a void roome of two hundred foot broad, round about betwene the lodgings and the Trench. The vse of this void roome is for the commodious entring and issuing of the Legions, for the safe custody of the cattle in the night season, which are provided for the vse of the campe, or otherwise caught from the enemy. But the principall commoditie is, that the enemy vpon sudden approaches by night to the trenches cannot throw any fireworke, or dart to doe any great hurt in so great a distance.

P. Q. R. S.) *Agger* or *Vallum*, *χάραξ ἢ χαρδίαμα*, the trench which compassed the whole campe. *Agger* signifying generally *cunus ibet rei conseruationem*, as one of the Grammarians saith, is heere appropriated to that mount of earth, which is raised for defense about the campe: in which certaine stakes called *Valli* were pitched with two, three, or foure-forked heads to close and wreath one within another, and were for that purpose prepared and caried by the souldier, each man carying three, foure, and sometimes vsque ad septenos *vallōs*, saith Lilius. Of these *Valli* the whole fortification of the campe is called *Vallum*. Varro, lib. 4. bringeth two other etymologies: *Vallum quod ea variare nemo possit: vel quod singula ibi extrema bacilla furcillata habent figuram littere V.* describing rightly the *Valli*. In the *Vallum* in conuenient distances were raised and cast out certaine platformes like turrets, and on the curtaine betwene the turrets were placed *Ealistræ*, *ὀξύβελεις, χαταπέλται, λιδοβόλα, καὶ πᾶν ἀρπυγέιον ὅργανον ἂν πᾶν τὸ πρὸς τὰς βολὰς ἐτοίμα.* That is, catapultæ, balistæ, and all engins of shot ready bent: such artillerie as that age did afford. And about the *Vallum* they cast a ditch of six foot deepe and as much in bredth.

In the *Vallum* of the campe were foure gates. Lilius lib. 40. *Aemilius ad quatuor portas exercitum instruxit, ut signo dato simul ex omnibus partibus eruptionem facerent.* and Ioseph. 3. *ἀλώσ. πύλαι, δὲ ἐνοικοδομήνται καὶ δ' ἐκαστὴν τὰς τετραβόλας.* That is, In every side of the campe a gate is built. So that the sides of the campe being foure, the gates must also be foure.

H. *Porta Prætoris*, so called a *PRAETORIO* which standeth neere it: the foregate of the campe, and in times of danger, next to the enemy.

K. *Porta Decumana*, so called a *Decimis ordinibus ibi tendentibus* (as appeares by the former description) the backgate of the campe, and in times of danger furthest from the enemy. Otherwise in places of safety, as appeares by Polybius, opportunitie of water and forrage was rather respected in the placing of that gate, because all the common souldiers in a manner were quartered vpon that side.

M. The third gate of the campe called *Sinistra Principalis*: and L. the fourth called *Dextra Principalis*, so denominated, because they open into *Via Principalis*. Liuiy in the place above alleged nameth them thus: ¹ *Extraordinaria*, ² *Dextra Principalis*, ³ *Sinistra Principalis*, & ⁴ *Quæstoria*: whereof *Extraordinaria* is without all question the same with *Prætoris*, so named of the Extraordinaire band who quarter there: so that *Quæstoria* in that place must be all one with *Decumana*, belike because in his conceit the *QUÆSTORIUM* was not farre from *Decumana*. And so it may seeme he conceiued of it by another place, lib. 10. *Ab tergo castrorum Decumana porta imperis factus: itaque caput, Quæstorium.* But that placing of *QUÆSTORIUM* cannot stand with Polybius description, whom

[†] *Sedes curulis.*
[†] 3. *ἀλώσ. cap. 6.*
[†] *Coliz per theatra & fora effigies Scian, interque principia legionū sinteret.* Tac. 4. *An. quædam munera Syriacis legionib. largitus est quod sola nullam Scian imaginem inter signa coluissent.* Suet. Tiberio. c. 48

[†] 1. *Hist. In ipso principijs stuprum ausa.* 3. *Hist. Nox prodioni electa vi ceteris ignavis soli defensores in principia coirent.* ibidem *secreta castrorum affertans in principia vocat.* Paul. post. *sed ubi totis castris in fama prodicio recurrent in principia miles.*

[†] *Principia, ἀρχαῖα, ἐν οἷς ἡγεμόνων οὐνομα, the leaders lodgings.* 2. *Hist. Primum stratis unaetuce simanorum principijs Aquilam abstulere.* 4. *Ann. effigies Scian inter principia legionum.*

[†] *Seruius in 10. Æneid.*

[†] *Vallum, saith Seruius in 9. Æneid. ipsa munitio: valli, fustes quibus vallum munitur.*

[†] *ὅτι τὸν μεταπύρριον.* Ioseph. 3. *ἀλώσ. c. 6.*

[†] lib. 40.

in

in this case we are rather to believe. Now that *Prætorium* was nearest to the enemy, and *Decumana* furthest off, it is evident by *Cæsar* lib. 3. *de bell. civ. Pompeius*, saith he, *acie accessit, protinusque se in castra equo contulit, & ijs centurionibus quos in statione ad Prætoriam portam posuerat, clare, tutamini, inquit, castra.* and immediately after, *Pompeius cum intra valum nostri versarentur, equum nactus Decumana porta se ex castris eiecit.* That *Prætorium* was the foregate, and *Decumana* the backgate, it appears by the place of *Liuy* above alleged lib. 10. *ab tergo castrorum Decumana porta impetufaciens:* and yet *Polybius* calleth the side where *K.* standeth perpetually *τὴν κατὰ πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν πύλιναν τῆς κατιέρχουσης,* That is, The foreside of the campe: and that other wherein *H.* standeth *τὴν ὀπίσθεν πύλιναν τῆς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκέρχουσης,* That is, The backside of the campe, as I thinke, onely by way of supposition and *docendi causa*, because in his description of the lodgings he beginneth at the *PRÆTORIVM*, and proceedeth on forward toward *Porta Decumana*.

Thus have we a description for two of *Polybius* ordinarie Legions with their *Auxilia*, which was the ordinarie armie of one *Consul*: a campe perfectly square, not as the Grecians (although if *Frontinus* say true, the Romans tooke this whole learning of *Pyrrhus* a Grecian) who framed their campe according to the ground, whereas the Romans framed the ground to their campe, and distinguished it with streets and passages in so good an order, that a man might as readily finde his place there, as his owne house in the towne where he was borne. The whole perimetre within the trenches amounted to eight thousand two hundred foot, or one thousand six hundred fifty paces: every side, according to the positions already laid, containing two thousand fiftie foot. Now when the Legions were much fuller than ordinarie, in lodging both horse and foot, the partitions were made proportionably bigger as well in length as in breadth, and so the square figure still retained. But if the *Auxilia* doe exceed, first they contriue the *QVÆSTORIVM* and *FORVM* into one, and lodge them in the other: or if that doe not suffice, they make more rowes of lodgings vpon the right and left hand of the *Auxiliarie* quarter, enlarging the figure in breadth by that meanes, and retaining the former length. And likewise if more than two Legions vnder one *Generall* were to be encamped together, the figure was, I suppose, a long square, enlarged onely in breadth with more rowes of lodgings on both sides the street, *c. c. c. c.* For *Tacitus* in a place above alleged signifieth that by measuring the *Principia* we might finde out the number of the Legions, which presupposing, the enlargement in length could not by that meanes bee so well discerned. But when foure Legions vnder two *Consuls* were to be ioined in one campe, if it pleased the Generals to keepe their standings apart, it was likewise a long square, but doubled in length, in all other respects agreeing with this description: and the campe so doubled contained twise as much ground, perimetre halfe as much more with six gates, two *Decumane*, two *Sinistre Principales*, and two *Dextra* without any *Prætoris* at all. But when it pleased them to pitch together, they placed the *FORVM*, *QVÆSTORIVM* and *PRÆTORIVM* in the middle betweene the two armies; the *Extraordinarij* and *Auxilia* *castris* quartering, as it may seeme, in this case, betweene the *Tribunes* and souldiers lodgings in the same quantitie of ground as before, and with conuenient streets on both sides.

The *Generall* officer ouer the Campe was called *Præfectus Castrorum*: to whose charge appertained to stake out the Campe and see it kept sweet, to appoint and order the trenches and ditch, to quarter the souldiers with their carriage in their lodging, to provide diet and physicke for the sicke, and pay the Physitian, &c. Particularly ouer the *Smiths*, *Carpenters*, and other *Artificers*, with the *Enginers*, and such like, the officer was called *Præfectus fabrum*. Both of them, as I thinke, lodged in *QVÆSTORIO*, where it is likely the *Legati legionum* also were quartered, and in the free state the *Legati consulares*.

As soone as euer the tents were pitched, and campe settled, all which followed the campe both bond and free receiued an oath called *sacramentum castrense*, which according to *Polybius* was, *ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗΣ ΚΛΕΨΕΙΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΝ ΕΤΡΗΤΙΣ, ΤΟΥΤ' ΑΝ ΟΙΣΕΙΝ ΕΝΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΥΣ.* That is, That he should steale nothing out of the campe, but if any happened to find ought he should carry it to the *Tribunes*, lib. 6. and in another place he toucheth a matter of greater importance, concerning the iust representation of the spoile in the sacking of cities, a point most profitably induced, whether the spoile were to be referred to publike vses, or else diuided among the souldiers, wherof the worst sort are commonly most nimble that way. But chiefly it staied the mindes of those, who by the Generals commandement remained in armes in the market place against all sudden mischances of warre, being assured thereby of equall part with the rest in the prey which should be taken by others. *Aulus Gellius* setteth the very forme of the oath downe in more particular termes out of *Cincius de re militari*; *In exercitu decemque milia passuum propè situm non facies dolo malo solue, neque cum pluribus pluris nummi argentei in dies singulos. extraque hastam, hastile, ligna, pabulum, vtrem, follem, faculam, si quid ibi inueneris quod pluris nummi argentei erit, vti tu ad Coss. siue ad quem eorum alter iusserit perferas, aut profitebere in triduo proximo quicquid inueneris sustulerisue dolo malo, aut domino suo cuius id essebis esse reddes, vti quod rectè factū esse voles.*

In seruice the *Legionarie* souldiers had allowance of pay, corne and apparell: and at the end of his seruice a consideration in money, or land of inheritance, and sometimes both. For the pay *Liuy* writeth thus: *Anno urbis conditæ 349. decreuit Senatus vt stipendium miles de publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus munere esset.* The quantity *Polybius* limiteth in the sixth booke, at least as it was in his time, assigning to a footman the third part of a *drachma*, or two *oboli* by the day, which *Polybius* in another place resolueth into foure *asses*, to a *Centurion* twise so much, to a horseman a *drachma*, or Roman *denarius* then currant for twelue *asses*. This pay continued, as I suppose, in this forme till *Cæsars* time, qui legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicauit. *Suetonius* *Iulio*, cap. 26. So that the footmen had by the day eight *asses*, the *Centurion* sixteene, the horse twentie foure. *Augustus* increased the footmans pay to ten *asses* a day, and as it seemeth shortly after it rose to a full *denarius*. Besides wages the souldiers receiued in latter times *vestem de publico*, as it were some liuerie garment, not all his apparell, as I suppose. *Plutarchus* *Gracchis*, among the lawes which were established by *C. Gracchus*, one was, saith hee, *στρωτῆρας, ἐδῆται καὶ ἄων ὑμεσθία χορηγεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴδὲν εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἡμιποροῦς ὑφαιρῆσθαι.* That is, *Military*, commanding a garment to be giuen the souldier by the officer without any deduction of wages therefore, for before, as it appeareth by *Polybius*, they receiued apparell, and other necessities of the *Quæstor*, but the price was set vp in their wages. *Vegetius* lib. 2. cap. 19. *Imperatoris miles, qui veste & annonâ publicâ pascitur.* Thirdly they receiued *frumentum*. *Vegetius* in the place above alleged, *Imperatoris miles qui annonâ publicâ pascitur.* And in the free state.

Salust.

τ. ε. μὲν ἀνὰ μάλος
αὐτοὶ τοὺς χωροὺς
ἐξομαλίζονται.
Iosephus.

τ. Πολύβ. π. κ. λ. β.
ζον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς
πρὸς τὴν ἀσπίδα.

τ. ἰτερόμηναι

u *Polyb.* ὅταν δὲ
συμβαίῃ τὸν ὅ-
παιτος ἀμφοτέρω-
ρος χωροὺς στρα-
τοῦ. for so it must
be read, not ὡς
ἐστὶν. and in
the next line for
χωροὺς we are
contrarily to
read ὅπου.

a *Veget.* l. 2. c. 10.

b *Veget.* l. 2. c. 11.

c *Μετὰ τὴν στρα-
τηγίαν Πολύβ.
lib. 6. c. 10. ὅ-
ταν ἀθροισθῶσι
οἱ στρατοὶ εἰς τὴν
ἐκδοχὴν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
μὴ ὄντες εἰς τὴν
πελοπίαν.*

d *Lib.* 16. cap. 4.

e *Lib.* 4.

f The footman
alone: for three
yeers after *Equi-
ti* primum certum
nummerum erit
assignatus. *Liuius.*
g *Drachma* is the
eighth part of an
ounce, about 7 d.
ob English.

h *Tac.* 1. *Annal.*

Salust. Ingueth. Miles frumentum publicè datum vendere, panes in diem mercari. In Polybius time the price was deducted out of their wages, and so it continued long afterward: for Nero was the first, which vnto the Prætorians (who were in all preferments the foremost) *dedit sine pretio frumentum*, which before they had at some vnder price. Tacit. 15. Annal. The measure was to a footman for a moneth two thirds of an Athenian *Medimnus* of wheat: to a horseman two *Medimni* of wheat, and seven of oats or barley: as hauing, as it may bee supposed, a spare horse, and an attendant or two allowed. Polyb. lib. 6. Donat vpon Terence limiteth *dimensum serti* to be foure *modij* the moneth, precisely agreeing with the rate of Polybius footman in this place. For a *medimnus* contained iustly six *modij*, according to Tully *Frumentaria in Perrem*, Suidas, and others. Herodotus Polymnia vittaleth Xerxes people at a *chaenix* (that is, the fortie eighth part of a *medimnus*) a day, and that was indeed *ἡμερησίῳ τῷ ὄρῳ*, That is, a daies allowance. Suidas & alij, among the Græcians, somewhat lesse than Polybius rate, who alloweth thirty two *chaenices* the moneth. For the quantitie of *medimnus* and *modius* thus we may gather it. Quadrantall is the measure of a cubicall Roman foot. Festus and others. Now quadrantall containeth *tres modios* according to Volusius Mærianus, which is halfe a *medimnus*. So that a measure of a square Roman foot in the bottome, and the third part of a foot high, is the Roman *modius*: and of two foot high with the same bottome, an Atticall *medimnus*. Of our vulgar measures *medimnus* being lesse than a bushell and an halfe, and *modius*, which our common learning construeth for a bushell about a pinte lesse than a pecke. For consideration at the end of their seruice the old souldier had often times an assignement in land of inheritance, as after the second Punicke warre the Senate awarded to them which had serued in Africke *quod agri Samnitis & Appuli publicum populi Romani esset*, and at other times vpon like occasions. Sylla to the Legions which had serued vnder him in the ciuill warres. *ἐπέφερε πολλὰν ἐν τοῖς πελάεσσιν ἰταλίας γῆν, τὰ μὲν ἐν ἑστέρι ἀνέμντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ τὰς πέλας ἀφαιρέμεν*. That is, Distributed much land in Italie; some which had lien in common before, and some taking it by force from the owners: not only as in recompence of their former seruice, but much more to haue so many good souldiers at hand, whose fortune could not bee seuered from his, and whom he might raise in a moment the case so requiring. The like vpon like respects did Cæsar Iulius, placing his *veteranas legiones* in colonies about him. Antonius and Augustus conspiring against the state, named before hand eightene of the fairest and richest Cities in Italie, as Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Nuceria, Beneuentum, Ariminum, &c. which they promised to distribute and part among the souldiers after the warre, *αὐτῶν ἐδόξετο τε καὶ οἶκος*. That is, Both lands and houses: voiding all the old inhabitants, and accordingly for the most part performed it. vnder the Empire all provinces were replenished with such militar colonies. For consideration in money at the end of their seruice before Augustus time I finde no stint set downe. At the triumph after some great warre the souldier had some little remembrance: at the triumph of Africanus fortie asses a peece, two shillings six pence English. At the triumph of Paulus fortie five asses, double the Centurion, triple the horse. At the triumph of Pompey out of Asia a fiftene hundred drachmaes a common souldier, and the rest in proportion. so much was either wealth or ambition growen in so few yeeres. At the triumph of Cæsar after the ciuill warres the souldier a five thousand drachmaes, the Centurion ten thousand, the Tribune twentie thousand. Augustus reducing it to a certaintie vpon the Guard-souldier at the end of sixteene yeeres seruice bestowed five thousand drachmaes, vpon the Legionarie at the end of twentie three thousand. For the pay of the Auxilia, the allies in the free state had their pay and paymaster, from whom, as liuing in some equalitie of alliance, and yet recognizing a superiority. Some allowance in come they had euen in Polybius daies from the Romans. In Augustus time first, and so in the Empire the Sociall Auxilia carrying armes more for the maintenance of the Princes estate, than for the interest of their owne libertie, receiued their pay and other commodities of the Prince as well as the Legions.

It remaineth now to consider the number of the Legions and men which the Romans commonly armed, or armed at the highest, or possibly could arme. Rome in her infancie had onely one Legion, according to Dionysius and Varro, consisting of three thousand footmen, and three hundred horse, as before it is shewed: notwithstanding the words before alleged of Plutarch, a man of baser alloy, seeme to import a multitude. After the Camenenses, and Antennates were incorporated, the Romans had then, saith Dionysius lib. 2. six thousand Legionarie footmen, that is according to the vsage of that time, two complete Legions. In his armie against the Sabins, Romulus armed of his owne people, and from his grandfather twentie thousand footmen, and eight hundred horse. Dionysius. Afterward the Sabins being receiued into the citie, and the Camerini with others, at his death Romulus left the Citie furnished of fortie six thousand footmen, and little lesse than a thousand horse; a great and almost incredible increase in one mans raigne. In the time of Tullus Hostilius third King of the Romans by the ruines of Alba the Roman forces were doubled. Dionysius lib. 3. Which if it be true in Grammaticall vnderstanding, the state of Rome at that time was able to make welne an hundred thousand men to the field: an excessiue number of souldiers, seeing the whole cense, which contained all men aboue seuentene yeeres, not bond nor mechanicall, in Seruius time amounted but to eightie thousand, or eightie foure thousand seven hundred, as Liue and the same Dionysius doe witnesse; although Fabius Pictor indeed maketh it the number of men able for seruice, something approaching to our number collected by consequence out of Dionysius words. In the free state from the beginning in a maner without interruption, they commonly armed euery yeere foure Legions with their Auxilia, as Polybius an eye-witnesse, and Liue doe testifie, which according to the lowest reckoning of those times with the Auxilia make thirtie two thousand footmen, and foure and twentie hundred horse. And this was their ordinary yeerely stint, obserued euen in peaceable times, and as it were to keepe their hands in: a point of great consideration and necessarie vse in a warlike common-wealth. But how many they armed vpon occasions, or possibly could arme, is another consideration. In the battle ad lacum Regillum, Anno vrbis condite 257. the Romans put in the field twentie foure thousand, that is six complete Legions, as the Legion was then, and three thousand horse, five hundred as it seemeth to a Legion, which exceedeth greatly the vse of that age and the Latines, at that time enemies not Auxiliaries, fortie thousand footmen, and three thousand horse. In the cense two yeeres before were censed an hundred and fiftie thousand seven hundred. of which, exempting those which were aboue militare age, wee may reasonably presume the one halfe seuentie thousand at least to haue bene seruiceable men for the field. Anno vrbis condite 245. the yeere after the kings were excluded, the cense was

i The Roman foot lesse than ours by halfe our inch.

k Liu. lib. 31.

1 Appia 1. Epiph. which were, saith he, thirtie two, *τὰ ἐν ἐπιτομῇ 89* fortie seuen, as I thinke, by corruption of copie. m Seneca consol. lanad. Albanam c. 7. Hic populus quot colonias in omnes provincias misit? ubicunque vici Romanorum habitant.

n Liu. lib. 30.

o Liu. lib. 45.

p Appian. Mithr.

q 46. lib. 3. s. 9. d.

r Appian 2. Epiph.

s 156. lib. 5. s.

t Dio. lib. 55.

u Polyb. lib. 6.

v Liue in Romulus time. ad hos Romana legio ducta, saith he, in the singular number: and in the beginning of Tullus Hostilius, Romanas legiones iam spes deseruerat in the plural.

b Romulo eis σωπεῖν κατὰ στρατιὴν διέναι. καὶ ἐν δὲ σωπεῖν, καὶ πᾶσαν τετραλίαν, &c.

c δὲ κατὰ λόχους. d Dionys. lib. 2.

e According to Liue lib. 1. 900. horse in tribus centurijs.

f ὅτι τὰς σωπεῖν ἡ στρατιὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἰαμβίαν ἀπασαν διώματι καθόπιστος ἐκπλάττειν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλθόντι πολὺν ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ.

g Dionys. lib. 9. h lib. 1.

i lib. 8. k Dionys. lib. 6.

l Dionys. lib. 3. m an

m *Dionys. lib. 5.*

n For of the heads at least halfe be women, and of the other halfe scarce an halfe seruiceable men. Dionysius lib. 9 maketh one of his censuses but a quarter of the heads.

o Nouum: for otherwise the state in his time kept more than thirte so many in armes, or peraduenture it was but a slip of his pen.

p lib. 2. *συμπαρ πλῆθος ἢ δυνάμιν ἢ πλῆθος βούλειον, αὐτῶν τε ἰσχυρίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πᾶσι* *ζῶντων ἢ ὡς τὰς ἐξοδικήσονται μνησάμενος. ἰππῶν δὲ εἰς ἑπταμυριάδας.*

q *Liuius lib. 25.*

r lib. 26.

s lib. 27.

t *Epiuon Liui. 47*

u *Ep. 2.*

x *Epiuon 98.*

y 110. cohorts.

that is, 55000. *E.*

uocati 2000. 7. cohorts in castris.

3500. Summa

60500.

a *Ap. 3. & 4. Ep.*

b *Seneca consolati-*

one ad Polyb. c. 35

c *Dio lib. 55.*

d *Tacit. 4. Ann.*

e 3. *Hist.*

f *Dio. Prol. Geogr.*

g *Dio. in the*

place alleged,

and Pro'emus.

h 3. *Hist.*

i *Dio.*

k 2. *Hist.*

l *Dio.*

m 1. *Hist.*

n 2. *Hist. Dio.*

o 1. *Hist.*

p 3. *Hist.*

q 1. *Hist.*

r 2. *Hist. Plus.*

Othone.

s 1. *Hist.*

t 3. *Hist.*

u Which Tacit-

us 1. Hist. sec-

meth to call

Hispana.

x 3. *Hist.*

a 3. *Hist.*

b *Dio.*

c 2. *Hist.*

d 1. *Hist.*

e *Xiphil.*

f 2. *Hist.*

g 3. *Hist.*

h *Dio.*

i *Dio. Prol. Geogr.*

k 5. *Hist.*

l 1. *Hist.*

m 15. *Ann.*

n *Dio. Spartianus*

o 2. *Hist.*

p *Dio. Prol. Geogr.*

q 5. *Hist.*

r *Dio.*

m an hundred and thirtie thousand τὸν ἐν ἑβήρωμαίων. That is, Of those of seuentene yeeres and vppward. and the number of persons men and women aboue three hundred thousand. Now halfe of the cense, or a ^a quarter of the heads in common intendment being accounted men of the field, wee may probably conclude, that the state of Rome in those daies was able to put seuentie thousand, or not much lesse in armes. Anno urbis condita 260. *Quantum nunquam ante exercitus*, saith Liuy lib. 2. *legiones decem effecta.* Dionysius addeth, ἐξ αὐτῶν τετρακισχίλιον ἔχουσιν. That is, Each of them consisting of 4000. men. So that the Romans armed that yeere actually forty thousand men of themselves, without the *Auxilia* of the Latine nation, whom it was not thought conuenient as yet pati *tractare arma.* In the warre of the *Decemviri contra Sabinos & Aequos* ten Legions were leuiued συνεστράτευτο δὲ αὐτοῖς λατίνων τε καὶ ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁπληροῦν ἐκ ἐλαττοῦ τε πολιτικῆ πλῆθους. That is, Accompanied with as many more of the Latines, and other their allies, *Dionysius lib. 11.* Summe eighty thousand. Anno ab urbe condita 406. vpon the reuolt of the Latine nation, the Romans armed forty two thousand footmen, and three thousand horse. *Liuius lib. 8.* *Vndique non urbana tantum, sed etiam agresti iuuentute, decem legiones scripta dicuntur, quaternum millium & ducentorum peditum, equitumque trecentorum, quem nunc nouum exercitum, si qua externa vis ingruat, ha vires P. R. quas vix terrarum capit orbis contrahere in vnum hand facile efficiant; adeo in qua laboramus sola creuimus, diuitias luxuriamque.* Betweene the first and second warre Punicke, at what time the cense of the Citizens pricked about three hundred thousand, a full view being taken of the forces of them and their allies in Italie, there were found, as *Polybius* reporteth, aboue seuen hundred thousand footmen able to beare armes, and seuentie thousand horse, an incredible number if we compare it with latter ages: and produced by *Diodorus Sic. 2. Bibliot.* to confirme the admirable populousnesse of ancient times. notwithstanding that *Cæsar*, as *Appian* writeth *Κελπηῇ* in few yeeres fought in France with foure millions of men, a number comparable with *Xerxes* armie, which dried vp with drinking the riuers, sailed the mountaines, bridged the sea, as stories and Panegyrics make vs beleue. Anno urbis cond. 9538. & 539. & 543. in the second Punicke warre, the Roman state armed twenty three Legions, which according to the count of that time riseth to an hundred and fiteene thousand Legionarie footmen, and almost seuen thousand horse. After the third Punicke warre, in which time the cense was about foure hundred thousand, in bello sociali the Romans armed an hundred thousand: the *setij* as many of the contrarie side, beside sufficient garrison in their seuerall Cities. *Appian. Ep. 1.* In the ciuill warre of *Sylla* the Consuls had two hundred Cohorts of five hundred a peece, *Ep. 1.* and *Sylla* twenty three Legions, which *Appian* resolueth into an hundred and twentie thousand. on both sides two hundred and twentie thousand. In the Ciuill warre betweene *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, about which time the cense amounted to foure hundred and fifty thousand, *Pompey* had sixtie thousand and five hundred men, *Cæsar* eighty Cohorts, in which were but twenty two thousand, and two Cohorts *praesidio castris. lib. 3. de bello civili.* After *Cæsars* death when the peace was made at *Mutina* to trouble the state, *Octavius* had twenty Legions: *Antonie* twentie: *Brutus* eight: *Cassius* twelue: *Lepidus* three: *Dolabella* two; and at least one in *Africke*. Summe sixtie six: all at one time: which following the rate set downe in *Antonius* oration, 5. *Ep.* (an hundred and seuentie thousand souldiers in twenty eight Legions) in sixty six bringeth out better than foure hundred thousand, the greatest reckoning actually in armes that wee reade of hitherto in the Roman state. After the ciuill warres ended, *Augustus* settling the state, and remoouing armes out of Italie, established in the provinces and limits of the Empire twenty three Legions with their *Auxilia*, that is, according to the Positions already laied, two hundred seuentie six thousand souldiers. *Tiberius* maintained twentie five Legions, that is, three hundred thousand souldiers, placing in the two *Germanies* eight Legions: in *Spaine* three: *Africke* two: *Egypt* two: *Syria* foure: *Illyricum* six: to wit, two in *Pannonia*, two in *Moesia*, two in *Dalmatia*. Sum twenty five.

In *Galbaes* time the state maintained one and thirty Legions.

In *Britannie* three,

In *Spaine* two,

In *Gallia* ^m *Lugdunensi* one, ⁿ *Prima* ⁿ *Italica.*

In *High Germany* three,

In *Low Germany* foure, ^r

In *Pannonia* two,

In *Dalmatia* two,

In *Moesia* three,

In *Africa* one, *Tertia* ⁱ *Augusta.*

In *Egypt* two,

In *Syria* ⁱ foure,

Secunda ⁱ *Augusta.*

Nonia Hispaniensis.

Vicesima ^s *Victrix.*

^b *Sexta*, ⁱ *Ferrata.*

^k *Decima*, ⁱ *Gemina.*

^o *Quarta*, ^p *Macedonica.*

^p *Decima octaua*, *alias Duo et vicesima.*

^q *Vna et vicesima* ^r *Rapax.*

Prima.

Quinta.

Decima quinta.

Decima sexta.

^s *Septima* ⁿ *Galbiana.*

^t *Tertiadecima* ⁿ *Gemina.*

^u *Vudecima* ^b *Claudiana.*

^e *Quartadecima* ⁿ *Gemina.*

^d *Tertia* ⁿ *Gallica.*

^f *Septima* ^s *Claudiana.*

Octaua ^b *Augusta.*

^k *Tertia Cyrenaica.*

^l *Duo et vicesima Primigenia.*

^m *Quarta* ⁿ *Scythica.*

^o *Sexta* ^p *Victrix.*

^q *Duodecima* ^r *Fulminatrix.*

Vicesima, if the place be not corrupt in *Dio*, that there were two of that name continued from *Augustus* to his time. In

In Jewry & three,

At a Rome one,

In this Catalogue Prima Italica of Gallia Lugdunensis, Prima Adiutrix at Rome, and Septima Galbiana of Pannonie were conscribed by Nero and Galba: The seven Legions of Germanie, Duoervicesima of Egypt, and Nona of Britannie were established by Tiberius Caius, or Claudius, or peradventure some of them in the latter times of Augustus. All the other nineteene were vndoubtedly founded by Augustus, and in esse yeeres before Augustus death: for albeit two of them beare the name of Claudius, Vndecima Claudiana in this catalogue of Dalmatia, and Septima Claudiana of Mœsia, it was not because Claudius was their founder, but as Dio saith, *οτι αυτο εν τῃ τῆ Καρύλλῃ ἐπαριστάσει μηδ' αὐτε πολέμῳ*. The rest of the countries either had no souldiers at all, or but only some Auxiliary garrisons of cohorts and wings, *quas persequi*, saith Tacitus 4. *Annal. incertum est, cum usu imperij huc illuc mearent, gliscerent numero & aliquando minuerentur*. yet may we reasonably presume out of Tacitus words, that the Auxilia annexed to the Legions ioined to these locall, were in number not inferiour to the Legions considered alone. This number of Legions or thereabout we finde retained many yeeres in the Roman Empire. Fauorinus de Hadriano apud Spartianum, *Non rectè suaderis, familiares, qui non paucissimi me illum omnibus doctorem credere, qui habet triginta legiones*. In Alexander Seuerus time Dio reckoneth thirty two Legions wherof two and twenty are the same that wee haue found in Galbaes time, the nine remaining of the thirty one which we had vnder Galba, being miscarried in the meane time, or ioined to some other; to wit, Nona of the Brittish, all the seven Legions of Germany, and Vicefima secunda of Egypt, and for Quinta and Decimaquinta in low Germany we are assured by Tacitus of their ruine at Vetera. In stead of these nine thus decayed, we haue ten other named by Dio: Secunda Adiutrix, and Quarta Flauia enrolled by Vespasian; Prima Minerva by Domitian; Secunda Ægyptia and Tricesima Germanica otherwise called Secunda Traiana and Tricesima Vlpia by Traian; Secunda Italica and Tertia Italica by Marcus; Prima Parthica, Secunda Parthica, Tertia Parthica by Seuerus. The catalogue of the Legions which at this day is extant in the court of the Capitoll, and is evidently more moderne than Dio, hath the same number with Dio, and nine and twenty of the same Legions, only in the particular names in stead of Vicefima, Septima Galbiana, and Tertia Italica which are in Dio, it hath *Vicefima Secunda Primigenia*, *Septima Gemina*, and *Decima sexta Flauia*. and of the Legions in Galbaes time, that monument hath but only twenty, lacking (beside the same nine which are wanting in Dio) Septima Galbiana, and the Vicefima which we haue placed in Syria. Now thirty one Legions Imperiall, which in Galbaes time we doe finde, according to our suppositions containe an hundred eighty six thousand footmen, and eighteen thousand six hundred horse. The Auxilia of the one kinde and of the other in number not much otherwise. So wee haue in these times vsually maintained by the Empire, footmen three hundred seueenty two thousand, and horse thirty seuen thousand two hundred at the smallest reckoning. Whose ordinary pay, beside corne and some apparell, at one *denarius* or *drachma* a day for the footman, and three for the horse, beside the increase of wages giuen to the officers, amounteth by the yeere to an hundred seuentie six millions five hundred foureteene thousand *denarij*, in our money five millions five hundred sixteene thousand sixtie two pounds and ten shillings; which is more than the great Turke at this day receiueth in two yeeres toward all charges. And yet they maintained beside a Guard of many thousands for the Prince with double pay, another for the Prouost of the Citie, with many cohorts of Night watchers, and many armadaes with proper souldiers annexed, as shall be declared. Neither can we finde thorowout all the Roman storie for lacke of pay any disorder or mutinie to haue growen among the souldiers, though otherwise very matinouly disposed.

The service at home in the Citie was performed by three sorts of souldiers principally, *Prætoriani*, *Urbani*, and *Vigiles*. *Prætorium*, *σπαθήριον*, the Generals pavilion, be he Consull or Prætor, or else whatsoeuer: and *Prætorii cohorts*, a band of chosen men to the guard of his person, so named by Scipio Africanus, but induced before in Romulus time by the name of *Celeres*, selected *ex fortissimis et nobilissimis*, &c. αἱ (& non in bello solum, sed etiam in pace) οὗτοι αὐτὸν εἶχε τετακτομένους ὄντας ἀειμῶ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ σώματος καὶ περὶ τὰ κατεπεύχοντα τῶν ἐργῶν. That is, Whom alwaies he had about him, being 300. in number for the guard of his person and dispatch of vrgent affaires: Dionysius lib. 2. in the free common wealth not vsed, but abroad in the warre, till Sylla and Cæsar vsurping the state retained also at home as among enemies their vsuall guard. But Sylla resigning the state and his guard both at once, howsoever he is charged by Cæsar *nescire literas*, may seeme to haue folloved a better Grammar than Cæsar himselfe; who dismissing his guard and not his gouernment, committed a notable and dangerous solecisme in matter of state, and opened the way to his owne destruction. After the death of Cæsar the state being troubled, Antonius by permission of the Senate, *περὺν αὐτοῦ θέμισατο*, That is, Put a guard about his person, of six thousand chosen men. 3. Εμφ. And Octavius pretending enmitie against Antonius, returned out of Campania *εἰς μυρία δὴν ἀνδρῶν εἰς μόνον τοῦ σώματος φυλακὴν ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημειῷ*. That is, Bringing with him 10000. men vnder one Ensigne for the guard of his person onely. And a little after Antonius marching from Brundisium to Rome, *ἐκ πάντων στρατιῶν ἀπολεγὼν αὐτῶν ἀείρων τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὸν τεύχων ἀπέλεξατο*. That is, Selected out of his whole army a Prætorian cohort of the best and choisest men. In bello Philippenſi a Prætorian cohort of two thousand going toward Octavius, was intercepted at sea by those of the contrarie part. 3. Εμφ. and after the warre Antonius and Octavius *ἐτακτισ- χιλίους στρατιώτας δευδύντας ἐπὶ στρατεύειν σφίσι ἀποδεξάμενοι δίδλοντο, καὶ συνελόμισαν εἰς στρατιῶν τούτων*. That is, Receiued into seruice 8000. souldiers which desired to continue in pay, and distributed them into Prætorian cohorts. Εμφ. 5. and after the battell at Actium Augustus eschevving his fathers fault, and thinking it expedient for the safety of his person, maintenance of his state, and dispatch of affaires to haue in a readinesse a conuenient companie of souldiers in armes, established vnder the name of *Prætoriani* a guard of ten thousand men diuided into ten cohorts, saith Dio lib. 53. Tacitus 4. Annal. mentioneth but nine in Tiberius time. In Vitellius time *prauitate vel ambitu confusus ordo militiae, sedecim prætorie, quatuor urbanae cohortes scribebantur, quibus singula millia inessent*. 2. Hist. This guard of Prætorians consisted *ἐκ militibus Etruria ferme Umbriaque delectis, aut vetere Latio, & collonix antiqui-*

ius Romanis, differing in that point onely from the guard of Tyrannes in ancient times, which commonly consisted of mercenary strangers. and so the Emperours had also another guard of Germans, Tacitus 1. Annal. robor Germanorum qui tum custodes imperatori aderant. 13. Annal. Germanos super eundem honorem custodes additos. Sueton. Nerone. abductaque militum & Germanorum statione. Which guard Galba dissolved. Suet. cap. 12. Germanorum cohortem a Caesaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam multisque experimentis fidelissimam dissolvit, ac sine ullo commodo remisit in patriam. Dio lib. 55. maketh mention also of certaine horsemen of Batavia attending vpon the Prince. ξῖνοι τε ἡππεῖς ἐπιδεῖκτοι, οἷς τὸ ἑὸν βατὰύων ἀπὸ τῆς βατὰύας τῆς ἐν τῷ ῥήνῳ νῆος ὄνομα. ἐμέντοι ἀεὶ ἐμὸν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν εἰπεῖν δύναμαι. That is, Certaine choise horsemen strangers whom they call Batani of Batavia an isle in the Rhene; but the number of them I cannot precisely set downe. Of the Prætoriani some were horsemen, Tacit. 1. Annal. Additur magna pars prætoriani equitis. Sueton. Claudio. cap. 21. Africanas exhibuit Claudius consicente turma equitum prætorianorum, ducibus tribunis ipseque præfecto. most footmen, as Spiculatores, and other. Their proper office was δορυφορεῖν, (and also they are called of the Greeke writers δορυφόροι, and σωματεφύλακες) to watch and ward at the Palace every Cohort in their turne, or to accompany the Prince abroad in Forum, in Curiam, in conuiuium, &c. Tac. 1. Hist. Consultantibus placuit tentari animum cohortis, quæ in Palatio stationem agebat. and againe, Ann. 12. Egreditur Nero ad cohortem quæ more militie excubijs adest. Sueton. 1 Othone: Obstitit respectus cohortis quæ tunc excubabat. Tac. Annal. 1. Miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur. Dio lib. 60. ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις πάντως πάντες σπαρτάς σιωδόντας εἶχε, καὶ τὸτο μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνης κατὰ δειχθέν καὶ δεῖν αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι. That is, At banquets Claudius had alwaies some souldiers attending vpon him, which custome begun by him is continued euen to this day. And not only the Prince himselfe, but his wife, mother and children had likewise some of these Prætoriani attending vpon them. Tacit. 13. Annal. Excubias militares, quæ ut coniugi imperatoris olim, tum & ut matri seruabantur, degedi iubet. With Germanicus in Germany were duæ Prætorie cohortes, 2. Annal. whether of the body of the Roman guard, or after the ancient vse of the word, I cannot determine. And 1. Annal. Tiberius sendeth with his sonne Drusus vnto Pannonia duas prætorias cohortes. At the plaies I finde that a Cohort assisted to keepe good order. Tac. 13. Annal. Statio cohortis assidere ludis solita demouetur. Moreouer in accompanying Embassadors sent from the Prince, in doing executions and murders, and many other seruiceable points, they were by the Prince emploied. In the warre but seldome vpon vrgent occasions. Tacit. 1. Hist. Quod ratio aliâs prætorianus, urbanusque miles in aciem deducti. Of the Prætorian souldiers the principall officers were called Præfecti prætorio, Captaines of the guard wee may terme them chosen at the first out of militar men, till vpon the danger discovered that way, how vn safe it was to put such strength into mens hands of that quality though of meane birth, wisdome in latter times and skill in law was in that choise rather respected, as it appeareth by Papinian, Vlpian and other famous Lawviers preferred to that roome: by meanes of whom peradventure the place became in the end more iudiciall than militar; but at all times the greates office in the state. Zosim. lib. 2. ἡ τῆς πραιπορίων ἀρχὴ δευτέρῃ μετὰ τὴν σκήπτρον νομισμένη. That is, The office of the Præfectus prætorio is esteemed the next degree to the Prince. The number of them at the first institution was two. Mæcenas apud Dionem lib. 52. in his aduice to Augustus, τῆς δὲ δι' ἡππεῖων δύο τοὺς ἀείρους τῆς αἰεὶ σε δορυφύλαξ ἀρχὴν φησὶ γενέσθαι. τὸ, τε γὰρ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιτελεῖται σφοδρότης, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ταχὺ καὶ δεξιότατον. δύο τε ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν οὐκ ἐπαρχοῦντο, ἵνα αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἐπαίδηται πρὸς τὸ σῶμα, μὴ ποιεῖν καὶ ἐνδεῖς τῆς φυλάξεως σε εἶναι. That is, I counsell you to appoint two of the most choise persons of the Equites for captains of your guard, to commit it to one may breed danger, and to moe confusion, wherefore let there be two Præfecti prætorio, that if one be sicke, you may not want one to performe so necessary a charge. Agrippina perswaded Claudius to reduce the whole gouernment to one. Tacit. 12. Annal. Distraxit cohortes ambitu duorum, & si ab vno regerentur intensiore fore disciplinam asseruerante vxore, transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burrhum Afranum meritorie militaris fame. After whose death Nero againe duos prætorijs cohortibus imposuit. Annal. 14. In Galbas time Laco was only without any fellow. Otho made two, Plotius Firmus, and Licinius Proculus, as appeareth by Tacit. 1. Hist. and so consequently afterward, sometime one, sometime two, as it pleased the Prince. Now that which Mæcenas counselleth Augustus to chuse them ex equitibus Romanis, and no higher (lest their high birth should giue them courage perchance to attempt against their soveraignes) was obserued in a maner continually till the time of Alexander Mammææ, qui Præfectus Prætorij fuit, saith Lampridius, senatoriam addidit dignitatem, ut viri clarissimi & essent, & dicerentur: quod antea vel raro fuerat, vel omnino non fuerat: eoque ut si quis imperatorum successorem Præfect. Prætorij daret vellet, latitanti eadem per libertum submitteret. Notwithstanding in Vespasians time Titus præfecturam quoque prætorij suscepit, nunquam ad id tempus nisi ab equite Romano administratam. Sueton. • Tito. which opinion of Suetonius I find checked by Tacitus 4. Hist. where Aretinus Clemens before that time, quamquam senatorij ordinis, was made Præfectus Prætorio. Beside the two Captaines there was one Præfectus castrorum, Tribuni as many as Cohorts: and vnder the Tribunes Centuriones, & other petty officers, as in the armies abroad. Their pay was in the free state πρὸς ἑσκιπλεῖ, ἡμιόλιον, in the Empire double to that of the Legionary souldiers. The Senators, saith Dio lib. 53. παραυτίκα γὰρ τοῖς δορυφορήσασιν αὐτῶν διπλοῦσι τὸν μισθὸν τῷ τοῖς ἄλλοις σπληνῶταις διδόμενῳ προσέδιδαν, ὅπως ἀκριβὲς ἔφραξεν ἔχειν. That is, Immediately established a law, that those which should be of Augustus guard should receive double pay to the rest of the souldiers, to the end they might be more diligent and watchfull in their charge. Tacitus 1. Annal. limiteth the summe, An Prætorias cohortes, quæ binos denarios acceperint, &c. that is in our money fifteene pence, which no doubt is meant of the simple footman onely, for a Legionary horseman had more. These Prætorian bands in Augustus and part of Tiberius time, lying dispersed in the Citie and colonies about, were by Scianus vnited and placed together in castris prope viuarium constructis, τείχος, παρ' ἑμβολήν, or σπαργίον they called it in Greeke. Scianus, saith Tacitus 4. Annal. vim præfecturae modicam antea intendit, dispersas & per urbem cohortes vna in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent numeroque & robore & visu inter se, fiducia ipsis, in ceteros metus crearetur. pretendebat lasciuire militem diductum, si quid subiret in ingruat, maiori auxilio pariter subueniri, & seuerius acturos si vallum statuatur procul urbis illecebris. Suet. • Tiberio. Roma castra constituit, quibus prætorianæ cohortes vna ante id tempus & per hospitia dispersæ continerentur. The ruines are vnder the walles of Rome, as it is now not farre from S. Laurence gate. For afterward Constantine the great perceiuing the order to haue more of the bad in it than of the good, τὸν τε σπαργίον καὶ σπαρτάς ἐξέτερε καὶ τὸν οὐρανότα τὰ τέταρτα ἐχόντα κατέδαλε. That is, Cassed the Prætorian souldiers, and destroyed their campe, saith Zosimus lib. 2. retaining the name of Præfectus Prætorij still, but marring the office (saith the same Zosimus, who seldome saith

cap. 34.

cap. 6.

Sui princeps rerum iudiciorum summam commisit: qui & vice sacra iudicat, & censoriarum promissionum maximam potestatem habet: præter quem vel vicarium eius nullus magistratus habet plenissimum imperium morum.

Some other Grecians call them ὑποφύλαξ.

cap. 6.

Festus.

Suet. Augusto. 6. 49. neque unquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est. Augustus, castris sine castris, reliquas in hiberna & alia circa finitima oppida dimisit.

cap. 37.

lib. 2.

saith well of that Prince) by diuiding it into ⁴ foure, and weakening their authority. *Milites urbani* in Augustus ^a *Praefectus Pra-*
 timo (if Dio be not deceived, as I thinke hee ^a is) were in number six thousand, distributed into foure Cohorts, ^a *torij orientis, Pra-*
 or companies. Dio lib. 55. *οἱ τῆς πόλεως φρουρὰ ἑξακισχίλιοι τε ὅτε, καὶ τετραγὴν νευμυμμένοι*, in Tiberius and ^a *fectus Praes Illyri-*
 Caus time into three only. 4. *Annalium. Tres urbanae cohortes.* and Iosephus *ἀλώσεως* ^a lib. 2. *τεῖσι ταῖς συνμυμ-*
οῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιτελέσας φυλάξεν ἡ πόλις, which, as it appeareth by Suetonius ^a Claudio, were the ^a *PP. Gallie.*
urbane. in Vitellius time *quatuor urbanae cohortes quibus singula milia inessent.* Tacitus 2. Hist. Their gouernor was ^a *For in another*
 called *Praefectus urbis* *πολίρχος* taken *ex senatorio ordine*, whose office Dio describeth lib. 52. in Maecenas oration; ^a *place he writeth*
πολίρχος δὲ δὴ τις ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παύτα τὰ καθήκοντα ἀπεπολιτευμένων, ἀποικιεύων, ὅχι ^a *ὁ πολ. ἀρχὸς ἐλ-*
ἵνα ἀποδημιούτων περὶ τῶν ἰππείων (leg. ἀρχόντων, νεύσιαν ἀπὸ τῶν) ἀρχή, ἀλλ' ἵνα ταῖς ἀνὰ αἰὲς τῇ πόλει ^a *ταῖς ἐξ ὅ. and*
φρουρῇ, καὶ ταῖς δίκαις, τὰς τε παρὰ πάντων, ὧν ἔπον, ἀρχόντων ἐφοίμεις τε καὶ ἀναπομπῆς, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀναγ- ^a *Tacitus 3. Hist.*
ταῖς τε ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλὴν ὧν ἀν' ἑπὶ, καὶ ταῖς ἐξ ὧν αὐτῆς μέγιστα πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατοσίων σάδιων οἰκῶσι κείνη. ^a *maketh 600. an*
That is, Let there be a Praefectus urbis one of the greatest countenance, and such as before hath passed all degrees of honour ^a *extollit and dis-*
with commendation, not to gouerne in absence of other officers, but to undertake the government of the city both in other mat- ^a *order number*
ters, and namely to iudge in cases of appeale from other magistrates, and in criminal not only within the city, but within 650. ^a *for the Urbani.*
stadia round about. His office dured for life, vnlesse it pleased the Prince otherwise vpon desert or displeasure to de- ^a *x cap. 18.*
prive him. Dio lib. 52. ἀρχέτω διὰ βίου. Tacit. 6. Annal. sheweth the occasion of the foundation of the office in the ^a *a cap. 10.*
old common wealth, and the vse of it in the new. L. Piso Praefectus urbis recens continuam potestatem, et insolentia pa- ^a *b 1. Dig. quicquid*
tendi grauiorem mirè temperauit. Namque antea praefectus domo regibus, ac mox magistratibus, ne urbs sine imperio foret, in ^a *infra urbem ad-*
tempus deligebatur qui ius redderet, ac subitis mederetur. Ceterum Augustus bellis civilibus Cilnium Maecenatem equestr- ^a *ministrum, ad pra-*
ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam praeposuit. Mox rerum potius, ob magnitudinem populi, ac tarda legum auxilia, ^a *fectum urbis vide-*
sumpsit à consularibus, qui coereret seruitia, et quod audacia turbidum, nisi vim metuerat. Notwithstanding this new office, ^a *sur pertinere, sed*
the name and shadow of the old remained still, when the Consuls going forth ad insauranum sacrum in Albano ^a *et si quid infra*
monte, one or two of the yoong nobilitie were left for fashon sake, with title of Praefectus urbis, and authoritie of ^a *censuum mili-*
the Consuls. Tacit. 6. Annal. Duratque adhuc simulacrum, quoties ob ferias Latinas praefectus qui consulare munus usur- ^a *arium admissum*
pet. reade Sueton. Claudio cap. 4. Nerone cap. 7. Aulus Gellius lib. 14. cap. ultimo, but principally 1. Digest. tit. 12. ^a *fit, ad praefectum*
and 1. cod. tit. 3. 8. where the points of this office are set downe particularly. Vigiles were night-walking souldiers ^a *urbis pertinet.*
appointed by Augustus ad restringenda incendia, prohibenda à furta nocturna, &c. ex liberis and after ward of others ^a *so that Dio in*
to, seuered into seuen companies, with one Praefectus Vigilum, a Gentleman of Rome, Tribunes and other officers. ^a *this place see-*
Strabo lib. 5. ἐπιμελήθη μὲν ἐν ἡ Σελεύς Καῖσαρ τῶν τοῖσιν ἐλαττωμάτων τῆς πόλεως, ὥς μὲν τὰς ἐμπα- ^a *meth to make*
σεις συντάξας στρατιωτικὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τὸ βουδῆτον. That is, Against the inconuenience of fire by night Au- ^a *six stadia and an*
gustus appointed bande of souldiers taken à libertini generis hominibus. Dio lib. 55. ἐπεδὴ τε ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τότε πολλὰ ^a *halfe answerable*
τῆς πόλεως πνεὺ διεφθάρη, ἀνδρας τε ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἐπαχῆ ὥς ταῖς ἐπικλείας αὐτῆς κατέλεξετο, καὶ ἀρχόντα ^a *to a Roman mile.*
ἰππία αὐτῆς προσέταξεν, ὥς καὶ δι' ὀλίγα σφὰς διαλύσων, ἡ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπείσθη τότε κατὰ μαδὸν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας ^a *a Cassiodorus de*
καὶ χρησιμότητι καὶ ἀναγκαστικῇ τῷ παρ' αὐτῶν βοήθειαν ἔσται, ἐτήρησεν αὐτῆς. καὶ εἰσι καὶ οἱ νυκτοφύ- ^a *praefecto vigilum*
λακες ἔτοι ἴδιον πᾶσι τρόπον, ἐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἑπ' ἑκαστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων στρατευόμενοι, καὶ τελεῖν τε ^a *quis furia in fura-*
ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχουσι, καὶ μὲν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων φόροι. That is, Because about that season many parts of the city were wasted ^a *bus facit, dum illos*
by fire, Augustus to meet with such mischances chose out à libertinis seuen companies, appointing an Eques for their gouernor, ^a *nocturn circum-*
meaning it only for a time. Howbeit by experience finding the vse and necessity of that institution he retained it still, & so they ^a *uicis*
remaine euen to our daies, call ed not only à libertinis, but of others also, and haue their camps in the city & pay of the state. ^a *d De officio pra-*
The city of Rome though opportunely seated for sea matters, as being distant onely fifteene miles from mare ^a *fecti vigilum vi.*
Tyrrhenum, and hauing the riuer of Tiber passing thorow the citie of conuenient bredth, and for depth able to ^a *de Dig. 1. tit. 15.*
cary small vessels, neuerthelesse many hundred yeeres neglected the seruice. Which thing peraduenture among ^a *cod. 1. tit. 43.*
others was not the least cause which maintained the state in integritie, and preserved it so long without corrupti- ^a ** In Polybius it*
ons, of which the trafficke, and seruice by sea, as these Politickes make vs beleue, is the principall mother and ^a *is onely called*
nurse. Notwithstanding a conquering state, and they which will liue ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν βίον, must necessa- ^a *κατεργασίας. but*
rily haue καὶ ταῦτ' αὐτῶν δυνάμιν ὥς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς σύμμετρον. That is, Either as Lords of others or in libertie them- ^a *being the pattern*
selues, must necessarily haue a competent power that way also. Arist. 7. Politic. And generally no state may looke to stand ^a *after which the*
without notable molestation, and danger of ruine, much lesse to enlarge, which in any kinde of seruice, on foot, or ^a *Romans framed*
on horsebacke, or by sea is quite defective and vtterly disfurnished, although perhaps it cannot in all attaine to ^a *their first ships*
that degree of perfection, which some of their neighbours haue attained vnto. Wherefore the Romans in the first ^a *(which were five*
Punicke warre hauing to deal with the Carthaginians, vndoubted Lords of the sea, ἐκ ἀπορρόνων, That is, Of a long ^a *to one πιντα-*
time euen from their ancestors, and perceiving the error, in the yeere ab urbe condita 490. determined to apply them- ^a *κα) it may pro-*
selues, and diligently to attend to that part of seruice: hauing before, as Polybius reporteth, not onely no nauies ^a *bably be conclu-*
secte, but no nauies longe at all, no not so much as any lembus or passage boat, but only vpon borrowing. As for the ^a *ded, it was a πιν-*
Quinquereme a principall shippe of warre, their shipwrights knew not any way what it meant, till such time as ^a *ταῖς.*
** one of the Carthaginians by great good chance was in the strait at Regium runne vpon ground, and so being* ^a *ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη*
taken by the Romans, the shipwrights vsed it for a patterne. Againe the men which were mustered, hauing ne- ^a *ἀδελφοὶ πιντα-*
uer serued at sea, were set vpon benches in the same order, and taught by practise vpon the dre land to keepe their ^a *μοῖς τῆς δαλν-*
time and measure in strokes. And this was indeed the first time the Romans attended to seruice by water; although ^a *της, τότε δὲ ἀπο-*
some Roman writers vpon a vanity and ambition haue reported, anno urbis conditae 329. classe ad Fidenas pugnatum ^a *τον ἐν τῷ λαμβάν-*
fuisse cum Veientibus. which perhaps was some braule betweene bargemen; as indeede the riuer is so strait at that ^a *ειντας. Polyb.*
place, that scarce two barges can passe one by another. And Liuy not altogether free of the humour, in his for- ^a *lib. 1.*
mer bookes maketh solemn mention of the nauie, of Praefectus ora maritima, Duumiri nauiles, socij nauiles, and so ^a *8 Apud Liternum*
foorth, which either were not at all, or not to any purpose of warre. For as concerning matter of merchandise, ^a *lib. 4.*
many yeeres before, Ancus Marcius perceiving that Tiber at the mouth yeelded commoditie of hauen, builded ^a *lib. 9. and Flo-*
Ostia to lade and vnlade wares there, ἡ μόνον ἐπερῶπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δαλατίων πλεονεξίας τῶν βασιλέων ἡλῆδα. ^a *rus lib. 1. c. 11. a-*
That is, So that Rome was not onely serued of whatsoeuer the countrey about did afford, but by that meanes provided also of ^a *bout the time of*
sea commodities. Dionysius lib. 3. And yet to say true, I see not how that opinion of Polybius can in rigour stand ^a *the war with the*
with the causes of the Tarentine warre some yeeres before that time, alleged by the common consent of all the ^a *Latines: extant &*
 ^a *parta de Antio*
 ^a *spolia, capta hosti-*
 ^a *um classe, & ianem*
 ^a *illa classis. nam*
 ^a *sex fuerat rostratae.*
 ^a *sed hic numerus*
 ^a *illis inanis natus*
 ^a *bellum fuit.*

Roman stories, but specified most particularly by Appian in his fragment *ἡ δὲ ὁμοθυμῶν*, and the Epitome of Liuy lib. 12. first that there was an ancient league with the Tarentines, *μὴ πλεῖν Ῥωμαῖοις πέραν Λακινίου ἀνδράς*: That is, That the Romans with their ships should not passe the point called Lacinium; which sheweth that the Romans haunted the sea. Then that the Roman *Duumvir* went with ten *naves* to survey the coasts of *Magna Grecia*, whereof foure were sunke, one taken, and the *Duumvir* slaine. But whether now first or otherwise, the Romans vpon the occasion before mentioned entring the sea, brought thither from their seruice by land, saith Polybius, a kinde of violent proceeding, as though winde and weather notwithstanding, what once they had determined to doe, that they must necessarily goe thorow withall. Which maner of contending and struing or rather enforcing of Fortune, as it is by land commendable, and to the Romans hath bene cause of infinite good, so by sea against that wilde element it did them more harme, than their enemies the Carthaginians did; who although through their long experience by sea they excelled the Romans in skill and agilitie *τῷ τ. χυναυτείῳ*, yet *τῷ βεζομαχείῳ*, *καὶ τῷ ἀρετῇ τῷ ὁπλιβατόν*. That is, At handy strokes in grappling, and valour of souldiers being interior, they were at the length inferior in the whole.

Ships, as farre as concerneth our purpose, were of three sorts: of warre, of burden, and of passage: the first rowed with oare, the second gouerned with saile, and the last often towed with cords. Ships of passage by sea, were either for transportation of men, *ὁπλιταγωγὴ*, called also *σπαρτωτίδες*, *πείρα*, *ὁπλιβάδες*: or of horses, *ἵππαγωγὴ*, ἢ *ἵππιροι*, hippagines. ouer a riuer, or some short cut peradventure by sea, *πυγμαῖα*, feriboats, if the number were few; and to passe whole armies with their cariage *χεῖμα*, *rates*, planks or fagots tied together. Ships of burden, *oneraria*, *φορητοὶ*, *ὁλκίδες*, hulkes. which word our vulgar language also retaineth, were for cariage of victuall and other prouision, sometime for transportation of souldiers also. Of ships of warre the most principall and of greatest seruice were *naues longa*, *μακροὶ πλοῖα*, so named of their forme most apt both to be weelded and to make way, whereas ships of burden were commonly built bigge in the belly, and more round for capacitie. Now *longae* were sorted againe into their seuerall kinds, according to the number of banks and oares placed one aboue another, as I take it, though peradventure not directly. Some I know haue concluded otherwise, that in the *Trireme* for example, three men with three oares sate vpon one banke, and some other, that three men pulled at one oare, directly against both the authoritie of ancient writers produced by themselves, and contrarie to the ancient portraictures of *triremes* remaining yet to bee seene: so incredible a thing it seemed to beleue that which in our gallies now adaies they neuer saw: whereas in truth Zosimus telleth vs, that very many yeeres before his time they had discontinued to make any *triremes* at all: as indeed from the battell at Actium, till the battell betwene Constantine the great and Licinius at Hellespont, I doe not remember by sea any action of moment. His words be lib. 5. *δοκῶσι δὲ πῶς ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ταχυαυτεῖν περὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, κατὰ πολὺ ὅτι τριημικῶν ἐλαττωμένα, πλείους ἐπὶ τῆς τέρας ἐκλιπῆσιν ἡμετέρας. εἰ καὶ πολὺ βίβη ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης πῶς ἐδόξατο ἢ ἡμετέρας πλοίων τὰ μέτρα, οἷς φαίνονται πλάτους καὶ ῥαυτῆς Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ καρχηδόνιοι πολεμήσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους.* That is, These ships (speaking of the *Liburnicae*) are as swift at sea as the galley of fiftie oares, but nothing of the like seruice to the *trireme*, which kinde of ship thou many yeeres hath not bene built, although Polybius describeth the measures and proportions of the *Hexeres* as vsuall ship in the warres betwene the Carthaginians and Romans. But howsoever, some different circumstance in the maner of rowing produced the different kinds of *Naues longa*. For generally the ships of warre, as before wee haue said, although in the flight, and otherwise for speed, both oare and saile were vsed, in the combat were directed only by oare, as being a thing very seruiceable in those calme seas, and more at commandement. The most vsuall kinds of *Naues longa* in the Roman warres, especially ancient, were these three: *Triremis*, *Quadriremis*, and *Quinqueremis*: *τεῖρης*, *τετάρτης*, καὶ *πεντῆρης*, exceeding one another by one rancke of oares, and consequently rowed with more strength, and builded more high. In the ninth yeare of the first punicke warre the two Admirals were *Hexeres*, as Polybius lib. 1. And in the writers of Roman stories we haue mention also about this number, though seldome vsed in the Roman warres, as of *Hepteres*, *Octores*: *ἑπτάρης*, *οκτώρης*, *δωδεκάρης*, *δωδεκάρης*, *τετρακαίδεκάρης*, *πεντακαίδεκάρης*, *πεντεκαίδεκάρης*. Philip of Macedonie father to Perseus had an *ἐκκαίδεκάρης*. Polybius in fragment. which place Liuy translateth thus: *Regiam unam inhabitabilis prope magnitudinis, quam sexdecim P. versus remorum agebant.* And yet the Egyptian Kings exceeded vsque ad viginti, *ἑξήκοντα* versus remorum, *εἰκοσῆρης* καὶ *τετρακοντῆρης*: and Philopator as Plutarch and Athenæus testifie, built one of fortie rankes, *τετρακοντῆρης*, more like to a castle or palace, then a shippe, being in length foure hundred and twenty foote, and in height seuentie two, containing foure thousand rowers, other marriners foure hundred, and almost three thousand souldiers. On the other side vnder *Triremis*, there were two perfect kinds, *Biremis* & *Moneres*, and two vnperfect, *ἡμιολία* and *τετρημολία*. *Biremis*, in Greeke *δίρης*, and more vsuall *διηρη* consisted of two rankes of oares; of which the fittest for seruice, both of lightnesse and swiftnesse were called *Liburnica*, as Appian saith of the *Liburni* a people in Dalmatia who were the inuentors of that fashion and building: albeit in later times, as it may seeme by Vegetius and others, all shippes, though of more or fewer rankes than two, built after that manner, were generally called *Liburnicae*. *Moneres* mentioned by Liuy lib. 38. was a galley consisting of one simple ranke, whereof I remember five kinds specially named; *εἰκοσῆρης*, or *Actuaria viginti remorum*, of twenty oares, *τετρακοντῆρης* which had thirty (named also by Polybius in fragment, as it seemeth to me *τετρακοντῆρης*) *πεντακαίδεκας* which had forty, *πεντηκοντῆρης*, which had fiftie, as the galleyes now adaies commonly haue, and *ἑκατόντῆρης* which had an hundred. The Grecians vsed *μοιόκρητος*, and more vsuall *κέλης*, which Gellius translateth *celox* as euivalent to *Moneres*: and so that gradation in the list of Polybius seemeth to induce; *τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τεῖρης, καὶ διηρη, καὶ κέλης*. Of the vnperfect kinds *ἡμιολία* and *ἡμιόλητος* seemeth to haue bene a ship furnished with one ranke and a halfe onely, as it were betwene a *Moneres* and a *Biremis*: and *τετρημολία*, betwene a *Biremis* and a *Triremis*, with two rowes and a halfe. These foure kinds vnder the *Trireme*, although being built as I suppose, *ad formam longarum nauium*, yet are not so generally comprehended by the name, but in the writings of approved authours stand often times in opposition to *longae*, and some of the kinds to *μάχιμοι* also. Liuius lib. 21. seuereth *celoces*, and lib. 38. *τετρακοντακώπης*, from *longae*. Thucydides in his proeme

seemeth

seemeth not to allow the name of *μακρόν πλοῖον* to *πεντηκόντες*, and yet to some other vnder the Trireme, where- as Herodotus, Cho, expressly nameth it *πεντηκόντες*, the same which in ^b another place setteth both *πεντηκόντες* and *πεντηκόντες* in opposition to ships of war: and so doth ^c Plutarch, Catone, by oversight *Liburnica*. and that some of the *Moneres* also were *μακρόν*: it is cleere by Liny lib. 38. *Neue monerem habere ex belli causa*, which else were a vaine and needlesse addition. Beside these sorts diuersified, as wee see, by the number of rowes, we haue in the stories particular mention of others, as *Myoparones*, *Tristes*, *Phaseli*, *Cerenti*, &c. differing per aduen- ture from those we haue reckoned in the fashion and maner of building, as being in some part built like to the *Lon- ge*, and in part to the hulks, as Appian 5. *Εμφ.* witnesseth, namely ^d *Phaseli triemites*. And these kinds of shipping wee finde also to haue beene employed in seruice by sea, sometime principally, and sometime *ως ερηπιδ*, and as accessaries to others. And thus much of the different fashions of ships of warre, which againe were diuided in *τε- τας* & *απertas*: *rustatas*, *turritas*, and such as were otherwise. *Tetas*, or *constrata*, *κατόκρεα*, so called because they had *κατοστρώματα*, hatches: *απertas*, *ερεπιδ*, hauing none: although *αφρακτον* in the neuter gender in some places of Tully, Diodore, Plutarch, &c. seemeth to stand for some speciall kinde of ship, and *κατόκρεα* in Po- lybius for a Quinquereme. The greater ships, as *Quadrantus* and vpperward, had alwaies, as farre as I remember, hatches: the *Triemes* and ^e *Biremes* sometimes otherwise: the rest that were vnder in a maner alwaies *απertas*. *κατοστρώματα* were induced to the end that the ship might be more capable of souldiers for her defense, *Ναυαν- τικά*, saith Pliny lib. 7. *ex proutantum & puppi pugnabatur*. and in the warre with Xerxes, the Athenian ships, saith Thucydides, *επι εἶχον δια πῶσης καταστρώματα*. *Rustrata*, *serata*, *χαλκήρεας* ἢ *χαλκίμβολοι*, were such as had *ro- stra ex ere*, *εμβόλες* ἢ *χαλκίμβολα*. *Rustrata* were common to all ships of warre, greater or smaller, couered or open, to all such at the least, which were to encounter with the enemy: in *Speculatorijs*, and such like that were meere *ερηπιδ*, being not greatly materiall. For whereas in their maner of fight by sea there were three ordinary waies to offend, either to breake the enemies ship by running against it, to wipe away her oares, or to kill the souldiers which stood at defence vpon the hatches, and so boord her, for performing the first it was meet that their owne should be surely and strongly headed for that encounter. *Turrita*, *πυργχοι*, which had *ad proram & puppi turri- um propugnacula*, *ut in mari quoque*, saith ^f Pliny, *pugnaretur velut e muris*. Pollux maketh mention of *πυργχοι* ^{lib. 32.} *δεξιον* & *εναυον*, That is, The right and left turret, which were on the sides.

The officers in the naue were *Præfatus classis*, Admirall of the whole Armada; *Dumviri* in the ancient storie, when as two were ioined in the commission. *Trierarchus* gouernour of a particular shippe, then *Gubernator*, the Master, *κελευς*, and other vnder officers: the rest *socij navales* or *milites*, *πληρώματα*, ἢ *ἐπιβόται*. againe *socij navales* of two sorts, *ερεπιδ*, *remiges* to handle the oare, or *ερηπιδ*, whom Cæsar calleth *nautæ*, for the other serui- ces in the ship. *Socij navales* in the free state were collected *ex vltimæ classis hominibus*, or *ἐκ τῶν ὑποτέτακτοι* *δραχμῶν τετρακιδίων*, as ^g Polybius speaketh; in latter times *ἐκ τῶν Δαλματίων, Παυονίων*, &c. The souldiers, *ἐπιβόται*, most commonly Legionarie, accommodated both to fight at sea, and vpon occasion to make their descent into the land: and in latter times to euery Armada was annexed his proper Legion with the Legionary officers appertai- ning. In the first Punicke warre we haue example in ^h Polybius of three hundred *remiges*, and an hundred and twenty *ἐπιβόται* in each of the ships of war: and likewise a diuision of the Armada into foure ranks: the first cal- led ⁱ *prima legio & prima classis*: and in consequence the second, and third; the fourth *triary*: but I finde little men- tion of this diuision in the practise of latter times. In the fift yeere of the first Punicke war, and first of their seruice by sea against the Carthaginians, the Romans manned but an ^m hundred Quinqueremes, and twenty Triremes. Florus ⁿ lib. 2. increaseth the number, 160. *navium classis intra sexagesimum diem quam casa flua fuerat, in ancoris stetit*: of so wonderfull a dispatch must they be, which will be Lords of the world: and yet that of the elder Scipio was more martiallous, who *die quadragesimo quinto quam ex seluis detracta materia erat, naues instructas armatasque in aquam deduxit*, and that being not assisted by the publike purse. In the ninth yeere of the said Punicke warre, 330. according to Polybius were manned. But Regulus the same yeere, saith Appian. *λίσυκη*, sailed into Africke with three hundred and fiftie: Æmilius and Fulvius had ^r three hundred sixtie foure shippes of seruice in the same warre, which number can hardly be matched againe in the Roman state in many yeeres after. In the second Pu- nicke an hundred and sixtie, and two hundred, or not much aboue. Against Antiochus they manned but eightie, and at other times the like in their more flourishing state. Which doubt Polybius also noteth in ^s his storie, but leaueth the solution to another place. For although the number of three hundred sixtie foure seeme not so excel- sine, yet such and so great was the fleet, by reason of the qualitie of ships, that not only the Grecian and Macedo- nian, but euen the Persian power, which couered the sea with twelue hundred saile, could not by Polybius iudge- ment stand in comparison. After Polybius time Pompey in bello ^t *Piratico* had not aboue two hundred and seuen- tic. But in the ciuill warre he had, as ^u Appian witnesseth, six hundred *naues longas ἐντελῆς τῆς πληρώμασι*. And Augustus after he had driuen Sex. Pompeius out of Italie ^v six hundred *longas naues* of his owne, beside seuentene which fled with Pompey, and the navy of Antony; who shortly after the battell of Actium furnished five hundred ships of war (*μαχίμους ναυς*) where Augustus had two hundred and fiftie. Plutarch Antonio. And this was, as I take it, the greatest reckoning in the Roman state. For whereas wee reade of ^w sixtene hundred with Sylla out of Asia; ^x a thousand with Germanicus in Germanie, and such like; they are not to be otherwise intended but as vessels to transport, not for the warre.

After the ciuill warres ended, Augustus hauing as it were walled the state with Legions, and Aids by land, as be- fore we haue shewed, established also, to guard the Empire by sea, two ordinarie Armadaes in Italie, the one at Mi- senum in mari infero to protect & keepe in obedience France, Spaine, Mauritania, Africke, Egypt, Sardinia & Sicily: another at Rauenna in mari supero to defend & bridle Epirus, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, Creta, Cyprus, &c. and out of Italy one in ^y Ponto Euxino for defense of those countries consisting of forty ships at the beginning of Vespasians time. Egesippus lib. 2. Beside these Armadaes which remained ordinarie for defense of the Empire, *proximum Gallie littus*, saith ^z Tacitus, *rostrata naues præsidebant, quas Actiaca victoria captas Augustus in oppidum Forouiniense miserat valido cum remige*: and beside *apud idonea prouinciarum sociæ triremes*. Claudius adioining Britanny to the Empire, ad- ioined also the British Armada. And not only by sea, but also vpon the riuers, which bordered the Empire, seuerall naues were maintained, as *Germanica classis* vpon the Rhene, *Danubiana classis*, & *Euphratensis*. Tacitus and others.

^b Polyptia.
^c ἵσαν δὲ πινυ-
κοῦν μὲν ἐκ ἰ-
λάπης: ἐν μὲν
μὲν, λοβερμὲν δὲ
πομπῇ δὲ.

^d ὁπλίσκοντι ἐν τῇ
ορεπιδῶν ναυὶ
μακρόν.

^e Liburnica con-
strata Plutarch.
Antonio & con-
trarily the δια-
τα in opposition
to κατόκρεα.
Appian. Mithr.

^f lib. 32.

^g lib. 6.

^h 3. Hist.

ⁱ Veget. lib. 4. c. 31.

^k lib. 1.

^l ὁπλίσκοντι ἐν τῇ

^m κατόκρεα.

ⁿ περὶ τῆς ναυὸς

^o ὁπλίσκοντι ἐν τῇ

^p κατόκρεα.

^q ἐκ τῶν ὑποτέτακτοι

^r δραχμῶν τετρακιδίων.

^s Polyb. lib. 1.

^t cap. 2.

^u Polybius p. 16.

^v maketh it an in-
credible thing in
three moneths:

^w but the number
of the ships was
greater then, to
wit, 220. εἰκοσὶ

^x καὶ διακοσίαι σκα-
φῶν τῶν σκαυ-
λῶν ἐν τῇ ναυί.

^y λαβόντων, ὡς καὶ
πιστεύεται παλαιοῖς.

^z Pliny lib. 28.

^{aa} extremo.

^{bb} Polyb. lib. 1.

^{cc} lib. 1. καὶ πρὸς τὴν

^{dd} πρὸς τὴν αἰτίαν

^{ee} διαπορεύσεως τῆς αἰ-

^{ff} ἐπὶ καρακτηκότες

^{gg} τῶν ὁπλίσκων, καὶ πολ-

^{hh} λαπλάται ἔχον-

ⁱⁱ τες ὡς ἔφαθ' ὁ γὰρ τὸν

^{jj} ὡς ἔφαθ' ὁ γὰρ τὸν

^{kk} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{ll} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{mm} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

ⁿⁿ πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{oo} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{pp} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{qq} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{rr} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{ss} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{tt} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{uu} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{vv} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{ww} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{xx} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{yy} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

^{zz} πλοῦς, ὡς αἱ

THE EXPLICATION OF A Place in POLYBIUS, with a defence of the *common copie against the opinion of certaine great learned men, wherein also the reason of the militar stipend is declared.*



POLYBIUS lib. 2. discoursing of the excellent and miraculous fertility of Lombardy, maketh report that a man in his Inne might there be well and plentifully entertained for halfe an *assis* a meale, which is, saith hee, the fourth part of an *obolus*. His words in our common printed books be these, *πέντα τὰς χαταλύσεις οἱ διοδούντες τῷ χρέοντι τοῖς πανδοχείοις, ἡ συμφωνίᾳ τε. οὐ γὰρ καὶ μισροὶ ἐπὶ τῇ δειπνῇ, ἀλλ' ἐραταί-
τες, πῶς τὸν ἀνδρα δέχοται. ὥς μὴ ἔν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ παρένται τοῦ χαταλύτα, οἱ
πανδοχεῖς, ὡς ἰκανὰ παρ' ἔχειν τὰ πρὸς τῷ χρέοντι, ἡμισυαυτῶν. ὅτε δ' ἐστὶ τέταρ-
τον μέρους ὀβολῷ. σπανίως δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὀβόλῳ.* That is, They which travel that country,
are entertained in their Innes, not bargaining by parcell, but demanding how much in grosse
they must pay for a man. and for the most part the hosts give entertainment with allowance of
all necessarie things for halfe an *assis*, that is, the fourth part of an *obolus*, sold me exceeding

that rate. For the better declaration whereof wee are to vnderstand, that *Drachma* was a Grecian silver coine weighing precisely the eighth part of an ounce, and vsually diuided into six *Oboli*: That *Drachma* and *Denarius* according to the most testimonies in number and most pregnant in prooffe against the fewer and more doubtfull, of the ancient stories are interchangeably vsed, and so construed in the one and the other tongue, as precisely equi- valent: That *Denarius* contained precisely and in all ages foure *Sestertij*: and at the first was currant for ten *Assis* onely, as the name also importeth: but afterward went at a higher reckoning, sometime for sixteene. So that of our silver, whereof five shillings sterling maketh the ounce, *Drachma* or *Denarius* weighed seven pence halfe-peny: and *Obolus* was in value peny farthing: *Sestertius*, peny halfe-peny farthing: *kue*. *Assis* at the first institution, halfe-peny farthing: and when the *Denarius* went at sixteene *Assis*, of our money but farthing *kue* cee pricke. And if at any time *Denarius* was currant for twelue *Assis*, as Polybius seemeth to make it in this place, then one *Assis* was worth halfe-peny *kue* of English money; and an halfe *Assis*, farthing cee, the price of a mans dinner in his Inne in Lombardie. This saying of Polybius seemeth to Budze an impossibilitie, and to D. Hottoman, pag. 20. of his booke *de re nummaria*, a miracle. Which if Hottoman had said, and said no more, it had beene well said: for as a miracle Polybius put it downe, and so it may seeme much more vnto vs, considering the prices of things in our age. But Hottoman not contenting himselfe to accept it as a miracle, not with that most true and iustificable consideration, as anon shall appeare, that money hath his value by position, and not by nature, by the helpe of that blessed Art of correcting old copies proceedeth to amend the place, in stead of *ἡμισυαυτῶν*, an halfe-*assis*, reading *τεῖτε ἡμισυαυτῶν*, that is, two *Assis* and an halfe: and in stead of *τέταρτον μέρος ὀβολῷ*, the fourth part of an *Obolus*, *τέταρτον μέρος δραχμῆς*, the fourth part of a *Drachma*: the word *τεῖτε*, as he gesseith, being written not at large, but by note. *ε*. which the next copier not vnderstanding left out: and the note. *ε*. signifying a *Drachma*, easily slipping into *ε*, which signifieth an *Obolus*. And to strengthen his correction he addeth further, that it is a thing neuer heard of, *ut drachma, siue denarius duodecim assibus aestimaretur*, (which must needs follow by Polybius words, as they are printed) *sed vel decem duntaxat, vel sedecim*. And so by the aid of that sacred art of Criticks we haue the price of a mans dinner to be a *Sestertius*, or the fourth part of a *Drachma*, in our money peny halfe-peny farthing *kue*: a correction both more miraculous and impossible than the text as it standeth. For Polybius himselfe the best witnesse of the vse of his age, in his sixth booke setteth downe the Roman footmans pay to the supporting of all charges to be two *Oboli* a day. So that the souldier in three daies toward his diet and all other charges, which, as it shall appeare, were many and great, shall haue but a *Drachma*; and if a quarter of a *Drachma* be the price of a meale in a most plentifull countrey, in a most plentifull countrey in two daies his three daies wages are spent in bare meat alone, which me thinkes is a miracle as great as the other, vnlesse souldiers keepe more fasting daies than others, who, as Xenophon saith somewhere, are men which cannot commonly liue of the least. And lest a man might suppose, that Hottoman would haue laied a heavy hand vpon this other place also, if it had happened into his fingers, when this correcting humour was predominant in him, we haue, by good fortune, his owne words to approoue the common reading of the printed copy heerein for good and autenticall. His words be these, p. 164. of his booke *De re nummaria*: *Modum stipendij Polybius lib. 6. scribit suo tempore, hoc est sub initium belli Punici tertij* (for so he wrote, or so he should haue written, not *secundi*) *fuisse in peditem duorum obolorum*. And surely to him which considereth how many things the souldier had to furnish himselfe out of his wages of two *Oboli* or eight halfe-*asses* a day beside his diet, as armor, apparell, tents, and such like recorded by Tacitus and others, it cannot seeme strange that in a most fruitfull and almost miraculously cheape countrey hee might haue one meale for the eighth part of his daies wages, which in other ordinarie places arose peradventure to as much more, and euen there was not, as it appeareth by the very words of that text, alwayes so little. Now that so great cheapnesse of victuall is neither impossible nor greatly miraculous, but onely to vs that iudge of that world by our owne, it had not beene hard to haue discerned by that which Polybius writeth not six lines before, where hee affirmeth that in the same countrey two *Medimni* of barley, that is, three of our bushels, were sold ordinarily for foure *Oboli*, that is, sixteene halfe-*assis*. And I thinke it no great inconuenience that sixteene persons might dine for the price of three bushels of barley, or surely much lesse, then that three persons could not dine vnder the price of three bushels of barley a pecke and a halfe-pecke, as it must follow by Hottomans account. *Athenians* in the be-
ginning

*Denarius, quasi
denarius*

*A kue I cal the
eighth part of
our peny; a cee,
the sixteenth, a
pricke the two
and thirtieth.*

*For if halfe an
Assis be the
quarter of an o-
bolus, one obolus
is equall to two
assis, and conse-
quently six oboli,
that is, the
Drachma or
Denarius to
twelue assis.
Mithi tamen,
saith Hottoman
pag. 23.
tantum numerus
pretium cogitanti
venis in mentem
suspiciari duos fa-
difficili in illo Po-
lybi loco menda
fuisse, &c.*

*1. Ann. Hist
(talking of the
souldiers ordi-
ary pay) vestem,
arma, tentoria;
hinc scuitiam
centurionum &
vacationes miu-
num redimi.
& σπανίως δὲ τῷ
το ὀβόλῳ.*

ginning of the eighth booke produceth another testimonie out of Polybius in the soure and thirtieth of his storie, that in Portugall a good fat kiddie was vsually sold for an *Obelus*, the price of foure mens dinners in Lombardie. And Hottoman himselfe bringeth out of Gellius enough to haue withholden him from laying violent hands vpon a poore innocent place, that *lege Aeterna* a sheepe was prized at ten *assis*: for I hold it no absurditie, that twentie persons might dine competently for the price of a sheepe. The money, I grant, is but little, farthing eee for a dinner; and so was two pence halfe-peny weight for a souldiers pay by the day, which weight in siluer now will not finde the least lackey in the campe his breakfast: and yet the Roman allowance in corne, a bushell of wheat by the moneth, will euen in our daies serue the tallest souldier that is. For money receiueth valuation and price by the position of the Prince and state, or mutuall conuention of men, things most alterable vpon euery occasion. and therefore the Grecians terme it *νόμισμα*, because it consisteth *νόμος*, not *φύσις*, as being nothing in deed and in nature, but wholly depending vpon the voluntarie institution of men: whereas the other being a position of nature, remaineth for euer the same. Now why a piece of siluer of the same weight and alloy should then go so farre, and now do so little, no cause, I suppose, more generall can be assigned, than the great store of that metall. For the excessiue abundance of *τὰ νόμισμα μόνον ὄντα*, things which consist onely vpon the institution of man, draweth necessarily *τὰ φύσιν ὄντα*, those things which nature requireth, to a higher rate in the market. *Capta ab Augusto Alexandria*, saith Orosius, *Roma in tantum opibus eius creuit, ut duplo maiora quam antehac rerum venalium pretia statuerentur*. And heere in England that which was sold about an hundred yeeres agoe for tenne groats, which then weighed an ounce, now since the discouerie of the Indies can hardly bee bought for ten shillings of our currant money, or two ounces of the same goodnesse and weight. And if it should happen heereafter the whole treasures of those countries to be transported into our Iland, the like plentie presupposed in the rest of the world adioining, these present prices, which to vs seeme so excessiue, to them which should liue in that age would doubtlesse seeme as miraculous as that of Polybius to vs. Polybius himselfe, as Strabo writeth in the fourth booke of his Geographie, reporteth that vpon the discouery of certaine gold mines in his time about Aquileia, the price of gold thorovvout all Italie fell a third part: which in other termes is all one to say, the prices of all things bought with gold rose a third part. As for that which D. Hottoman maintaineth, that *Denarius* was neuer currant at twelue *Assis*, but either at ten, or sixteene, although it bee not much materiall to our purpose, yet surely his negatiue is not receiueable against this positive place of Polybius inferring the contrary: then it is without all probabilitie, that it should goe at ten and sixteene, and neuer at any middle rate; beside that other learned

men maintain directly the contrarie with greater reason as it seemes, and ground of good writers. So

that D. Hottoman hath doubtlesse done great wrong euery way to this place of Polybius. And

surely if men vpon private fancie doe presume thus to alter publike records, short-

ly wee shall haue iust cause to preferre Winkin de Worde and Badius

Ascensius before the Prints of our time, and generally

to esteeme those copies most correct,

which haue least bene

corrected.

Lipfius *Electus*.
rum, & in his co-
ment, vpon Tacitus
1. Annal.

Translations of the marginall Greeke.

In the margin of Tacitus.

- P** Age 3. * ἀσυνέτως, destroyed. ^a For vertue, wealth or nobilitie was with him a publike crime against all men.
4. * Galba lost opinion of orderly proceeding and popularitie, in putting to death certaine noble-men without forme of law, though peradventure they had iustly deserved to die.
7. δολοφονήσας, to be slaine by treason.
8. ^a He that is sent gouernour into Egypt sustaineth the person and place of the King. * In exortions and murders upon crueltie and auarice.
16. ^a He gaue to the Iudges of the Ludi Olympici a million of sestertees, which afterwards Galba demanded of them backe againe. ^b Galba sought out those who had bought or received in gift any thing of Neros favorites, and of them he exacted it.
21. ^a Intending to make sacrifice to Iupiter, and be seene of the citizens. * Hee kissed his fingers and cast towards euery one of them.
22. They rauened, robbed and spoiled all things they could lay their hands on.
23. * Getting vpon the porches and high places about the place of assembly, as it were to behold a play.
24. ^a With which the Centurions scourge them that deserue punishment. * Otho fearing to contradict them, answered that he would make the man away, but not so suddenly; for that he had matter of importance which hee must first learne out of him.
25. Galbaes body Heluidius Priscus tooke vp by Othoes permission, and Argius his freed man buried it by night.
26. This yeere Sulpicius Galba conquered the Chatti.
31. πανδημίας, vniuersally eue and other.
32. Missing of their desire in Virginius, they sought to fulfill it in some other.
41. Otho dispatched towards Tigellinus lying at Sinuessa. for there he sojourned, having ships attending in the road, as though he would haue fled further. and first hee attempted to corrupt him who was sent, offering him store of gold to let him escape: then not obtaining his purpose, he gaue him notwithstanding the gold, praying him that hee would yet haue patience a little, till his beard might be shauen. and himselfe taking the razor cut his owne throat.
47. ^a Lest being in wine you fall to quarrelling amongst your selues, and wound one another, and so dishonour the banquet. for the sight of armes draweth men often to handling of them. Telemachus excuse why hee remooued his fathers armour and weapons out of the place where the wooers vsed to eat. ^b Two Centurions. ^c Eighty Senatours. * Sending them out by a backe gate.
50. ^a And the common people accounted the rising of Tiber as an euill signe. ^b The river did most harme in the cornemarket, whereupon followed a great dearth for many daies.
54. To doe his reuerence to the Prince, and receiue commission from him concerning the affaires of Iewrie.
55. ^a Some say that the Island was called Cyprus, of Cyprus the sonne of Cinyrus. ^b The said altar was placed in the open aire without any couert, as others also in Homer seeme to haue beene, on which those that travelled by the way did offer. ^c It is reported and beleemed amongst the Bargylitz that the image of Diana named Kindyas, though lying open to all weather, is yet neither touched with snow, nor raine at all.
74. Slaying all those of the vanguard.
76. One of the common souldiers stretching out his sword and crying, We are thus resolved for thee all ô Cesar, slew himselfe.
78. ^a Supposing it madnesse to receiue the Empire at the conquered hands, hauing refused it before at the conquerours. and fearing to goe in Embassie to those of Germany whom he had forced to many things against their owne will.
90. Nothing amazed at the change determined to goe on his iourney to Rome.
120. Small vessels strait and light of some 25. men apeece; seldome and at the vttermost not aboue 30. the Grecians call them Camaræ.
131. ^a The temple of Iupiter, and Iuno and Minerva. ^b At what time also the Capitol was burnt. which foule act some imputed to Carbo, some to the Consuls; others said it was done by Syllaes commandement. The certainty was not known. neither can I coniecture the cause why it was done. ^c Appian for his felicity against his enemies his flatterers named him The Happy: which name proceeding first of flattery, was afterward confirmed to him by common consens. Plut. Lastly vpon these accidents he commanded himselfe to be called The Happy: for so much doth the word Felix signifie.
135. And fighting in three severall places in the citie, they were all made an end of.
139. To haue twelve falces alwaies and in euery place borne before him, and to sit betweene the present Consuls in a chaire of estate.
150. An escape of memorie.
160. ^a Being brethren, and in a maner of the same yeeres, and neuer doing any thing the one without the other, but being alwaies vnited, and communicating as in blood, so in their counsels and wealth, they gouerned a great while the two Germanies together, afterward being sent for by Nero into Greece as though he had stood in need of their sufficiency, they were according to the nature of those times accused. and both of them let themselves blood to death.
164. ιπποτοξοται, archers on horsebacke.
173. ^a He hid himselfe in a caue vnder ground, and there lay secret the space of nine yeeres with his wife, on whom he begat two sonnes. ^b As it were by diuine prouidence.
182. ^a Dionysius in his periegesis speaking of Alexandria, where it, saith hee, the temple of the great god Iupiter Sinopita beautified with much geld, than the which there is no one temple in the world more goodly and glorious. ^b For he brought not with him that name from Sinope, but after his coming to Alexandria the name of Sarapis was giuen him, which in the Egyptian language signifieth Pluto.
186. In these times the noblemen of Rome, such as be desirous of good learning, in stead of travelling to Athens goe to Massilia, and in another place he attributeth to them the commendation of warinesse in dispense, & modesty.

188. Xiphil. Agricola the first Roman that we haue memory of discovered Britanny to be an Ilan Dio. In proceffe of time first vnder Agricola Proprator, & now vnder Seuerus the Emperor it was euidently won to be an Island.
191. For as the prouerbe saith, *Ventura* must be made in the Carian (that is the common mercery souldier) not in the Generals person.
199. Making an expedition into Germany, he returned not hauing so much as once seen the enim now it is needlesse to report what great honours therefore were then bestowed vpon him, and alwaies after vpon ot Emperns his matches, lest that suspecting by the smalnesse of their honours their actions to bee checked, they shou reake their anger vpon the Senators. *Δξιοσπιδυβντορ*, worthy to be led in triumph, or triumphed over.

In the margin of the Annotations.

PAge 2. ^a Dio. Wherefore it becommeth vs not to mourne for him, but to magnifie alwaies his spirit a God. & Afterward the Centurions with torches put fire to the pile, which was soone consumed, and out of it an e le let loose flew up, as carrying forsooth his soule into heauen.

19. Appian. To be sacred and not to be touched himselfe, and whosoever else should flie vnto him. 10. The prerogatives granted to the Tribunes were conferred vpon him, so that if any man should injury him in word or deed, he was to be reputed a sacrilegious and detestable person.

35. ^a Antony allotted soldiers to death, not those who had stirred mutinies, forsaken their place in the, or standing in battell, upon which crimes onely the law of armes had laied so rigorous and terrible a punishment &c. ^b Called then Lugudunum, now Lugdunum.

98. • Northerly winds blowing yeerely after the summer solstitium some twenty daies, about the π g of the Dog Star.
• Being mixed of the northerly and westerne winds.

137. One day after Antonius entred the city, being the third of the moneth Apellæus.

142. ^a Of the Roman warres he spared to triumph, as being ciuill, and neither much becomming himse and much misli-
ked and abhorred of the people, yet did hee notwithstanding cary in triumph all the accidents of his warres in diuers
pictures, and the images of the captaines and principall men, sauing of Pompey, whom only he woued to shew, as
being yet in all mens hearts greatly desired, and wished for. ^b The shew in his triumph of the citizaine in Africke
did much grieue the people.

205. Dionysius gloried much more in his poems, than in the happy successe of his wars, and amongst or poets that lived in the Tyrants court Philoxenus a maker of Dithyrambi, a man of great reputation and renown that kinde of poeme, the Tyrants verses being read in banquet which indeed were naught, was asked his opinion therein. Who speaking somewhat freely his mind, the Tyrant was offended with his answer: and crying out that vponny he had spoken ill of his poems, commanded those that attended, to cary him forth with away into the quarry. ¶ This kind of knavery and envious ingling and deceit, not by dispraising, but by commending to ruine your neigers, was first and principally found out by such as remaine in Princes courts, vpon ieaousie and ambition they haue one to outgrow another.

207. ⁸ Every one of the Legions is of 4000. a piece. ¹ Ten Legions were enrolled of 4000. a piece.

208. There followed him the horse belonging to the Legion. for every Legion hath annexed to it an hundred and twentie horse.

209. ^a For dividing themselves into paires. of the six moneths they keepe the field, each paire commande two moneths.
^q The law commandeth all the 60. centures to obey, and doe what is commanded by him.

210. *" After that Augustus was settled in monarchy, hee quit the Italians of the paines of service, and utterly disarmed them. " The gentlemen on horsebacke must of necessitie serve ten yeeres, the footmen 16. before thine 46. yeeres of age. " When they will take vp any souldiers, they call the tribes one by one, as the lot fallath.*

211. ^f The same forme of government the Præfecti also vse with the allies.

212. The first day of the yeere they both swore themselves, and caused others to sweare, that they would opt for good all Cæsars acts, which thing is vsed euē at this day for the acts of the present Emperours, and for thoff all their predecessours whose memory is not disgraced.

214. * The whole figure of the castrametation is a square of equal sides.

- ¶ 16. If the place chance to be renewed, they make it plaine and euen. • When they are fast gathered tither into the campe, and ready to enter the enemies countrey.

217. ^b Romulus divided his people into Legions, and every Legion consisted of 3000. persons. ^c He resolved to make warre against the Sabins arming all the Roman forces, which were double to that they were afore the taking of Alba.

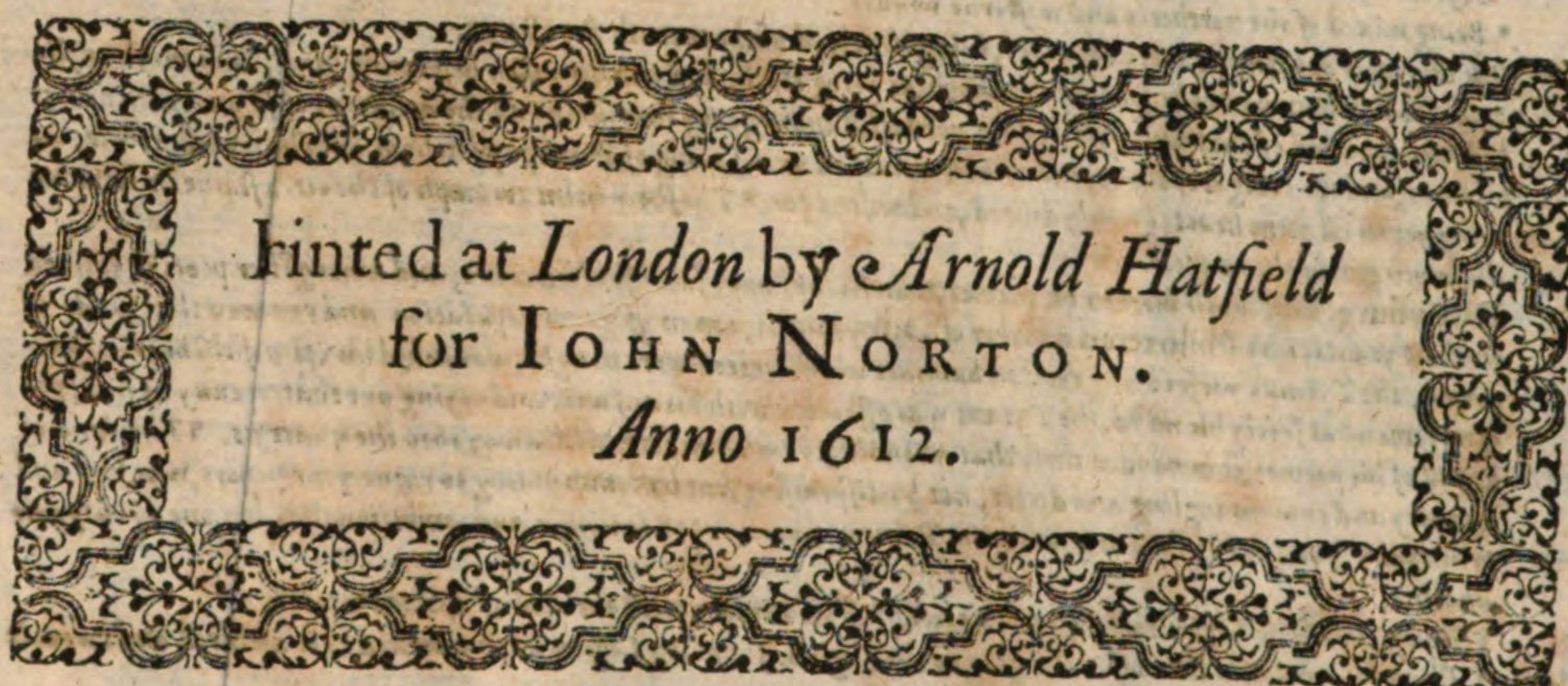
221. The Provost of the city having but few soldiers under his government. Having never so much as imagined of sea service, then first they entered into conceit thereof.

222. ^m For being without sails, and prepared only for the fight, they did not follow in chase those which fled. Liburni a people of Illyrium, who with light and swift ships rowed about the Mare Ionium, and islands there. Whence at this day the Romans call the lightest and swiftest of the Biremes Liburnicæ. ⁿ Triacontoros and Taracontoros and Pentecontoros have their names of the number of their oares. Moneres and Biremis and so in consequence have their names according to the number of ranks of oares one above another. ^o Using but few Triremes, but furnished with Pentecontori, and long ships.

23. Ships of service that were some five hundred, and of Liburnicæ an infinite number. A man may well doubt what the reason should be why the Romans being now lords of all, and in a farre greater height than before, can either man out so many ships, nor saile with so great nauiques.

The rest which are not heere translated, are but either some few words, or else Greeke of that, the substance where-
of is in the text

FINIS.



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